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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Barry, Phillips, An American Homiletic Ballad	1-5
Tombo, Jr., Rudolf, The Identity of the Hassenpflugs in Hauptmann's <i>The Fool in Christ</i>	5-8
Galpin, Stanley Leman, Notes on the Sources of Deguville's <i>Pèlerinage de l'Ame</i>	8-10
Phelps, Wm. Lyon, Browning in Germany.	10-14
Warshaw, J., The Case of Somaize	33-39
Adams, Jr., Joseph Quincy, Some Notes on <i>Hamlet</i>	39-43
Schaaffs, G., Zwei Gedichte von Goethe	43-48
Graves, T. S., <i>The Arraignment of Paris</i> and Sixteenth Century Flattery	48-49
Scholl, John William, Longfellow and Schiller's <i>Lied von der Glocke</i>	49-50
Baskerville, C. R., <i>Bandello and The Broken Heart</i>	51-52
Campbell, Killis, Miscellaneous Notes on Poe	65-69
Schaaffs, G., Zwei Gedichte von Goethe	69-73
Patterson, Shirley Gale, Concerning the Type <i>Beau-Père, Belle-Mère</i>	73-77
Routh, James, The Model of the Leather-Stocking Tales	77-79
Mannel, George W., The Source of the Immediate Plot of <i>Faire Em</i>	80-82
Smith, Reed, The Metamorphoses in <i>Muiopotmos</i>	82-85
Curme, George O., The Proper Subject of a Passiv Verb	97-101
Jefferson, Bernard L., A Note on <i>The Squyr of Lowe Degre</i>	102-103
Upham, A. H., A Parallel for Richardson's <i>Clarissa</i>	103-105
Tombo, Jr., Rudolf, Contemporary German Fiction and Narrative Poetry	106
Northup, Clark S., <i>Ubi sunt</i> Heroes?	106-107
Cipriani, Charlotte J., A Note on the Accentuation of Some French Names of Germanic Origin	129-132
Kracher, Francis Waldemar, Die Mitleidstheorie in Lessings Dramen und ihr Wert für die Gegenwart	132-137
Wells, John Edwin, Some New Facts concerning Fielding's <i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> and <i>Pasquin</i>	137-142
Cobb, Charles W., A Scientific Basis for Metrics	142-145
Florer, Warren Washburn, Note on Gustav Frenssen	145-147
Gilman, Benjamin Ives, On a Disputed Terzetto in the <i>Paradiso</i>	148-149

Belden, H. M., Onela the Scylfing and Ali the Bold	149-153
Sturtevant, Albert Morey, Altnordisch <i>Tryggr</i>	161-163
Andrews, C. E., The Authorship of <i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i>	163-166
Fischer, Walther, Honoré d'Urfé's <i>Sireine</i> and the <i>Diana</i> of Montemayor	166-169
Harris, Charles, Max Halbe	169-170
Tombo, Jr., Rudolf, Notes on Hauptmann's <i>Atlantis</i>	170-171
Chew, Jr., Samuel C., Byron and Croly	201-203
Warren, F. M., The Story of Troy in Oederic Vital	203-205
Jackson, George Pullen, Further Traces of Gleim's <i>Grenadierlieder</i>	205-208
Hughes, Helen Sard, Night in the Poetry of Henry Vaughan	208-211
Ibershoff, C. H., Vitzliputzli	211-212
Graham, Walter, Some Notes on Spenser and Bacon	212-214
Porterfield, Allen Wilson, <i>Ivanhoe</i> translated by Immermann	214-215
Harper, Carrie A., <i>The Miller and his Sons</i>	215-216
Kolbe, P. R., Variation in the Old High German Post-Otfridian Poems.—I. Christus und die Samariterin	216-217
Olivero, Federico, Hood and Keats	233-235
Lancaster, H. Carrington, A French Provincial Repertory in 1662	236-237
Scott, Fred Newton, The Order of Words in Certain Rhythm-Groups	237-239
Sturtevant, Albert Morey, Zum Reimgebrauch Otfrids	239-243
SeBoyar, Gerald E., Skelton's <i>Replycacion</i>	244-245
Schultz, J. R., Sir Walter Scott and Chaucer	246-247
Scholl, John William, On the Two Place-Names in " <i>Thanatopsis</i> "	247-249

REVIEWS.

Mayne, Harry, Immermanns Werke, [Allen Wilson Porterfield.]	
Deetjen, Werner, Immermanns Werke. [Allen Wilson Porterfield.]	
Lempicki, Sigmund von, Immermanns Weltanschauung. [Allen Wilson Porterfield.]	14-21
Szymanzig, Max, Immermanns Tristan und Isolde. [Allen Wilson Porterfield.]	
Bacon, Grace Mabel, The Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich Heine to Karl Immermann. [Allen Wilson Porterfield.]	
Peebles, Rose J., The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English	

Literature, and its Connection with the Grail. [Arthur C. L. Brown.]	21-26	Babbitt, Irving, The Masters of Modern French Criticism. [D. S. Blondheim.]	193-197
Hall, Henry Marion, Idylls of Fishermen: a History of the Literary Species. [W. P. Mustard.]	26-28	Legouis, Emile, Geoffrey Chaucer. [W. H. Hulme.]	217-219
Chambers, R. W., Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend. [William Witherle Lawrence.]	53-55	Jourdain, Eleanor F., An Introduction to the French Classical Drama. [H. Carrington Lancaster.]	219-221
Lefranc, Abel; Boulenger Jacques; Clouzot, Henri; Dorveaux, Plattard, Jean; et Sainéan, Lazare, Œuvres de François Rabelais. [Lucy M. Gay.]	55-59	Rand, E. K., et E. H. Wilkins, Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae. [Charles G. Osgood.]	221-222
Abry, E., Audic, C., Crouzet, P., Histoire illustrée de la littérature française. [D. S. Blondheim.]	59-61	McKenzie, K., Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca. [Charles G. Osgood.]	221-222
Morf, Heinrich, Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache. [A. Terracher.]	61-62	Strich, Fritz, Schiller. [Louise Mallinckrodt Kueffner.]	223-224
Mayne, Ethel Colburn, Byron. [Samuel C. Chew, Jr.]	85-86	Schoch, Josef, Perfectum historicum und Perfectum praesens im Französischen. [Gustav G. Laubscher.]	249-253
McKenzie, Kenneth, Il Ventaglio (The Fan) by Carlo Goldoni. [A. A. Livingston.]	87-89	Staaacke, Edmund, Die Verwendung von Plusqueparfait und Passé-Antérieur im Französischen. [Gustav G. Laubscher.]	249-253
Lieder, Frederick W. C., Schiller's Don Carlos. [John William Scholl.]	89-91	Feuillerat, Albert, Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. [Percy W. Long.]	253-254
Keniston, Hayward, Las Treinta de Juan Boscán. [H. A. Rennert.]	91-92	Hartmann, Jacob Wittmer, The Gogug-Hrólfs saga. [L. M. Hollander.]	254
Swaen, A. E. H., How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad. [Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr.]	107-112	Curme, George O., Libussa, von Franz Grillparzer. [T. M. Campbell.]	255-257
Sonnenschein, E. A., A New French Grammar. [A. G. H. Spiers.]	112-118	Jusserand, J. J., Ronsard. [Murray P. Brush.]	257-259
Snow, William B., Fundamentals of French Grammar. [A. G. H. Spiers.]			
François, Victor E., Essentials of French. [A. G. H. Spiers.]			
Espinosa, Aurelio M., Consuelo, por Adelardo López de Ayala. [Arthur L. Owen.]	118-121		
Wright, C. H. Conrad, A History of French Literature. [A. Terracher.]	121-124		
Maugain, Gabriel, Boileau et l'Italie. [R. T. Holbrook.]	125		
Zoëga, Geir T., A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic. [Lee M. Hollander.]	153-154		
Smith, Winifred, The Commedia dell'Arte. [A. A. Livingston.]	154-157		
Lanson, Gustave, Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne. IV. Révolution et Dix-neuvième Siècle. [Hugo P. Thieme.]	158		
Bateson, Hartley, Patience. A West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century. [Oliver Farrar Emerson.]	171-180		
Descharmes, René, et Dumesnil, René, Autour de Flaubert. [Frederick A. Blossom.]	180-186		
Wood, Henry, Faust-Studien. [James Taft Hatfield.]	186-188		
Hulbert, James Root, Chaucer's Official Life. [Samuel Moore.]	189-193		
		CORRESPONDENCE.	
		House, Ralph E., The 1536 Text of the Egloga of Juan de Paris.	28-29
		Gilbert, Allan H., The Tower of Fame in Milton	30
		Northup, George Tyler, A Bibliographical Myth	30-31
		Scott, Fred Newton, The Biter Bit.	62
		Porterfield, Allen Wilson, A Quotation from Mörike	62-63
		Nicholson, Watson, Cosmo Manuche, Dramatist	92
		Law, Robert Adger, More Conditions of a Good Horse	93
		Karpinski, Louis C., Algebra	93
		Ibershoff, C. H., "Das wäre noch schöner"	94
		Upham, A. H., Another Translation from Camus	94
		Andrews, C. E., One of W. B. Yeats's Sources	94-95
		Galpin, Stanley Leman, St. Bernard and Raoul de Houdenc.	125-126
		Lockwood, Laura E., Paradise Lost, VII, 15-20	126-127
		McDaniel, Walton Brooks, An Anachronism ascribed to Jonson.	158-159
		Hart, J. M., Milton's Nativity.	159-160
		Tupper, Frederick, Ubi sunt—A Belated Postscript	197-198

Kuhne, J. W., <i>Serourge-Frere en loi</i>	198-199	Bonilla y San Martin, Adolfo, La Representación de Menéndez y Pelayo en la vida histórica nacional	96
Melton, Wightman F., The Influence of Petrarch upon Edward Coote Pinkney.	199-200	Cedrún de la Pedraja, Gonzalo, La Niñez de Menéndez y Pelayo.....	96
Shafer, Robert, Spenser's <i>Astrophel</i>	224-226	Bédier, Les Légendes épiques.....	127-128
Raggio, A. P., The <i>y-i</i> of <i>employons-empoie, paye-paie</i>	226	Geddes, Jr., Hartzenbusch, La Coja y el encogido	128
Long, O. F., Rostand and Erasmus.....	226-227	Cosenza, Mario E., Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo....	128
Tilley, M. P., Hamlet's "ha, ha!".....	227-228	Fraser and Squair, Shorter French Course.	160
Fischer, Walther, The Source of <i>Britannicus</i> , II, 6.....	228	Stendhal, Œuvres complètes. Vols. I-II..	160
Osthaus, Carl, Einst im Mai.....	228-229	Announcements.	200
Lowes, John Livingston, The Dragon and his Brother	229	Marinoni, A., Selections from Carducci....	200
MacCracken, H. N., The Laborer and the Bochour and the Smyth.....	230	Bartsch-Wiese, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français ..	200
Fritz, Josef, Ein unbekannter englischer Faustbuchdruck	230-231	Voretzsch, Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur	200
Mustard, W. P., Notes on the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus	259-260	Plan, P.-P., J. J. Rousseau raconté par les gazettes de son temps.....	231
Morize, André, <i>La Fille de Jephté</i>	260-261	Oliver, T. E., Sedaine's Philosophe sans le savoir ..	231
Porterfield, Allen Wilson, Jean Paul and Hebbel ..	261-262	Faguet, E., Honoré de Balzac.....	231-232
Long, Percy W., Spenser and the <i>Plowman's Tale</i>	262	Boillot, F., Le Patois de la Grand'Combe..	232
BRIEF MENTION.		La Littérature franc. illustr.....	232
Cury and Boerner, Histoire de la littérature française, à l'usage des étudiants hors de France.....	31	Hellen, Ed. von der, Register to Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe..	232
Leite de Vasconcellos, J., Carolina Michaëlis; Lista dos seus trabalhos literarios ..	31	Ackermann, R., Das pädagogisch-didaktische Seminar für Neuphilologen....	262
Sainéan, L., Sources de l'argot ancien....	31-32	Gröhler, Hermann, Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung der französischen Ortsnamen ..	263
Gennep, A. van, Religions, mœurs et légendes ..	32	Hachette's Classical-Drama Series.....	263
Jespersen, Elementarbuch der Phonetik...	32	Northup, G. T., George Ticknor's Travels in Spain	263
Skeat, W. W., The Science of Etymology..	63	The Pequeno Larousse Ilustrado.....	263-264
Cotterill, H. B., Homer's Odyssey.....	63-64	Roedder, Schwarzwaldleut'	264
Tatlock, John S. P., and Mackay, Percy, The Modern Reader's Chaucer.....	64	Wohnlich, Oskar, Tiecks Einfluss auf Immermann ..	264
Pellissier, Le XIXe Siècle par les textes...	64	OBITUARY.	
Gauchat, Louis, et Jeanjaquet, Jules, Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande, Tome Ier.....	96	William Hand Browne.....	32
Wilkins, E. H., and Altrocchi, R., Italian Short Stories	96	ERRATA.	
		232	

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 1.

AN AMERICAN HOMILETIC BALLAD

A recent writer,¹ dealing with the subject of negro folk-song, its social and psychological antecedents, in the course of his exposition, makes the following statement:

"In the 'Downward Road is Crowded,' a mournful picture is given of the sinner who failed to repent. His example is held up for the contemplation of those who are following in his steps.

Young people who delight in sin,
I tell you what I lately seen,
A po' godless sinner die,
And he said, 'In hell I soon'll lie!

Hark, the downward road is crowded, crowded,
crowded,
Yes, the downward road is crowded with onbe-
lievin' souls.

He call his mother to his bed,
An' these is the dyin' words he said,
'Mother, mother, I long farewell,
Your wicked son is damned in hell.'

He dance an' play hisself away,
An' still put off his dyin' day,
Until at las' ole death was sent,
An' it 'us too late fer him to repent."

That this is too sophisticated even for a negro preacher, and bears moreover, too certain evidence of a literary origin, seems not to have suggested itself. There is nothing in it of the irregularity of structure and incoherence that marks genuine negro folk-songs of the type of *Roll, Jordan, roll!* or *Swing low, sweet Chariot*, evident creations out of the white heat of religious fervor, and surrounded by the atmosphere of the camp-meeting. What we have in fact, is a versified crude sermon, a homiletic discourse in ballad form. Instances of the religious, nay even of the homiletical or theological ballad, it may be stated in passing, are

found even in the older strata of English folk-song,—we may cite *The Cherry Tree Carol*,² *The Carnal and the Crane*,³ *Dives and Lazarus*,⁴ not to mention the lately discovered *Bitter Withy*.⁵ The ballad at present under discussion is doubly interesting, not only as an instance of the homiletic application of the ballad idea, but also as being one of the few attested American traditional ballads.⁶

Given a theme in its simplest form,—“young person lives a worldly life, rejects means of grace, and, dying, is numbered with the lost,” familiar enough in the discourses of evangelists from the time of the Great Awakening on,—it appears that two closely similar developments of it in American balladry have taken place. We cannot fairly call them two ballads, in the sense that *Baby Lon* and *Edward* are two ballads.⁷ The one is a counterpart of the other.

The material at hand may here be put in evidence.⁸

Theme: Impenitent-sinner-lost.

Form I. *The Downward Road*.

A. Lamentable Death of Polly.⁹

1. Young people who delight in sin
I'll tell you what has lately been
A woman who was young and fair
Who died in sin and sad despair

² Child, 54.

³ Child, 55.

⁴ Child, 56.

⁵ F. Sidgwick, *Folk-Lore*, 1908, pp. 190-200. See also *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, Vol. iv, pp. 29-47.

⁶ See my article, "Native Balladry in America," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, xxii, pp. 365-373.

⁷ Ballad based on identical themes emerge in different strata of British balladry,—their relation to one another problematical. See my article, A Garland of Ballads, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. xxiii, pp. 446-454.

⁸ For the use of the Missouri texts of this ballad, I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Henry M. Belden, University of Missouri.

⁹ *Boston Transcript*, 1906; *Notes and Queries*, no. 3970, from C. N. G., who says of it,—“it was found in some old papers of my family, and was evidently

¹ Howard W. Odum, "Religious Folk-Songs of the Southern Negroes," *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*, iii, 311.

2. She'd go to frolics dance and play
In spite of all her friends could say
I'll turn to God when I get old
And he will then receive my soul

3. One Friday morning she took sick
Her stubborn heart began to break
Alas alas my days are spent
Good God too late for to repent

4. She called her mother to her bed
Her eyes were rolling in her head
When I am dead remember well
Your wicked Polly screams in hell

5. The tears are lost you shed for me
My soul is lost I plainly see
O mamma mamma fare you well
My soul is lost and doomed to hell

6. My earthly father fare you well
My soul will soon be dragged to hell ¹⁰

written down by one of a group of young women at some time in the decade 1830-1840. They were members of a New England colony which early in the century had migrated from Charlemont, Mass., to what is now West Virginia, and from there went to Edwards County, Illinois. . . . I should judge that it was written down from memory."

¹⁰ John D. Swain, *New England Magazine*, April, 1907, pp. 244-5, records a different version, which he traces to the early days of Little Rest (now Kingston), R. I., where Polly is believed to have lived.

WICKED POLLY.

O young people, hark while I relate
The story of poor Polly's fate!
She was a lady young and fair
And died a-groaning in despair.

She would go to balls and dance and play
In spite of all her friends could say;
"I'll turn" said she, "when I am old,
And God will then receive my soul."

One Sabbath morning she fell sick;
Her stubborn heart began to ache.
She cries, "Alas, my days are spent!
It is too late now to repent."

She called her mother to her bed,
Her eyes were rolling in her head;
A ghastly look she did assume;
She cries, "Alas I am undone!"

"My loving father, you I leave;
For wicked Polly do not grieve;
For I must burn forevermore,
When thousand thousand years are o'er.

B. The Dying Girl Unprepared to Meet Her
God.¹¹

By Rev. J. H. Lewis.¹²

1. Young people who delight in sin,
I'll tell you what I've lately seen,—
A poor ungodly woman died
Who said in hell she soon would lie.

Chorus,—

The downward road is crowded, crowded, crowded,
The downward road is crowded with unbelieving
souls.

2. She danced and played her days away,
And still put off her dying day;
Her parents shed many a tear,
Their daughter was to them so dear.

3. One Friday morning she took sick,
Her stubborn heart began to break.
She cried, "Alas my days are spent;
It's too late for me to repent."

4. Such ringing of hands,
Such gnashing of teeth—
No redemption—no relief.

5. She called her mother to her bed,
And these, her dying words she said:
"When I am dead, remember well
Your wicked daughter screams in hell."

"Your councils I have slighted all,
My carnal appetite to fill.
When I am dead, remember well
Your wicked Polly groans in hell!"

She (w)rung her hands and groaned and cried,
And gnawed her tongue before she died,
Her nails turned black, her voice did fail,
She died and left this lower vale.

May this a warning be to those
That love the ways that Polly chose,
Turn from your sins, lest you, like her,
Shall leave this world in black despair!

There is in the seventh stanza, an evident reminiscence of the language of Michael Wigglesworth's poem, *The Day of Doom*.

¹¹ Contributed by Professor Belden, as "copied from a single sheet print, circa 5" x 10", sent me by Mrs. C. H. G——, March 16, 1909. Mrs. G—— heard her laundress singing the piece, and got the sheet from her."

¹² Not the author, of course.

6. "Oh, mother, mother, fare you well
Your daughter's soul is damned in hell;
O father, father, fare you well,
Your daughter's soul is damned in hell.
7. The tears are lost you shed for me,
My soul is lost—I plainly see
The aming raft (sic!) begins to roll,
And now I'm gone, a ruined soul.
8. Young people who doth slight the Lord,
Take warning by my dying word:
You may escape those burning flames
Although I am damned in endless pains.
9. She gnawed her tongue before she died,
She foamed and groaned, she screamed and cried,
Oh, must I burn for evermore,
Till thousands and thousands of years are o'er?¹³
10. At length the monster death prevailed,
Her nails turned black, and her language failed;
Her eyes she closed, her heart-strings tore,
And the daughter is gone for evermore.
11. It almost broke her parents' heart,
To see their child to hell depart;
Oh, is our daughter gone to hell?
Our grief so great no tongue can tell.
12. Good Lord, how her parents did moan,
To think their child was dead and gone;
Our daughter, oh, our daughter is dead,
Her soul is gone, and her spirit fled.
13. Young people, lest this be your case,
Now turn to God and seek his face;
Down on your knees for mercy cry,
Lest you in sin like the daughter die.
Price Five Cents.¹⁴

¹³ Compare the third and seventh stanzas of Mr. Swain's version,—the thought is reminiscent of the following lines of Wigglesworth: *The Day of Doom*, 205:

They wring their hands, their caitiff hands,
And gnash their teeth for terrour,
They cry, they roar, for anguish sore,
And gnaw their tongues for horrour.
But get away without delay,
Christ pities not your cry,
Depart to Hell, there may you yell,
And roar Eternally.

¹⁴ Another text, lately published by Professor Belden,—Balladry in America, *Journal of American*

We are evidently at the source of Mr. Odum's version, which, save for the different sex of the young person, a very minor consideration, is

Folk-Lore, Vol. xxv, no. 95, pp. 18-19,—may be cited here for comparison:

THE WICKED GIRL.

Carroll Co., Ark., from E. D. 1904.

1. Young people, hear and I will tell
A soul I fear has gone to hell
A woman who was young and fair
Who died in sin and dark despair.
2. Her tender parents oft did pray
For her poor soul from day to day
And give her counsel good advice
But she delighted still in vice.
3. She would go to frolics, dance and play
In spite of all her friends could say
I'll turn to God when I am old
And then he will receive my soul.
4. At length she heard the spirit say
Thou sinful wretch forsake thy way
Now turn to God or you shall dwell
Forever in the flames of Hell.
5. No, I'm too young, thus she replied
My comrades all would me deride
The spirit then bid her farewell
And thus consigned the wretch to hell.
6. It was not long till death did come
To call this helpless sinner home
And while she was on her dying bed
She called her friends and this she said:
7. My friends I bid you all farewell
I die, I die, I sink to hell
There must I lie and scream and roll
For God will not receive my soul.
8. My tender parents she addressed
I hope your souls will both be blessed
But your poor child you now may see
But soon shall be in misery.
9. My weeping mother fare you well
The pains I feel no tongue can tell
Dear parents your poor child is lost
Your hopes they are forever crossed.

extremely close to the broadside.¹⁵ The language and imagery being highly imaginative, it quite appeals to the religious sense of the colored people, and has doubtless been widely circulated among them. Of its significance as a *spiritual*, more will be said in a later paragraph.

Form II. *The Melancholy Call.*

A. Death.¹⁶

Death is a melancholy call, a certain judgment
For us all. Death takes the young as well as old
And lays them in his arms so cold.
Tis awful—awful—awful—

I saw a youth the other day.
He looked so young he was so gay.
He trifled all his time away
And dropped into eternity.
Tis awful—awful—awful.

As he lay on his dying bed.
Eternity begins to dread.
He cries O Lord! I see my state:
But now I fear I've come too late.
Tis awful—awful—awful.

His loving parents standing round,
With tears of sorrow dropping down.
He says Oh! father pray for me.
I am going to eternity.
Tis awful—awful—awful.

His tender sister standing by.
Says dearest brother you must die.
Your days on earth will soon be past.
Down to the grave you must go at last
Tis awful—awful—awful.

A few more breaths may be perceived
Before this young man takes his leave.
O father fare-the-well.
I'm drawn by devils down to evil
Tis awful—awful—awful.

The corpse was layed beneath (the ground)
His loving sister standing round
With aching heart,
And troubled mind
To think her brother in hell's confined.
Tis awful—awful—awful.

B. Death is a Melancholy Call.¹⁷

Death is a melancholy call
A certain judgment on us all
It takes the young as well as old,
And folds them in its arms so cold.

There was a youth the other day
In blooming health he looked so gay.
He trifled all his time away
And now he's going to eternity.

As he lay on his dying bed
Eternity he began to dread
He said "O Lord, I view my state
And now I fear I've come too late."

His loving parents standing round
Their tears were falling to the ground
He said "Dear parents, pray for me,
For now I'm going to eternity."

His loving sister standing by
She said, "Dear brother you're bound to die,"
He said "Dear sister, fare you well,
I'm dragged by angels down to hell."

His corpse was laid beneath the ground
With brothers and sisters weeping round
With throbbing hearts and thinking minds
To think in hell their brother's confined.

It has been said that we cannot fairly regard *The Downward Road* and *The Melancholy Call* as two ballads, at least not in the sense that we may regard *Baby Lon* and *Edward*, or *Fair Annie* and *William Taylor* as two ballads. It will not be out of place at this point to give a definition of the term "ballad," in accordance with my theory of origins, which is briefly summed up in the phrase,—*individual invention, plus communal re-creation*.¹⁸ It refers,

¹⁷ Contributed by Professor Belden,—from MS of G. W., Bollinger Co., Mo., who wrote down the ballad in 1906, with the subscription,—"this I heard my mother sing. She learned it when a little girl, after coming to Missouri, but doesn't know from whom."

¹⁸ See my articles, *Folk-Music in America*, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, XXII, pp. 72-81, *Native Balladry in America*, *ibid*, pp. 365-373.

¹⁵ Mr. Odum's version :

st. 1. (with chorus)

" 2 v. 1

" " " 2

" " " 3

" " " 4

" 3 " 1

" " " 2

" " " 3

" " " 4

Broadside :

st. 1. (with chorus)

" 5 v. 1

" " " 2

" 6 " 1

" " " 4

" 2 " 1

" " " 2

not in this text.

st. 3 v. 4

¹⁶ Contributed by Professor Belden,—from Mrs. Lida Jones's ballad-book, compiled in Dade Co., Mo.

not to an event, but to a process, whether we consider *the ballad* as an idea, or *a ballad* as a concrete illustration. We have to do with a dynamic phenomenon. The process is one by which a simple event in human experience, of subjective interest, narrated in simple language, set to a simple melody, is progressively objectivated.¹⁹ We must from this point of view, classify ballads according to themes. Such a classification by definition does not preclude the use of the term *ballad* in the narrower sense as applied to the several historical developments of a given theme.²⁰

As to our homiletic ballad "The Wicked Girl," we may first observe that it illustrates the tendency of the religious consciousness to avail itself of all possible factors in human experience, even of those it denounces, to assert itself the more vigorously, and to maintain itself the more lastingly. The adoption of the ballad form as the vehicle of a rigorous type of Arminian theology, is the acknowledgment, on the part of the religious mind, of the fact of folk-song as an inalienable possession of the human race.²¹ As an aid, moreover, to the study of folk-song, this ballad is in the nature

of a microcosm, illustrating in miniature, the phenomena of the ballad as an *idea*.²²

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THE IDENTITY OF THE HASSEN-
PFLUGS IN HAUPTMANN'S
THE FOOL IN CHRIST

There are few contemporary German writers in whose works the subjective element plays such a prominent rôle as it does in the works of Gerhart Hauptmann, which faithfully reflect the various phases of his development. His sociological interests are mirrored, for example, in "Before Sunrise," in "Lonely Lives," in "The Weavers," and elsewhere. His religious leanings find expression among others in "Lonely Lives," "Hannele," "The Sunken Bell," and "The Fool in Christ;" his aesthetic theories are made public in "Greek Spring;" and traces of his dissatisfaction with modern educational methods can be observed in "Lonely Lives," "Colleague Crampton," "The Maidens of Bischofsberg," and several other dramas. Similarly, he is constantly adapting personal experiences to his dramatic and narrative needs; and while he frequently substitutes

¹⁹ In studying the method of this process, the words and music of the ballad *must* be treated as a unit. If we regard "ballad styles" as of significance, we must consider the fact that there are styles in melody as well as in literary expression. The former are perfectly accounted for by my theory of origins. See my article, "The Origin of Folk-Melodies," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. XXIII, no. 90, pp. 440-445.

²⁰ Professor Child already originated such a system of classification,—he listed under one head,—*Lord Randall* and *The Croodlin Doo*. I would go farther,—for instance, *Young Beichan* and *The Turkish Lady*,—*Hind Horn* and *The Kitchie Boy*,—in each case listing under one head ballads now classed as distinct.

²¹ Rev. Cotton Mather, in his Diary, Sept. 29, 1713, puts himself on record as in favor of the homiletic ballad. "I am informed that the minds and manners of many People about the Country are much corrupted by foolish Songs and Ballads. . . . By way of Antidote, I would procure poetical composures full of Piety, and such as may have a Tendency to advance Truth and Goodness, to be published and scattered into all Corners of the Land."

²² Of the two developments of the theme,—*The Downward Road* is the older,—Mr. Swain traces his version back for more than a century. It originated doubtless as a purely literary composition,—note especially the reminiscences of Wigglesworth, retained even in the late broadside version B. Passing into oral tradition, its history is that of all ballads, progressive objectivation, being the growth in multiplicity of version and impersonality of authorship,—and local subjectivation, or reversion to print. Rev. J. H. Lewis is a factor in subjectivation,—an influence from which Mr. Odum's version, having passed once more into oral tradition, reasserting the dynamic quality of the ballad, has freed itself. No ballad, it should be said, ever died of printers' ink. The paucity of incident, together with the homiletic purpose of the ballad, hinders the development of the so-called ballad style. *The Melancholy Call* is of more recent origin,—whose author in all probability knew *The Downward Road*.

Dichtung for *Wahrheit*, the fundamental basis for many an episode is none the less real. Thus the shipwreck described in his latest work, "Atlantis," in which special interest was manifested because of its appearance in the *Berliner Tageblatt* about the time of the *Titanic* disaster, was suggested by the loss of the *Elbe*, the steamer on which he crossed to America in 1894, and the identity of several characters in this novel is only partially concealed. It would take me too far afield to cite all the instances in the course of Hauptmann's long literary career in which we have to deal with personal experiences, with *Erlebtes*; "The Sunken Bell" will serve as the typical illustration. Hauptmann is especially fond of making his friends and acquaintances serve as models for his characters, in fact, he is occasionally rather ruthless in making vital alterations in the characters of the actual persons whom he portrays in his works. But perhaps the *Dichter von Gottes Gnaden* is licensed to tamper in this way with the characters he paints, by the same authority which permits him to alter the events of history to suit his poetic requirements.

A few of the most evident *Urbilder* I might mention are those of his mother (Frau Vockerat) and his uncle Gustav Schubert (Pastor Vockerat) in "Lonely Lives," those of his elder brother Georg (Adolph Strähler—Strähler being his mother's maiden name) and that of the Breslau painter Professor Marshall (Professor Harry Crampton) in "Colleague Crampton," that of the painter Hugo Ernst Schmidt (Gabriel Schilling) in "Gabriel Schilling's Flight," and that of the former manager of the Strassburg City Theater, Alexander Heszler (Harro Hassenreuter) in "The Rats." The naturalistic dramas of Hauptmann teem with recollections of his childhood and youth, but there is perhaps none which contains such a wealth of personal recollections as his recent novel "The Fool in Christ, Emanuel Quint" (1910). In this intensely modern *imitatio Christi* we get the Silesian *milieu* with which Hauptmann is so thoroughly familiar, and we find reminders not only of the Eulengebirge, in which the scenes of his "Weavers" are laid (Peterswaldau and Langenbielau),—and more than

one interior and more than one personal description forcibly recalls the earlier work,—but also of the Silesian capital, Breslau, in which Hauptmann spent some time as a student of art. In chapter 24, *e. g.*, we are introduced to a professor of art who instantly suggests the Harry Crampton in the fourth act of "Colleague Crampton," and at the opening of the following chapter we are introduced to one Weizländer, who is preparing at the Breslau academy of art for the drawing-teacher examinations. Then we get the pietistic *milieu* with which Hauptmann had become so thoroughly familiar through various channels, and of which he had made use in connection with *Helene Krause* in "Before Sunrise," with *Käthe Vockerat* and her parents in "Lonely Lives," and with *August Keil* and the old *Bernd* in "Rose Bernd." Hauptmann's birthplace, Obersalzbrunn, is not far from Gnadenfrei, one of the most prominent of the *Herrnhut* colonies, and then he spent some time on the estate of his pious uncle, Gustav Schubert (Frau Schubert was his mother's sister) at Lederose near Jauer, and finally, his first wife had, like her sisters, two of whom married Hauptmann's elder brothers, Carl and Georg, been educated at Herrnhut. Hauptmann has applied the name Schubert also to a weaver in "The Fool in Christ." And the mysticism which has been so characteristic of the inhabitants of Silesia for many centuries—witness Jakob Böhme and Angelus Silesius—and traces of which may be found in "Signalman Thiel," "Hannele," "Teamster Henschel," this Silesian mysticism also naturally plays a prominent rôle in "Emanuel Quint." *Quint*, of course, is not merely a figure of romance, Hauptmann unquestionably having met such an itinerant preacher of doubtful sanity in his youth, just as *Brother Nathaniel Schwarz* (chapter 2) was no stranger to him. The latter meets "a young man of about eighteen years of age, the so-called secretary of a certain estate, the owners of which were devout Christians. The young man was their nephew and adopted child, and at the same time their secretary-pupil or secretary-apprentice in agriculture. The wandering preacher had often been given shelter in their home and had par-

taken of the generous hospitality of their table." There is no doubt that we have here a reference to Hauptmann's stay at Lederose mentioned a moment ago. And when this secretary is called *Kurt Simon*, we are reminded at once of Dr. Ferdinand Simon, the friend of Hauptmann's Jena days, who became the son-in-law of the socialist leader August Bebel and who died at Zürich in January, 1912, from blood-poisoning brought on by an accident in a bacteriological experiment. And when *Kurt Simon* is on the point of taking out of his pocket a notebook containing verses from his pen, we unquestionably have to deal with a book containing some of Hauptmann's earliest poetic efforts. We receive information, too, about the nature of these poems and the impression that they made upon his foster-parents when we read a little later: "The poem was a lament. He accused himself and spoke of his avoidance of the world and his triumph over it, of the coldness and indifference with which the world meets a heart overflowing with love. The poem was surcharged with a pained, ecstatic yearning for purer spheres

'Where man to man in love inclines,
And one great Will the world combines.'

All that his relatives got from the poem was an astonished impression of empty, extravagant phrases."

But it is not my purpose here to present an exhaustive study of the personal elements that confront us in every chapter of Hauptmann's great novel, but rather to call more specific attention to the *Urbilder* of the *Hassenpflugs*, "two young men, travelling tourists," to whom we are introduced in chapter 5. There is no doubt in my mind that the *Hassenpflug* brothers are no others than the brothers Heinrich (1855-1906) and Julius (1859-) Hart, who played a very important rôle in the literary revolution of the late Eighties and the early Nineties. The *Hassenpflugs* hailed from Münster in Westphalia, so did the Harts. The *Hassenpflugs* are described as *Zigeuner*, "in the early twenties, who lived chiefly on borrowed money and edited a magazine in Berlin which nobody read. In brief, they were enthusiasts,

poets, and Socialists." Heinrich Hart went to Berlin in 1877, at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, and his brother soon followed him to the capital. They lived like "gypsies" in the northern part of Berlin, their Bohemian mode of life being pictured with great humor by Ernst von Wolzogen in his comedy "*Das Lumpengesindel*." They published a magazine, "*Deutsche Monatsblätter, Organ für das literarische Leben der Gegenwart*," which possesses some literary-historical interest, although it is by no means so important as the "*Kritische Waffengänge*" (1882-84) and the "*Berliner Monatshefte für Litteratur und Theater*" (1885), both edited by the Harts, which helped pave the way for the literary revolution of the late Eighties. In Berlin the Harts became acquainted with Johann Most, the anarchist, hence the question put later by the *Hassenpflugs* to *Quint*, as to whether he is a Socialist, whether he has ever heard of anarchism and Russian nihilism. And then they ask *Quint* about a book by Egidy, entitled "*Serious Thoughts*" (*Ernstes Gedanken*). It is this Egidy of whom we get a reflection in Hauptmann's "*The Apostle*," a novellistic sketch which may be regarded as a sort of preparation for the more voluminous and complex "*Emanuel Quint*." Moritz von Egidy (1847-98), was a German officer who retired from the army in 1890 to preach a gospel of non-sectarian Christianity, and similarly we find the Harts organizing a new religious community at Schlachtensee (Berlin) in 1900, styled *Die neue Gemeinschaft*, which, like most similar ventures, was dissolved shortly afterwards. They were in short, as Hauptmann says of the *Hassenpflugs*, "enthusiasts, poets, and Socialists." What Hauptmann and the Harts imbibed at Berlin in the way of socialistic doctrines,—we saw above that one of Hauptmann's chums married Bebel's daughter—is presented in tabloid form in chapter 5 of "*The Fool in Christ*," where we get the doctrines of socialism in a nut-shell, with references to Marx and Engels (page 91 of Seltzer's translation, Huebsch, 1911), and even to Edward Bellamy, who, we must not forget, had studied in Germany, and whose "*Looking Backward*; or,

2000-1887" (1888) had been translated into German and had been extensively received as a gospel of socialism. The religious community of the Hart brothers might just as well have been one of the many Bellamy clubs which were founded as the result of the "Looking Backward" enthusiasm. What we learn afterwards concerning the personal traits of the Hassenpflug brothers would no doubt apply equally well to the Harts; about this I have no positive knowledge, although my belief is none the less strong. And when we read further on: "They well knew, as the whole circle of the young intellectuals of that time knew, that the people are the native soil for everything primitively young and fresh. And here in a district strange to them, remote from the great roads of commerce, they everywhere met with an intact, virgin folk-spirit. They were of those to whom the uniform culture of Europe was a levelling down. So, eagerly, in a thirst of knowledge, they tried on all sides to force their way into the walled province of the lower classes, as if in it there must be sources of revelation sealed up in the province of the educated"—we have a reminder of the program of the circle of modern "storm and stress" enthusiasts of which the Hart brothers were such ardent members. Heinrich Hart studied at the Universities of Münster, Halle and Munich, while Julius was enrolled as a student at the University of Berlin, and we should expect them to have been members of a democratic *Burschenschaft*, and so we learn that the *Hassenpflugs* were candidates for the degree of doctor of philosophy and wore the black, red and gold ribbon of this student order. Like *Kurt Simon*, each of the *Hassenpflug* brothers "carried a memorandum book in his pocket to jot down all sorts of observations and conceits for use in later literary works—they intended to produce immortal literary works. So their attitude to *Quint* was as to an object under observation, an interesting bit of 'copy,' of help to them in perfecting their knowledge of the German folk-soul." This description is also quite in keeping with the habits and aspirations of the Hart brothers. I might analyze the *Hassenpflug* episode in even more minute detail, but it seems to me

the case is sufficiently definite as it is. "The Fool in Christ" would gain considerably in interest, especially for those familiar with the country and the people of Silesia, if the identity of various other characters in the novel could be as clearly established.

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NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF DEGUILLEVILLE'S *PÈLERINAGE DE L'ÂME*

A considerable number of lines in the trilogy of Guillaume de Deguileville have already been identified as borrowings.¹ The additional parallels which follow will serve to reduce still further the limits within which that poet's originality must ultimately be sought.

In the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*,² Deguileville makes several references to a burden of sin borne by the poet in his progress through the other world and finally burned away by the purgatorial fires (vv. 2574-2585, 3039-3041, 3237-3240, 3287-8, 5574-6, and 8721-4):

Et a Justice je comant
 Qu'elle te face ton fardel
 De tes pechies et ton troussel
 En la balance si voidant
 Que point n'y ait de remanant.
 Cellui fardel tu porteras
 En purgatoire ou tu iras.
 La dedens feras tout ardoir,
 Et tant te faudra remanoir
 Ou feu ardent que bien purgies
 Tu soies de tous tes pechies,
 Que ton fardel soit degaste.

Tant actendi que trousse fu
 De mon fardel moult malotru,
 Si com il estoit ordene.

Mon fardel pou se degastoit
 Et petitement descroissoit
 Dont pesance grant avoie,
 Mes plus faire n'en pouoie.

¹Hultman, *Guillaume de Deguileville*, Upsala, 1902; *Modern Language Notes*, xxv, 159-160; PMLA., xxv, 275-308.

²J. J. Stürzinger, London, 1895. Date 1355-1358.

Leur tourmens seront alliges
 Et leurs fardiaus appetices.

 Et si n'est pas mon fais si grant
 Com par devant il a este,
 Bien est a moitie degaste.

 Et tant y fu et actendi
 Que nul tourment plus ne senti
 Et que mon faiz fu anulle
 Et du tout en tout degaste.

This form of punishment is practically unknown to the Latin Christian visions. There is something analogous in the *Divina Commedia*, in the P's (=peccato) branded on the poet's forehead, which gradually disappear.³ But Dante was unknown in France before Christine de Pisan.⁴ There are, however, two parallels in preceding vision literature, either of which may have suggested the idea to De-guileville. The first in point of time is found in Huon de Méry's *Le Tornoient de l'Antechrist*⁵ (date c. 1235). After the great battle between the virtues and the vices the poet is sent in Devocion's care to Confession to get his wounds cured (pp. 91-92). Confession puts on his wounds

.i. oignement dous et temprés,
 Qu'ele a confit et destrempés
 De lermes et de Compuncion,

and relieves him of his burden:

. car mon fès,
 Dont avoie le cor chargié,
 M'a Confession deschargié.

The second parallel occurs in the "Book of Lamentations" of Matheolus,⁶ vv. 3113-6 and 3309-3312:

Ergo perficias! Quamvis grave, suave ferendum
 Est onus istud cui respondent premia summa.
 No. ipsas penas, sed mercedes tibi somma,
 Ne te ledat onus.

³ *Purgatorio*, IX, 112-114; XII, 115-126; xv, 79-81; xxii, 3.

⁴ Arturo Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, 2 vols., Milano, 1908. Vol. I, p. 192.

⁵ P. Tarbé, Reims, 1851.

⁶ *Les Lamentations de Matheolus et le Livre de Leesce de Jehan le Fèvre, de Resson*, p. p. A.-G. Van Hamel, 2 vols., Paris, 1892 and 1905.

Licet ipse paratus
 Sim salvare, tamen prout unusquisque meretur
 Secum portabit; nisi sic esset, sequeretur,
 Scilicet, injustum me dici posse.⁷

Of the two, the passage from Huon de Méry contains more points of resemblance, since it suggests both the notion of a burden borne as a punishment for sin, and that of relief from the burden.

That Christian eschatology of the middle ages did not make more of this form of punishment, readily suggested by the doctrine of the gradual purging from sin in purgatory, is perhaps due to the fact that it lacks the element of horror which was so dear to the mediæval Christian mind.

The notion of the ointment which brings relief to sinners,⁸ contained in the passage from *Le Tornoient de l'Antechrist* cited above, finds its counterpart in the words of Priere contained in vv. 3271-3288 of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*:

Je vieng et ai fait message
 Au roy devant son bernaige,
 Envoïee de l'Esglise
 Y ai este a sa guise
 Pour empetrer et raporter
 Ce que j'ē ai pēu trouver
 Pour faire bien aus prisonniers
 Qui sueffrent tourmens grans et griefs
 En ce feu ardent la dedens.
 Et bien scai qu'estes diligens
 De ce que raporte savoir,
 Si vous senefie de voir
 Que Grace Dieu si a broïe
 Mains oingnemens que m'a baillie
 Qui generaument vertu ont
 Que, qui sus leur chies en aront,
 Leur tourmens seront alliges
 Et leurs fardiaus appetices.

The conjunction of the ideas of the healing ointment and of the diminishing burden of sin

⁷ Cf. Le Fèvre's translation (date 1371-2) of vv. 3310-3311: Book III, vv. 2340-1:

Voire selon ce qu'il desservent
 Chascun son raissel portera.

⁸ Cf. PMLA., xxv, 288-9.

in both poems can hardly be mere coincidence.⁹ This belief is supported by comparison of a passage in *Le Tornoement de l'Antechrist* (p. 104), describing the return of the king and his victorious army to eternal glory,

De .x. grans liues toutes plaines
Voit l'on cele procession
Au saint jor de l'Ascension.
En l'air s'en monterent de la sus
Chantant: Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus!
Et vont au ciel eles tendues:
Atant entre parmi les nues
La celestiale region,

with vv. 9121-8 of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*:¹⁰

Es lieux qui plus pres estoient
Du cristalin et joingnoient
Estoit mis le commun menu
Qui de purgatoire venu
Estoient et respondoient
A ceux qui en haut chantoient.
Souvent estoit reprins sanctus
Devotement et sus et jus.

It may therefore be concluded that Deguileville knew Huon de Méry's poem and adopted suggestions from it.

In vv. 5520-6 of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, Deguileville's divine guide makes a statement of doctrine whose ultimate origin must be patristic:

Les pechiees consideres sont
Selon ce que contre cellui
Il sont fais qui est infeni;
Selon qu'il est pardurable
Et sens fin est parmanable,
Si faut qu'a celle mesure
La paine du pechie dure.

Saint Thomas Aquinas (+ 1274) expounds the doctrine in question in his *Summa Theologica* (part one, volume two, question 87, article four): "Sed peccatum quod contra Deum committitur, est infinitum; tanto enim gravius est peccatum, quanto major est persona contra

quam peccatur; sicut gravius peccatum est percutere principem, quam percutere hominem privatum. Dei autem magnitudo est infinita. Ergo poena infinita debetur pro peccato quod contra Deum committitur."¹¹

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BROWNING IN GERMANY

Browning's reputation is steadily growing in Germany, though it would not be true to say that he is widely read, or that his name is universally known. The following list of translations and critical works indicates progress.

TRANSLATIONS

1. *Das Fremdenbuch von Robert Browning*. Aus dem Englischen von E. Leo. Hamburg, 1877. This is a complete authorised translation of *The Inn Album*. It is interesting as being the first German translation of any of B.'s works that I have found, and also because it followed hard upon the appearance of the original (1875). Unfortunately the translator added neither introduction nor notes.

2. *Anthologie der abendländischen und morgenländischen Dichtungen*. Stuttgart, 1893. These selections were made by Graf von Schack. The volume contains "Nachdichtungen" from 8 poems of B., not particularly well done.

3. *Der Rattenfänger von Hameln*. Übers. von Marie Schweikler. München, 1893. This translation is gaily illustrated.

4. *Ausgewählte Gedichte von Robert Browning*. Übers. von Edmund Ruete. Bremen, 1894. This is important. It contains excellent

⁹ Somewhat analogous is the passage in the *Roman de la Rose* (Francisque-Michel edition vv. 1849-1890) which relates that the tip of the arrow Biau-Semblant was anointed with a soothing ointment, and its wound therefore brought mingled pain and pleasure to the lover.

¹⁰ Cf. Revelation VII, 9-14 for the germ-idea.

¹¹ I am indebted to Dr. Preserved Smith for the reference to Thomas Aquinas. The same idea is advanced in briefer form by Matheolus, "Book of Lamentations," vv. 3380-3:

Scriptura testante suo, quia prevaricatur
Eterno reprobis, eterno coneruciat.
En hic offendit eternum, me quia tergo
Dat, venie Dominum licet eternaliter.

translations, most of them in the original metres, of 38 short poems, the Ottilia-Sebald scene from *Pippa*, and *In a Balcony* (*Auf dem Altan*). The translator showed good judgment in his selections, taking for the most part poems that are general favorites with English readers. His preface is interesting. "Die Überzeugung, dass Robert Browning neben Alfred Tennyson die bedeutendste und originalste dichterische Persönlichkeit ist, die das England unserer Tage hervorgebracht, hat in der Heimat der beiden Dichter einen augenfälligen Ausdruck dadurch gefunden, dass man Browning sowohl wie Tennyson eine Ruhestatt in dem berühmten Poetenwinkel der Westminsterabtei, und zwar unmittelbar neben einander, angewiesen hat. Während aber Tennysons Name jedem Deutschen geläufig ist, wissen im Lande der Dichter und der Denker von Browning nur sehr wenige. Erklärt wird diese Thatsache zum Teil durch die Eigenart der beiden Dichter, von denen Tennyson eine Emanuel Geibel verwandte Natur ist, während Browning in gewissen Zügen an Conrad Ferdinand Meyer erinnert." He then continues with a biographical sketch, some temperate and just praise and censure, and concludes by expressing the hope that his translations may win friends for the poet in Germany.

5. *Der Handschuh und andere Gedichte*. Übers. von Edmund Ruete. Bremen, 1897. Encouraged by the success of his first volume, Ruete gave in the second translations of 30 additional poems, most of them from B.'s later work.

6. *Mesmerismus*. Novelle von Friedrich Spielhagen. Leipzig, 1897. This story, by a world-famous novelist, has passed through many editions. The title is taken from B.'s *Mesmerism*, and there are a number of allusions to B. in the book. Two poems are partly translated, *In a Gondola*, and *Mesmerism*, and the tragic romance is built around the latter.

7. *Brownings Leben und Übertragungen*. Von Otto Roloff. Potsdam, 1900. Roloff is a staunch and uncompromising admirer of B., and speaks of his work with the utmost enthusiasm. In the preface he states his intention to publish later a detailed study of the poet,

with additional translations. In this book he translates 6 short poems.

8. *Pippa geht vorüber*. Übers. von H. Heiseler. Leipzig, 1903.

9. *Die Tragödie einer Seele*. Übers. von F. C. Gerden. Leipzig, 1903.

10. *Auf einem Balkon*. Übers. von F. C. Gerden. Leipzig, 1903. Gerden also includes translations of *In a Gondola*, and a few others. *In a Gondola*, has, I think, been more frequently translated into German than any other poem by B.

11. *Paracelsus*. Übers. von F. P. Greve. Leipzig, 1904.

12. *Briefe von Robert Browning und Elizabeth Barrett Barrett*. Übers. von F. P. Greve. 2 vols. Berlin, 1905. (In one vol., 1912.)

13. *Luria*. Übers. von Edmund Ruete. Bremen, 1910. Ruete believed that Browning to a certain extent unlocked his heart in the speeches made by Luria. In the *Vorwort*, he said, "Wie Goethe seinem Egmont und Tasso viele Züge seines eigenen Wesens gegeben hat, so glauben wir auch in Brownings edlem Helden Luria, dieser bei aller Entschlossenheit überaus zartfühlenden und zum Sinnen und Grübeln neigenden Natur, die in ihrem wahren Werte erst erkannt wird, als es für ihn zu spät ist, ein Abbild von des Dichters geistiger Persönlichkeit und der damaligen (1846) Stimmung seines Gemüts zu schauen." Ruete also did me the honor to call attention to my discovery of the fact that Maeterlinck took a scene in *Monna Vanna* from the drama *Luria*.

By a tragic coincidence, Dr. Ruete died the very day his translation of *Luria* appeared; Frau Ruete writes me that his mind was full of plans for further translations, and that his enthusiasm for Browning was steadily growing. He left in MS. the following:

14. *Die Heimkehr der Drusen*. Bremen, 1912. His Preface is dated Feb., 1910.

GERMAN ANTHOLOGIES WITH POEMS IN ENGLISH

1. *Poets of the Present Time. A Text-Book for Foreign Students of English Literature*. By Robert Shindler. Marburg, 1891. This is an admirably chosen selection from the work

of over 80 contemporary English poets. It contains also a good critical introduction of over 50 pages. From B. there are printed 8 poems, while from Tennyson only 5.

2. *Auswahl englischer Gedichte*. Von Ernst Gropp und Emil Hausknecht. 9th ed. Leipzig; 1902. The only poem from B. is the *Pied Piper*; from Tennyson 8 are given. The following sentence gives the attitude of the editors toward B.: "Browning ist ein origineller Dichter, der seine Stoffe oft in etwas dunkler und unverständlicher Weise behandelt. Er fand zuerst nur wenig Anklang, doch hat er heute einen grossen Kreis aufrichtiger Bewunderer."

3. *Herrig's British Classical Authors*. Edited by Max Förster. 86th ed. Braunschweig, 1905. This excellent and standard anthology, first prepared by Herrig at Braunschweig in 1850, contains in this edition 11 poems by B. and 8 by Tennyson. The highest praise is bestowed on Browning, both as a thinker and as a poet.

It should also be remembered that many of B.'s poems appear in Tauchnitz.

GERMAN HISTORIES OF LITERATURE

The general tone of German histories of literature has been distinctly unfavorable to B. Karl Bleibtreu, *Geschichte der englischen Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1887, after devoting a long chapter to Tennyson, gives a few contemptuous lines to B., II, p. 507. "R. B. . . . trat schon 1836 (sic) mit seiner bedeutsamsten Dichtung auf, dem sogenannten Drama 'Paracelsus.' Denn es gehört mit zu den Kennzeichen dieser Schule, dass sie eine besondere Vorliebe für das Buchdrama in des Wortes peinlichster Bedeutung hegen. Gerade so arm an allem dramatischen Element wie Tennysons Dramen zeigen sich all diese metaphysisch schwärmenden Dichtungen. Und Tennyson hatte wenigstens in 'Harold' ein echt dramatisches Motiv . . . gefunden. . . . Bei einem B. vermisst man vollends die leiseste Ahnung von dramatischer Technik. 'Paracelsus,' eine schwächliche Art englischer Faust, 'Sordello,' 'Strafford,' 'dramatische Idyllen,' u.s.w., bestehen aus lauter Dialogen gespräch-

iger Dialektiker und Rhetoriker. Seine phantastischen Poeme 'Christmas Eve and Easter Day,' 'Men and Women,' 'The ring and the book,' 'Fifine at the Fair,' 'Balaustion's Adventure,' 'Pachiarotto,' 'Jun (sic) Album,' enthalten allerlei didaktische Grübeleien und visionäre Schwärmerereien, aber entbehren alles gesunden Gehalts. In England giebt's eine 'B.-Gesellschaft,' die ihren Erkorenen neben Dante als Tiefsten aller Dichter stellt. Wohl bekomms!—Neben der Gesuchtheit, Geschmacklosigkeit und Unnatur Brownings wirkt Alge-ron Swinburne noch einigermassen erfrischend."

It is perhaps not to be expected that all writers of *Weltgeschichte* should read the books they criticise; this absence of knowledge makes Gustav Karpeles, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Lit.*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1901, the most delightful and original interpreter of B. that I have read. "Wieder eine andere Richtung der englischen Neuromantik schlugen Dichter wie R. B. (1812–1890 sic) ein. R. B. huldigt einer pessimistischen Weltanschauung; er steht im Banne der Dichtung Shelleys . . . 'Christabend und Ostertag,' 'Männer und Frauen,' sowie seine poetischen Erzählungen und dramatischen Idyllen haben alle denselben Charakter und gehen von der gleichen pessimistischen Grundstimmung aus." II, 282.

Gustav Körting, *Grundriss der Gesch. der engl. Lit.*, 4th ed., Munster, 1905, speaks with some enthusiasm of B., but says "er ist weit mehr Denker als Dichter." Körting is a lonely but determined foe of Tennyson, and to the horror of the great mass of German critics places B. far ahead of Tennyson for originality and cerebration. "Tennyson ist einer der liebenswürdigsten Dichter, aber er ist kein grosser Dichter," p. 411. In a footnote, p. 413, he bravely adds, "Gegen dieses Urteil hat Dieter Verwahrung eingelegt, ich kann es aber nicht abändern, denn lügen will ich nicht."

Eduard Engel, *Gesch. der engl. Lit.*, 6th ed., Leipzig, 1906, pp. 370–73, has some harsh comments on B. After giving the year of his death as 1888, he goes on to say that "in B. hat der Philosoph und Gelehrte einen Dichter getötet. . . . Alle grosse Kunst ist einfach

und verständlich; Mass und Klarheit sind ihre Bedingungen." Is Engel perhaps thinking of the second part of *Faust*?

Richard Wülker, *Gesch. der engl. Lit.*, 2d ed., 2 vols., Leipzig und Wien, 1907, gives a translation of *The Patriot*. He remarks that Tennyson and B. are the only English poets of the time widely known in Germany. In general, B. is "stark überschätzt." . . . "stellte man ihn doch, aber mit vollem Unrecht, neben, ja sogar über Tennyson." II, 268.

Leon Kellner, *Die eng. Lit. im Zeitalter der Königin Viktoria*, Leipzig, 1909, joins with practically all the other historians in rapping B. over the knuckles for his unsuccessful plays. B. is "kein Dramatiker."

Otto Hauser, *Weltgeschichte der Lit.*, 2 vols., Leipzig und Wien, 1910, after playfully dealing with B.'s obscurity, says, II, 85, "Im übrigen aber wird B.'s Unverständlichkeit zumeist übertrieben. Er setzt nur bei dem Leser eine gewisse Bildung voraus, die wohl nicht allgemein, aber auch nicht unerreichbar ist. Nicht ihre Dunkelheit schadet der Poesie B.'s sondern ihre oft saloppe, oft geradezu unkünstlerische Form, ihre Formlosigkeit in bezug auf die Komposition." Still, he ranks B. with Tennyson: the English poetry of the age "in ihren beiden HAUPTerscheinungen Tennyson und B."

CRITICAL WORKS ON BROWNING

1. Bartling, Gustav. *Rhymes of English Poets of the XIXth Century*. Diss. Rostock, 1874. This is the earliest allusion to B. that I have found in any German work, and this is slight. B. is merely occasionally cited among the English poets.

2. Frey, Eugen. *Ein Essay über die Dramen Robert Brownings*. Program. Winterthur, 1893.

3. Parrott, Thomas M. *An Examination of the Non-Dramatic Poems in Robert Browning's First and Second Periods*. Diss. Leipzig, 1893. Professor Parrott's doctor's thesis, is, as might be expected, an interesting and valuable work.

4. Key, Ellen. *Menschen*. Berlin, 1903. This is a German translation of the distinguished Swedish author's interesting book, half

of which is devoted to a study of Robert and Elizabeth Browning.

5. Watkin, R. *Robert Browning and the Pre-Raphaelites*. Diss. Breslau, 1905.

6. Klug, Adam. *Untersuchungen über Robert Brownings Verskunst*. Diss. Erlangen, 1908. This is a technical study of B.'s verse, prepared under Professor Schick's direction at Munich, and submitted for the doctor's degree there in 1906.

7. Schmidt, Karl. *Robert Brownings Verhältnis zu Frankreich*. Berlin, 1909. This is a careful and minute study of the references to France in B.'s poems, of the influence of French literature and history on his mind and art, and of the effect on his work caused by his frequent sojourns in France. Schmidt is a Browning enthusiast, and selects for especial analysis the poems that most English readers find too difficult, *Sordello*, *Fifine*, and *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau*. "Tennyson und Browning werden als die beiden grossen neueren Dichter Englands anerkannt. Während aber das Urteil über den einen fast einhellig ist, gehen die Meinungen über den andern ziemlich auseinander. . . . Man kann sagen, sein Ruf ist schlimmer als er selbst ist . . . wer aber in des Dichters Werke eindringt, wird nicht nur einen reichen Schatz von Lebenswahrheiten antreffen, sondern der wird auch Genuss finden an einer herrlichen, einzigartigen Poesie. So kraftvoll und schön hat noch selten ein Dichter gesungen." At the end of this important, scholarly, and thoughtful work, Schmidt compares B.'s *Weltanschauung* with Goethe's, saying, "Zwei der grössten Menschen im neunzehnten Jahrhundert haben diese Anschauung gemeinsam, in ihr muss unbedingt hohe Wahrheit liegen." He expresses the earnest hope that his book may inspire some readers to study B. for themselves. In 1908 Schmidt had already published the first part of this work under the title, *Robert Brownings Beziehungen zur französischen Literatur und Geschichte*. Diss. Freiburg, 1908.

8. Elliott, G. R. *Shakespeare's Significance for Browning*. Diss. Halle, 1909. This points out with some detail B.'s attitude toward

Shakespeare, and the influence upon him of the Elizabethan poet.

9. Bleier, K. *Die Technik Robert Brownings in seinen Dramatischen Monologen*. Diss. Marburg, 1910. This is a study of B.'s method in writing his most famous short poems.

10. Schmidt, Karl. *Robert Browning als Dichter und Mensch. Eine Studie*. Program. Tauberbischofsheim, 1910. This is an examination of B.'s personality and opinions as revealed in his poetry. He begins with *One Word More*, and studies many of the shorter and some of the longer poems in detail. Again he shows his enthusiasm for *Fifine at the Fair*. Schmidt is thoroughly acquainted with the complete works of B., his delight in the poems is founded on solid and accurate knowledge, and his influence in increasing the number of B.'s readers in Germany is bound to be felt.

11. Koepfel, Emil. *Robert Browning (Lit. Forsch., 48)*. 1911. Cover title says 1912.

12. Meyer-Franck, Helene. *Robert Browning. The Ring and the Book. Eine Interpretation*. Göttingen, 1912.

I shall be grateful for correction of errors in the above lists, or for any additional information or suggestions.

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KARL LEBRECHT IMMERMAN

Immermanns Werke. Herausgegeben von HARRY MAYNC. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Fünf Bände. Leipzig und Wien: Bibliographisches Institut, 1906.

Immermanns Werke. Herausgegeben und mit einem Lebensbild versehen von WERNER DEETJEN. Vier Bände. Berlin-Leipzig-Wien-Stuttgart: Bong & Co., 1911.

Immermanns Weltanschauung. Von SIGMUND VON LEMPICKI. Berlin-Zehlendorf: B. Behrs Verlag, 1910. 136 pp.

Immermanns Tristan und Isolde. Von MAX SZYMANZIG. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911. 258 pp.

The Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich Heine to Karl Immermann. By GRACE MABEL BACON. (Sine bibliopola et loco), 1910. 98 pp.

Immermann and Platen were born in the same year (1796), Heine one year later. Their triangular feud has been frequently described and variously interpreted. The relative worth of these three techy comrades in life and letters can be most cogently gotten at by comparison, for where any one of them is strong the other two are weak. Heine, richly endowed with lyric spontaneity, is arbitrary in form, flippant in content and of mediocre versatility. Platen, gifted with a lyric talent not so spontaneous, is extremely artistic in form, sincere in content and of more than average intellectuality. Immermann, painfully lacking in lyric genius, is ambitious but weak and labored in form, uncommonly rich and sterling in content and of an extraordinary versatility. Consequently that has happened which was to be expected: Heine is still very much alive among general readers, Platen's clientele is confined to the artistically sensitive, while Immermann, like Cervantes, Goldsmith, Fouqué, Prévost and many others, is now a poet read in only one work, *Oberhof*. From the standpoint of the poet, in the strict sense of the word, Immermann is as far behind his wrangling rivals as he is, on the ground of intellectual and historical deserts, ahead of them.

Immermann was, so far as is known, the first German to dramatize the Charlemagne-Roland-Ganelon matter.¹ He was the second and most important German to dramatize the Petrarch-Laura-Sade matter.² He dramatized the downfall of King Periander, a theme which Gerhart Hauptmann is longing to treat.³ He

¹ Cf. Werner Deetjen, *Immermanns Jugenddramen*, p. 24.

² Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, January, 1912, "A Note on Immermann's Petrarca," p. 31, by the writer.

³ Cf. Gerhart Hauptmann, *Griechischer Frühling*, pp. 208-223. Hauptmann says (p. 209): "Schon vor achtundzwanzig Jahren, während einer kurzen akademischen Studienzeit, drängten sich mir die rätselvollen Gestalten des Periander, seiner Gattin Melissa und des Lykophron, seines Sohnes, auf. Ich

must have been the first German to translate (1824) Scott's *Ivanhoe*, though he was assisted in this by Elisa Ahlefeldt-Lützow. Following in the wake of Andreas Gryphius (1657) and Arnim (1811) he wrote *Cardenio und Celinde*, which inspired Franz Dülberg to do the same.⁴ In 1826 he finished *Das Trauerspiel in Tirol* and changed the drama in 1833 into *Andreas Hofer*. Again his theme was excellent and his result praiseworthy.⁵ *Merlin* appeared in 1832 and called forth lavish adulation from Tieck.⁶

darf wohl sagen, dass die Tragödie dieser drei Menschen in ihrer unsäglich bitterstissen Schwermut all die Jahre meine Seele beschäftigt hat." In the following pages Hauptmann discusses the dramatic possibilities of this theme. The contention is not made that he was drawn to it solely by Immermann's drama. Was he attracted, on the other hand, solely by Herodotus's account? It seems at least that Immermann made a good choice of subject.

⁴ Cf. *Cardenio*, Drama in fünf Akten, von Franz Dülberg. Berlin: Egon Fleischel & Co., 1912. In his introduction, Dülberg tells how Immermann's *Cardenio und Celinde* came into his possession in 1908, and how it occurred to him that this was the same theme that Gryphius had used, who based his work on a Spanish novelette, *La fuerza del desengaño*, and that Arnim had also treated it in his *Halle und Jerusalem*. He continues: "Das Merkwürdige geschah, dass Immermanns Gestalten sich mit meinen eigenen Seelenerlebnissen verbanden und so verwandelt mich vier Jahre hindurch nicht aus ihrer Gewalt liessen." Dülberg says that the essential difference between his treatment and that of Immermann lies in his own use of the magic of blood as over against Immermann's use of the magic of witches and ghosts.

⁵ Cf. Anton Dörrer, *Andreas Hofer auf der Bühne*. Brixen: Buchhandlung der Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1912. 89 pp. Dörrer writes (p. 13): "Es bleibt Tatsache, dass gegen hundert Anno neun-Dramen geschrieben wurden, und zwar 61 Hofer-Stücke, 5 Schauspiele über P. Mayr, je 4 über Speckbacher und Siegmayer, 2 über Straub, und 12 Musikstücke." Following the lead of Rosegger, Keller, Auerbach and Hebbel, Dörrer concludes that Hofer's life and death do not lend themselves well to dramatic treatment in classic style: Hofer's story is "rührend" but not "erhebend." Dörrer is in favor of a Tyrolese Volksbühne for Hofer. He devotes much space to Immermann's *Hofer*, but finds High German ill adapted to the case.

⁶ Cf. Deetjen, *Immermanns Werke*, Vol. 1, p. lii. Immermann gave Tieck a copy of *Merlin*. Tieck said: "Wie müssen Ihnen, die Sie so Grosses jetzt leisten, meine leichten, kleinen Sachen vorkommen." Tieck

Wagner was influenced by it in *Der Ring* and *Parsifal*.⁷ And if it did not influence Hauptmann's *Versunkene Glocke*⁸ then parallel ideas are misleading. Furthermore, in his latest work, *Die indische Lilie*, Sudermann pays his respects to Immermann, commenting upon the fact that *Münchhausen* was the first novel he ever read, describing the "Oberhof" and Charlemagne's sword, and, what is of supreme importance, taking the main motive of "Thea" bodily from "Münchhausen." His tragedy of romantic love, *Ghismonda*,⁹ was finished in 1837, based on the best known and best story from the "Decamerone." In 1835 *Die Epigonen* appeared and in 1838 *Münchhausen*, in the praise of which so eminent an authority as Heinrich von Treitschke¹⁰ speaks loud and long. Richard M. Meyer¹¹ looks upon his *Memorabilien* as one of the most important psychological documents we have on Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. And no word

was then writing such unread and not very readable novelettes as *Der Jahrmarkt*, *Der Mondsüchtige*, *Der Hexen-Sabbath*, *Die Ahnenprobe*.

⁷ Cf. Paul Kunad, *Immermanns Merlin und seine Beziehungen zu Richard Wagners Ring des Nibelungen*, Leipzig, 1906. 16 pp. Kunad draws a striking parallel between Wotan and Klingsor, Siegfried and Merlin. His praise of Immermann is extravagant.

⁸ The general plan and underlying idea of the two dramas are very similar. Heinrich and Merlin resemble each other in deed and desire. The most striking parallel is to be found, however, between Niniana and Rautendelein. There is every reason to believe that Hauptmann knew *Merlin*.

⁹ Though Immermann undoubtedly knew James Thomson's *Tancred and Sigismunda* (1745 ca), no one need lose any time trying to point out the influence of Thomson on Immermann. The former, basing his work on *Gil Blas*, taking only the names from the *Decamerone*, wrote a political drama. The latter, dramatizing the first story of the fourth day of Boccaccio, wrote a love drama. Immermann could, of course, have known Thomson through Lessing.

¹⁰ Cf. Heinrich von Treitschke, *Deut. Geschichte im 19. Jahrh.*, Bd. 4, Seiten 446-451. On page 450, Treitschke says: "Ihm bleibt der Ruhm, dass er in seinen beiden Romanen seinem Zeitalter den Spiegel vorhielt, wie vordem Goethe im Wilhelm Meister und nachher Freytag in Soll und Haben. Nur wer diese Zeitromane kennt, versteht den inneren Zusammenhang der drei Epochen unserer neuesten Geschichte."

¹¹ Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Die deut. Lit. d. 19. Jahrh.*, p. 116.

of praise is needed for the eleven finished cantos of *Tristan und Isolde*. They speak for themselves. There is real poetry in all of these works, in addition to which Immermann wrote a long series of other works, which, except for scholars, have gone the way of all flesh when the spirit that guides it is well intentioned but weak, including his many poems. It is the breadth of his interests and the consequent irregularity of his output that account for the almost total neglect of him between 1840, the year of his death, and 1896, the centenary of his birth. His resuscitation¹² since 1896 is to be accounted for on various grounds, not all of which are wholly commendable.

Immermann's enormous "Belesenheit" and consequent popularity with scholars rather than general readers undoubtedly accounts for the fact that he has been as well edited as any German writer of third rank, better than some, and as well as some of second rank. Maync justifies his eclectic edition on the ground that Boxberger commits "fast auf jeder Seite grobe Versehen und philologisch unerlaubte Eigenmächtigkeiten, und Koch druckt unter anderem den 'Münchhausen' nach der posthumen zweiten Auflage ab, die Dutzende von Sätzen und Satzteilen hat unter den Tisch fallen lassen." Why Maync, in the discussion of his predecessors, overlooks Muncker's edition is inexplicable. With Maync's choosing,¹³ his 107

pages of general and special introductory matter, his numerous scattered notes, his 229 pages of special notes, paralipomena and variant readings, his facsimile reproduction of Immermann's letter to Goethe, his use of C. F. Lessing's portrait of Immermann as a frontispiece, and the external workmanship that characterizes the Bibliographisches Institut, with all these things the specialist must be satisfied¹⁴ and the general reader pleased. The specialist must be satisfied, for a pure text based on the original, and clearly printed, is all that can be asked. And if Koch did drop a good deal of the original, that is certainly unpardonable. As to the texts of Koch and Maync as they stand, however, there are 36 differences between Koch and the original in the first chapter of not quite 7 pages, and Maync adopted 33 of Koch's readings as over against the original.¹⁵ All of these variations concern orthography and punctuation. And the general reader must be pleased, for it is impossible to form a just opinion of Immermann without reading a few of his nearly 400 poems. Maync has published the 26 that are most important biographically and which, at the same time, have the greatest literary excellence, as well as his 37 *Xenien*, the most significant bit of lyric writing Immermann ever did. In short, it is from this edition that one can get the best idea of the best of Immermann.

From the standpoint of notes, variants and so on, Deetjen's edition naturally offers little new material over that of Maync unless it be

¹² Thus, in addition to the five long biographical introductions by Boxberger, Koch, Muncker, Maync and Deetjen, and Putlitz's biography of 697 pages, Harry Maync is soon to publish a new Immermann biography, and he is also working on a critical edition of *Münchhausen*. Uhland, Eichendorff and Tieck have hardly fared so well. It looks like a case of group psychology in letters.

¹³ Koch (1888), Muncker (1893), Maync (1906) and Deetjen (1911) all contain *Münchhausen*, *Hofer*, *Merlin* and selections from *Memorabilien*. Maync and Deetjen alone contain *Epigonen*. Muncker, Maync and Deetjen contain *Tulifüntchen*. Koch alone contains *Goethe und die falschen Wanderjahre*, Muncker alone contains *Alexis*, *Ghismonda*, *Tristan* and *Friedrich II*, Maync alone contains 5 poems, 21 sonnets and the *Xenien* that first appeared in Heine's *Reisebilder*, while Deetjen is unique in publishing *Der Schwänenritter* for the first time in a regular edition of Immermann's works.

¹⁴ One note will suffice to show the thoroughness with which Maync has edited Immermann. *Tulifüntchen* begins with a dedication to Michael Beer and the first canto is entitled "Tulifüntchen Fliegentöter." Maync (Bd. V. S. 441) says: "Fliegentöter, wie Homer von Hermes dem Argostöter, Fouqué von Sigurd dem Schlangentöter, Cooper in seinen Lederstrumpferzählungen vom Wildtöter, Adolph Stoeber von Gustav Adolf dem Schlangentöter, Immermann im 'Tal' vom Drachentöter, Heine in 'Atta Troll' vom Bärenstöter spricht," and so on.

¹⁵ It would be a tedious task to compare the two texts throughout. *Münchhausen* was originally published at Düsseldorf, Verlag von J. G. Schaub. Vol I appeared in 1838, Vols. II, III, IV in 1839. There are 1350 pages. The first edition is a splendid bit of printing.

the unwarranted spelling of Immermann's name. Theodor Hildebrandt's Napoleon-like portrait of Immermann is used as a frontispiece to Vol. I, a portrait of Gräfin Ahlefeldt precedes Vol. II, a facsimile reproduction of a letter by Immermann to Hildebrandt introduces Vol. III. The mechanical workmanship of the set is superb—as we might expect from the imprint of Bong & Co. The main interest of this edition lies in the inclusion of the 363 verses of the *Schwanenritter*¹⁶ fragment. It is again typical of Immermann that he should have been interested in such a complicated saga. He claims to have gotten the first idea from the second part of Novalis's *Ofterdingen* (Astralis). It is written in a stanza of eleven verses, and was to consist of five cantos. To conclude from the finished part, Immermann had in mind a light, humorous epic, somewhat after the fashion of *Tulifantchen*.¹⁷ The scene is laid near Düsseldorf and, to judge from the sprightly grace of the finished verses, it would have been one of Immermann's best productions. Felix Mendelssohn was charmed by it as he was also by the poem, *Spruch des Dichters*.¹⁸ The epic contains some reminiscences of Countess Ahlefeldt.

Starting from Immermann's own statement,¹⁹ that he had "eine eigene, freie, seltsame Weltanschauung," and adopting Gomperz's definition of "Weltanschauung,"²⁰ Lempicki proceeds to analyze the character of Immermann the thinker to the absolute exclusion of Immermann the poet; he will study and weigh the esoteric side of his hero. That is an interesting problem—as are also the results.

Immermann lived through three transitional epochs: the eve of Rationalism, the full day of Romanticism, the dawn of Realism. As a

youth he loved Luise von Strasser, who married another; as a man he loved Countess Lützow, who was already married to Count Lützow; his legal business and his literary diversion were naturally more or less at loggerheads; his contemporaries refused him the recognition that was due him, to say nothing of what he thought was due him; and he suffered from a nervous disorder. All these things combined made Immermann a pessimist, says Lempicki, who then discusses Immermann's pessimism from the quadruple standpoint of poetry, which was to be excluded, religion, politics and society, concluding that the main characteristics of his subject's "Weltanschauung" are independence, self-reliance, and a striving after the real, the positive, the true. This is correct. Lempicki has produced an instructive study for those who have not read Immermann, while it gives those who have read him nothing new, for Immermann expressed himself on himself fully and frequently. Indeed the book would add but little to our knowledge of Immermann the author only of the five chiliastic sonnets,²¹ *Merlin*²² and *Memorabilien*.²³ There are ten typographical errors,²⁴ and one misstatement.²⁵

There are seven fast reasons why Szymanzig's treatise on Immermann's *Tristan und Isolde* should be not simply excellent, but definitive. (1) Immermann tells us precisely how he came to write *Tristan*. (2) He tells us precisely what sort of *Tristan* he was going to write. (3) He tells us precisely what sources he used. (4) The general *Tristansage* had already been thoroughly treated. (5) Immermann's *Tristan* is a fragment, while Szymanzig's monograph is a complete book. (6) Szymanzig's territory to be covered was as clearly defined as it was attractive. (7) Szymanzig adopted Elster's method. And his book is, in fact, the last

¹⁶ Cf. J. F. D. Blöte, "Der historische Schwanritter," *Zeitschr. für rom. Phil.*, Bd. XXI, pp. 176-191, and *ibid.* Bd. XXV, pp. 1-44. These are articles of abysmal erudition.

¹⁷ Cf. Joseph Klövekorn, *Immermanns Verhältnis zum deutschen Altertum*, pp. 10-13.

¹⁸ Cf. Putlitz, Bd. I, p. 311.

¹⁹ Cf. Gustav Putlitz, *Karl Immermann. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Berlin, 1870, p. 88.

²⁰ Cf. H. Gomperz, *Weltanschauungslehre*, I. Teil, Leipzig, 1905, p. 4.

²¹ Cf. Hempel, XI Teil, pp. 222-226.

²² Cf. *Ibid.*, XV Teil, pp. 35-160.

²³ *Ibid.*, XVIII-XX Teil, 704 pp.

²⁴ On pp. 10, 25, 52, 78, 96, 98, 101, 120, 132, 134.

²⁵ Cf. p. 62. Friedrich Schlegel certainly did not go over to the Catholic Church as late as 1813. Elster (*Heines sämtliche Werke*, Bd. V, p. 239) says 1803, while Biese (*Lit. Ges.*, Bd. II, p. 352) and Kummer (*Litges. des 19. Jahrh.*, p. 80) both say 1808. This is undoubtedly correct.

word on the subject. There are still a number of things about Immermann that need clearing up; but not his *Tristan und Isolde*.

After a brief review of the *Tristansage* from Béról to Hans Sachs, Szymanzig gives a characterization of Immermann, his conception of poetry in general, his attitude toward Middle High German and the inner and outer circumstances that led him to write *Tristan*. Immermann's epic is then compared with that of Gottfried from the standpoint of action, content, character-drawing, descriptive ability, reflection and lyricism. The construction of the poem, and its style, including phonology, morphology, vocabulary, syntax and prosody, are treated at great length and with unreserved condemnation. Szymanzig thinks that Immermann would have done vastly better had he, like Bédier, told the whole story in prose. In view of the exceedingly small praise that the critic has for the poet, one wonders that he had the courage and persistence to write a very long treatise on a very inferior work. Such expressions as "Immermann hat Gottfried verballhornt," "Immermann konnte Idealgestalten nun einmal nicht zeichnen," "gekünstelt und gequält," "völliger Mangel an lyrischer Kunst," "kein Gefühl für die Schönheit der Form," "krasse Geschmacklosigkeit," "echt romantischer Blödsinn," and so on, take up much space. There is, albeit, some praise for Immermann, as well as a complete register of names and things, a detailed table of contents, and a bibliography of sixty-four familiar titles. It is difficult, however, to see how some of these had anything to do with Szymanzig's study, while the one²⁶ that bears such a striking similarity is not mentioned.

Szymanzig is misleading in the following points: Immermann did not base his *Tal von Ronceval* wholly on Fr. Schlegel and Fouqué. He took the essentials from Des Stricker's *Karl* (p. 28).²⁷ It is absolutely impossible to say when Immermann first became interested

in the *Tristan* matter, and it is especially unsafe to decide such dates by references to the theme in earlier works (pp. 32-38).²⁸ It is unjust to Immermann to judge him as a poet by this work, which was written hurriedly and never revised. It is unreasonable to complain because the poet did not follow his original outline.²⁹ It is safe to assume that Immermann's knowledge of the *Eddas* was more than superficial.³⁰ Immermann can unquestionably be excused for not telling everything, sometimes not even motivating parts of the general *Tristansage*,³¹ since he felt that he was dealing with a familiar theme. It does not further but retards the appreciation of Immermann's poem to explain, from the standpoint of the psychological philosopher,³² the ways and means of drawing an emotional character. It is sometimes difficult to see how Szymanzig would justify his German. Thus, he writes: "Gewiss sie hat gefehlt und geirrt, doch sie war sich dessen nicht bewusst" (p. 93). And there are twenty-four faith-shaking typographical errors.³³ However, these are not epoch-making matters. Szymanzig has written the best monograph that has thus far been produced on Immermann's "literarische Kuriosität, ein Werk, in dem der Mangel an Können sich aufs Peinlichste bemerkbar macht" (p. 238). His com-

²⁶ Immermann had a habit of referring to works and authors in his works which is as misleading as it is unpoetic. Thus, in his description of the Abbot (Hempel, XIII, p. 168), he refers to Origines, Chrysostomus, Augustin, Arnobius, Lactantius and Eusebius. But no one should conclude from this that Immermann was for the first time studying these writers.

²⁷ In the *Anhang*, Szymanzig publishes *Das Manuskript der vollständigen Motive*.

²⁸ Immermann owned *Die Edda*, No. 794 in his library.

²⁹ Cf. Wolfgang Golther: *Tristan und Isolde*, Leipzig, 1907. Golther constructs the *Ur-Tristan* (pp. 40-58). One needs only to read it to see that there are a number of motives which Immermann could not well introduce.

³⁰ Cf. pp. 112-136. Lessing, Kant and Wundt are made come to the rescue.

³¹ On pp. 38, 56, 62, 68, 69, 77 (2), 79, 98, 100, 110, 135, 138, 158, 164, 185, 187, 201 (2), 203, 213, 220, 221, 238.

²⁶ Cf. Johann Ranftl, *Ludwig Tiecks Genoveva als romantische Dichtung betrachtet*, Graz, 1899, 258 pp.

²⁷ Cf. Immermann. *A Study in German Romanticism*, by the writer, pp. 36-42.

parison of Immermann with Gottfried is a contribution to the knowledge of both, while his study of Immermann's style leaves no doubt as to where Immermann's strength did not lie.³⁴

Miss Bacon's study, like Goethe's *Faust*, consists of an introduction and two parts. The introduction (pp. 5-14) contrasts the lives of the two poets up to May, 1822, when Immermann reviewed Heine's poems in the "Rheinisch-Westfälischer-Anzeiger." The first part (pp. 15-41) discusses their personal and literary relations, while the second part (pp. 42-96) gives a "psychological explanation of their relationship." There follows (pp. 97-98) a bibliography of thirty-six familiar and easily accessible works. Now, the study of a friendship or hatred that exists between any two artists or poets is as interesting as it is difficult. The individual who writes a book showing just why M'chael Angelo hated Raphael, or why Wagner disliked Brahms, or why Nietzsche detested Wagner, or why it took thirty-five years for Goethe and Schiller to approach and appreciate each other, produces a valuable human document. And the corraling of the scattered data bearing on the apparent life-long friendship between Heine and Immermann was eminently worth while. But Miss Bacon has not quite determined all the figures of her subtrahend and minuend, so that her remainder is not quite irrefutable. After setting forth the personal relation of the two men, which could be done briefly,³⁵ there should have followed a detailed study of the aesthetic, social, religious, political and literary views of the two "Waffenbrüder" as set forth, not simply in their personal letters, but in their impersonal literary creations. For some things the letters of poets are invaluable. But, after all, in letters poets

talk, in their literary creations they act, after poet's fashion. And it is actions, not words, that we need here, especially since Heine is proverbially insincere in many of his assertions, while Immermann is proverbially sincere.

But so far as Miss Bacon has gone, she has fared well. Her contrast of the lives of the two poets is done with a conscientiousness that is its own reward. Her statement (p. 24) that Immermann thought of entering the diplomatic service out of a desire to give Countess Ahlefeldt, "whom he hoped eventually to marry, something worthy of her title," is about the most reasonable remark that has been made in this connection. Her attempt³⁶ to point out the mutual literary influence (pp. 36-38) of the two poets is a fair beginning, but only a beginning. Her faith in Heine is refreshing if not trustworthy. And the way she proves that the two were always friendly is reasonable, though the word "psychological" should have been deleted from the proof: Immermann's apparently healthy constitution, his passive nature, his ethnic and religious broad-mindedness, his belief in Germany as it should be, his disbelief in Germany as it was, his ability to turn out drama after drama, his inability to write lyrics and his willingness to accept metrical advice from Heine, who was active and sick, chafing under Jewish oppression, longing for dramatic distinction, lacking all dramatic gifts, pining for some one who would take the trouble to study him and call the attention of the world to him, and believing that he had found such a man and such a friend in Immermann,—this is the group of circumstances that lead Miss Bacon to refute Max Koch and others, who believe that Heine never was Immermann's staunch and true friend. But Miss Bacon has made a strong case, as strong as could be made with the material she used. Mechanically, however, her book is about as poor a piece of printing as we have ever seen. Jean Paul's *Quintus*

³⁴ Szymanzig's lists of un-German passages (pp. 215-217) and of impossible metrical combinations (p. 232) are mortally convincing.

³⁵ They never met but once (April, 1824), and Hans Daffis has given us in compact form the fifteen letters of Heine to Immermann. This personal relation can never be studied adequately, since we have but two of the letters Immermann wrote to Heine, the others having been burned in the Hamburg fire of 1833. Cf. Hans Daffis, *Heine-Briefe*, 2 Bände, Berlin, 1907.

³⁶ Miss Bacon accepts Richard M. Meyer as an authority on the weighing of literary influences. One of the wisest suggestions, however, on this point is found in Hans Röhl: *Die ältere Romantik und die Kunst des jungen Goethe*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 71-72.

Fixlein,³⁷ who was anxious to collect all the mistakes in the printing of all German literature, would have revelled in this work. After spending so much time on a good subject, Miss Bacon owed it to herself and her readers to see to it that the study was well published. In the ninety-eight pages, there are thirty-five exasperating typographical errors.³⁸

In view of the five works that form the subject of the present article, and twenty-one others that have appeared since 1896, it is evident that Immermann is being studied more now than then. For, although he published on many different occasions, he received but nine reviews in the *Jenaer Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, which covered the ground rather thoroughly from 1785 to 1848; and of these nine discussions, only three really hit the mark. Taking them up seriatim, the reviewer suggests that Immermann did not mention the source (Gryphius) of *Cardenio* because he was ashamed of it. He believes that Immermann noted down, while at Halle, all the student slang that we have in the drama, so that he could later make mercantile use of it. And he says that, after all, these students are not well drawn, for, despite their dissipation, they study Shakespeare.³⁹ *Hofer* is condemned utterly: it lacks the beautiful language of *Petrarca*, the characterizations of *Edwin* and the Romance passion of *Ronceval*.⁴⁰ *Die Schule der Frommen* is highly praised as an attack, by an able poet, on hypocritical pietism.⁴¹ The *Gedichte* (1830) are well appraised. Significantly enough, the reviewer singles out those for discussion which Mayne edited.⁴² The recension of *Pygmalion*, *Carneval* and *Die schelmische Gräfin* is lazily done. The critic gives, for example, the plot of the first, which is extremely simple, but says he must omit the plot of the second; this is extremely complicated, and in it lies incidentally

the whole point of the novelette.⁴³ The reviewer of *Tulifantchen* gives the plot and asks for better, smoother verse.⁴⁴ *Merlin* is outlined at great length; then the reviewer asks whether the idea was clear to the poet himself. He assures us that without Goethe's *Faust* there would have been no *Merlin*.⁴⁵ The criticism of *Alexis* is long and valuable, discussing as it does the relation of the dramatist to history.⁴⁶ The account of the *Reisejournal* is good; it points out the marked difference between subjective and objective travel descriptions.⁴⁷ The reviewer also picked up two mistakes on the part of Immermann which escaped Boxberger.⁴⁸

Aside from Immermann's services as a regisseur at Düsseldorf (1832-1837), which compelled students of the stage to discuss him when they discuss Lessing, Goethe, Tieck, Laube and Wagner, and aside from the poetic spots in his many works, Immermann's services as a theme-suggester are indisputable. *Münchhausen*, to mention only one case in conclusion, contains the six main motives of Poe's *Fall of the House of Usher*. But his weaknesses are also great. Lacking that lyric gift indispensable to the dramatist in verse and of great help to the epic writer in prose, he neither knew when to begin nor when to stop. Machiavelli put on his best clothes when he sat down to write; C. F. Meyer said he felt as though he had crossed the threshold of a temple when he began to compose; and Fouqué never started a composition without first offering up a prayer. Immermann wrote when he could find the time; and we have no evidence that he bathed or prayed before starting. Furthermore, he wrote too long without resting. A number of times he tells us that he wrote until completely exhausted. This un-

³⁷ Cf. *Quintus Fixlein*, Zweiter Zettelkasten.

³⁸ On pp. 6 (2), 7, 11, 12, 13 (2), 14, 18, 19, 28, 29, 31 (2), 32, 35 (2), 36, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 63, 77, 82, 92, 97 (3), 98 (5).

³⁹ Cf. No. 169, July, 1826.

⁴⁰ Cf. No. 76, March, 1828.

⁴¹ Cf. No. 154, August, 1830.

⁴² Cf. No. 149, August, 1831.

⁴³ Cf. No. 100, May, 1831.

⁴⁴ Cf. No. 42, March, 1832.

⁴⁵ Cf. Nos. 121 and 122, *Ergänzungsblatt*, Dec., 1833.

⁴⁶ Cf. No. 166, Sept., 1834.

⁴⁷ Cf. No. 171, Sept., 1834.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hempel, Bd. x, pp. 98-99. Immermann mistook Gustav Pfäzer for his brother Paul. The latter wrote the *Briefwechsel zweier Deutschen*. And Immermann tells the South Germans to read Thucydides and while reading him to keep their mind on Philip of Macedonia—who lived nearly a century later than Thucydides.

doubtedly accounts for the irregularity of his works. There are passages in *Tristan* (Die Jagd, Der Mittagszauber) that are superb; others are wretched. Had he kept as detailed a diary as did Platen, we would very likely find that on some days during the composition of *Tristan* he was very tired; on others he felt extremely strong. And this is the group of circumstances that make Immermann attract the specialist rather than please the general reader.

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THE SPEAR OF LONGINUS

The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail, by ROSE J. PEEBLES. Bryn Mawr, 1911. vi + 221 pp. (*Bryn Mawr College Monographs*, Vol. IX.)

Chapter VI, "Longinus in English Literature," is the best part of this thesis. In this chapter (pp. 80-141), Miss Peebles has worked in a field with which she is familiar, her compilation is thoughtfully made, and her authorities are carefully examined. It is a pity that the good impression created by this part of her work should be spoiled by numerous other chapters, "Longinus in Art," "The Lance as a Relic," "Longinus and the Grail," etc., which attempt to cover too much ground, and as a result contain comparatively uncritical and sometimes misleading material.

One need not be an expert on Christian antiquities to see the inadequacy of a compilation on "The Lance as a Relic" (Chap. IV, pp. 56 f) which makes no mention of the most useful book on the subject (F. de Mély, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, Vol. III, Paris, 1904).¹ De Mély would have set Miss Peebles

right about the present location of the relics which claim to be the lance of Longinus, and even have supplied her with pictures of these objects.² De Mély (p. 32) might have warned her that the date of the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* is in dispute. It is plainly later than Arculf (670c), and the particular phrase of

Peebles has printed at length the Latin Mass of Pseudo-Chrysostom. On the next page she has, also in full, a literal translation of it into English, without any suggestion that it is the same thing, but with the words: "Another striking testimony is given in this translation from Old-Slavonic."

It is necessary to mention this careless workmanship because it doubtless excuses certain places in the thesis where Miss Peebles gives vague dates to citations which describe the marvelous qualities of the lance of Longinus, and then suggests that these qualities may be the source of those of the Grail lance.

For example, on page 186 Miss Peebles prints a number of mediaeval references to the bleeding lance of Longinus, labeling them "the beginning of the twelfth century," "the twelfth century," etc., implying that these might have influenced Chrétien's *Perceval*, 1175c. As authority for these vague dates she gives Grober's [sic, twice!] *Grundriss*. But Gröber gives more exact dates: "1180c," "end of twelfth century," etc., which Miss Peebles has altered. Her implication would not otherwise be possible. She should have told us [doubtless she did not notice] that *La Chanson d'Antioche* [which she labels "beginning of the twelfth century"] exists only in a remaking by Graindor de Douai, 1180c. Her citation from this Chanson, and all other citations which she labels "twelfth century" are probably later than Chrétien and influenced by him.

Again, on page 61, her chapter on "The Lance as a Relic" is summed up thus: "The lance, then, was in the middle ages [before or after Chrétien?] . . . an object of veneration and reverence. It shone by night as the sun shines by day. [This is based on the sentence in the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*]. It blazed when proof of its authenticity was needed." [This depends on *Le Chevalier au Cygne*. I find no such passage, but it matters little whether it exists or not, since the date of *Le Chevalier au Cygne* is after 1250. *Verbum sat!*]

²Miss Peebles says (p. 61): "One (lance) is preserved at Prague, and another at Norimbiga." She has evidently failed to observe that "Norimbiga" is "Italian" for Nuremberg. She is referring to a single relic, which appears to have been at Prague till 1424, at Nuremberg till 1800, and is now at Vienna. (See de Mély, III, 64.)

¹Miss Peebles' work has had insufficient supervision. "Itinera Hierosolyma" (p. 57, note 2) is strange Latin, and misprints abound in the Latin quotations (Cf. pp. 21, 73, 77). On pages 64-5 Miss

which she makes large use,³ "*et lucet in nocte sicut sol in virtute diei*," is in all probability an addition of crusading ages. De Mély thinks so, and it appears possible that it was added after the Grail romances had brought the lance into notice.

Of the references given by Miss Peebles but two seem to be in truth independent accounts of the spear at Jerusalem: Antony the Martyr (570c), and Arculf (670c). Bede (720) to whom Miss Peebles gives space (p. 57), is of no authority in this matter. He simply reproduces the words of Arculf. That Bede had no contemporary information is shown by the failure of Willibald (723c) to mention the spear at Jerusalem. Bernard (870c) also makes no mention of it (Miss Peebles does not inform us that these pilgrims saw the crown of thorns, etc., at Jerusalem, but did not see the lance).

In the first part of chapter VIII, where Miss Peebles is attacking the Celtic theory, she would have us believe that Celtic folk-lore is an unlikely source for Chrétien to have drawn upon:

To narrow this claim of heathen origin to the Celtic field is unfortunate. P. 173.

But why should Crestien, or his source, go so far

³She uses this passage on pages 179-181 to prove that from this shining of the lance of Longinus the "white lance" of Chrétien and Wauchier might have sprung. But this passage is in dispute, and since among numerous accounts before the time of Chrétien, except this, not a single reference to the shining of the lance of Longinus has been found, this passage may probably be set aside as later than Chrétien.

Suppose, however, that we accept this *Breviarius* passage as dating 670, and add to it the story about women carrying the cup in the Eucharistic procession in Brittany in the sixth century. It has not been shown, and it will be difficult to show, that these isolated facts have any bearing on the origin of the Grail legend, which probably occurred three or four centuries later.

It has not yet been proved that the lance of Longinus either miraculously shone or bled before the time of Chrétien. Even if this could be shown, however, it would not dispose of the Celtic or fusion hypothesis until the difficulties which stand in the way of a purely Christian hypothesis be answered.

afield for his lance of marvellous properties? P. 176.⁴

Why should the Grail romancers seek a bleeding lance in the *Luin*? P. 194.

A few pages later, where she is elaborating the significance of a bit of fact that she has for the first time brought into this connection (that in the sixth century two Irish priests in Brittany were threatened with excommunication for allowing women to carry the chalice in the Eucharistic ceremony), she veers to the opposite opinion and thinks that the Grail story is naturally associated with Celtic lands:

There may also be ground for the . . . suggestion . . . that these rites have passed through Celtic hands. P. 200.

Especially interesting is the existence of such a usage in these places [Ireland, Brittany], both so definitely, if also obscurely, associated with Grail origins. P. 209.

In Ireland and Brittany, the very territory in which the Grail legend first made its appearance. P. 212.

It would not be fair to judge the thesis as essentially more than a compilation. In the repeated recitals of the marvellous qualities of the lance of Longinus, followed in each instance by an implication that these qualities probably belonged to the lance before the time of Chrétien, and a statement that here is the source of the Grail lance, a thread of constructive thought is no doubt aimed at. But exact data are seldom given and no connected argumentative method is followed. The thesis nowhere mentions even the dates of Chrétien (1175c) and Wolfram (1210c) upon which (if it be an argument) everything hinges. It assigns only vague dates to the passages which describe the marvellous qualities of Longinus's lance, and yet continually implies that these marvellous qualities may be the source of those of the Grail lance. Obviously it ought to have begun

⁴She continues: "It appears much simpler and far more plausible that he should take a (legend)." She ought to have remarked that in Chrétien's other romances he uses no ecclesiastical legends. *Erec*, *Yvain*, *Lancelot*, and the main portion, at least, of *Perceval* are Celtic in spirit, and probably in origin. *Oligés* is given an Arthurian treatment.

by telling us, as exactly as possible, which is the earlier.

Against the generally accepted tradition which has always connected the Grail story with the Celts, there are at present no facts that can make any headway. The Grail episodes leave no different impression either in detail or in general tone from the rest of the Arthurian complex in which they appear. All mediaeval Grail stories are Arthurized. *Perceval* is always "li gallois." Traces of oriental origin do not appear in the oldest versions (Chrétien, 1175e; Wauchier, 1190c).⁵ They begin in Wolfram (1210e). Nobody has yet explained how this could be if the basis of the story were in truth oriental.⁶

Miss Peebles thinks (p. 179) that the whiteness of the bleeding lance, repeatedly insisted on by Chrétien and Wauchier, may have sprung from the brilliance of sacred objects;⁷ angels, for example. But to one familiar with the *arcana* of Celtic otherworld lore, the whiteness of the lance goes with the green and red attire of the inhabitants of the Grail Castle,⁸ the redness of the castle visited by Gawain⁹ (which is connected with his search for the lance), and the Red Knight, who surely belongs to the

group; and all these are signs of the original fairy character of the Grail castle. What does the purely Christian theory make of the Red Knight?

The Celtic theory, which Miss Peebles attacks, is really a fusion theory, and admits a considerable place for the Christian element which she would urge as the sole source. In Chrétien one may be able to trace only a heathen background, but it is obvious that in Wauchier (as we have the text), in Wolfram, and still more in Boron, syncretism has been going on. Those who hold to the theory of Celtic origin of course believe that ideas borrowed from the Eucharist have been inserted and woven into a heathen story. We do not know what circumstances led to this fusion. It is possible that a somewhat heterodox story founded on the Eucharist may have existed, which represented the ritual objects rather as talismans of life and death, than as symbols of sacred truths. The Celtic theory is not antagonistic to the existence of some such strand of Christian origin, which may have become fused into what was essentially Celtic material.

Even if Miss Peebles were to show that a story existed of the celebration of the Eucharist in a secular hall, where the sacred cup was carried in procession by a maiden; that this story described the Greek rite, in which, as is well known, a slender knife called a "lance," and used in dividing the bread, was among the ceremonial objects; and that this so-called "lance" was confused with the spear of Longinus, and before the time of Chrétien was believed to bleed miraculously (none of these things, not even the last, has really been shown),¹⁰ she would not vacate the theory of

⁵ For a long discussion of the probable date of Wauchier, see Brugger, *ZFSL.*, xxxvi², 45-52.

⁶ It is hoped that no advocate of the theory of Christian origin, desiring to maintain that in the Grail story we have oriental material that has been given an Arthurian treatment, will bring forward as a parallel *Oligés*. In *Oligés*, to be sure, non-Celtic material is given a Celtic treatment, but the result is very unlike the Grail story. Any person of discernment who turns from the pages of *Oligés* to *Yvain* or *Erec*, will notice at once a different atmosphere of Celtic forest and *fée* into which he is plunged. *Oligés* has been only superficially Celticized. But the Grail adventures of *Perceval* have the same atmosphere that is found in *Erec*, *Yvain* and *Lancelot*, works which are commonly thought to be referable to Celtic sources.

⁷ Her evidence is especially the disputed passage in the *Breviarius*.

⁸ Chrétien, *Perceval*, 3035, edition Baist; Wolfram, *Parzival*, 232f., ed. Martin.

⁹ "Roce de Sanguin." *Perceval*, 10186, ed. Potvin.

¹⁰ Maint boen drap vermoil e sanguin

I taint an e mainte escarlate." *Perceval*, 8782-3, ed. Baist.

¹⁰ Miss Peebles writes as if the slender knife of the Greek Eucharistic procession were, in the minds of mediaeval writers, identical with the spear of Longinus which they knew in art and legend. She transfers all that she knows of one to the other as if they were the same. But did not the two objects remain essentially distinct? Of course didactic writers might explain that the "lance" of the Eucharist represented the lance of Longinus (just as they explain that the holy table represents the grave of Christ), and Miss Peebles has found one such place (p. 65); Pseudo-Germanus (of uncertain date) adds

a heathen origin for the Grail. The Celtic theory may well suppose that there might have been a strand detached from Christian legend with which the heathen tale could unite. It is certain in any case that the Grail story is never assimilated to the actual celebration of the Mass.¹¹

The only way in which Miss Peebles may shake the fusion theory, which is *a priori* always stronger because it provides a broader possible basis for explanation of the numerous facts than any single-strand theory can, is to account for all the difficulties that stand in the way of her "high-church" theory of a purely Christian origin—difficulties so tremendous that even the cleverest of its advocates (*e. g.*, Richard Heinzel)¹² have been somewhat discouraged.¹³

at the end of his account of the Mass, "*Nam vice lanceæ quæ punxit Christum in cruce a Longino est hæc lancea.*" This, however, sounds like a merely rhetorical explanation and is not quite the same thing as if he had in the course of his description of the Mass, called the Eucharistic knife "the lance of Longinus" without further comment. On page 205 Miss Peebles writes: "Of the sacred objects borne in the Grail procession of the talismans, the Grail lance, plates, cross, all are found in the *introitus*." This is *petitio principii*. What she wishes to prove is that the "lance" of the *introitus* is the Grail lance.

¹¹In no mediaeval form of the story is the Grail ceremony identified with the actual celebration of the Eucharist; see R. Heinzel, *Ueber die französischen Gralromane* (1891), p. 179.

¹²*Op. cit.*

¹³Of course the fusion or Celtic theory is as yet an hypothesis. In my "Bleeding Lance" article (*P.M.L.A.* xxv, 59), I wrote: "In the Tuatha Dé Danaan palace is to be sought the origin of the Grail;" not "I have found," etc. For completeness I will mention an unfavorable review of my "Bleeding Lance" by Miss Schoepperle in *Romania*, XL (1911), 333-335. Miss Schoepperle assumes that I said: "I have found the origin of the Grail," and then argues correctly enough that my view is only an hypothesis. But it is the hypothesis, as it seems to me, that has at present the best standing. Cf. Brugger, *ZFSL.*, xxxvi², 187: "Among those who still cling to-day to the Christian-legendary or oriental origin of the Grail story, are left scarcely any Romance, Celtic or folk-lore scholars. These views are advocated only by Germanists and orientalists, who, since they have but a trifling knowledge of Old-

The most serious of these difficulties are not once mentioned in Miss Peebles's thesis:

1. Of the oldest known versions of the Grail story (Chrétien, 1175c; Wauchier, 1190c; Boron, 1200c; Wolfram, 1210c) Boron's is the most Christian in tone and tendency. Why, then, does he make no mention of the lance? He certainly would have been glad to keep in his story the lance of Longinus. How are we to explain his omission except by supposing that he knew the lance to be a heathen thing?
2. Next to Boron, Wolfram is the most fond of religious imagery. He evidently did not know that the lance of the Grail castle was the lance of Longinus. His lance is a poisonous weapon, used by a heathen warrior, who once, in battle, wounded with it the Grail king. If the Grail king represents the wounded Christ, as Miss Peebles urges (p. 218), what a strange twist Wolfram gives to the story when he tells us that this representative of Christ was "wounded on account of forbidden love!" Is it thinkable that Christ's representative should have the grievous pain of his wounds stilled by the periodical insertion of a poisonous spear? What sort of a story about the spear do the advocates of the "high-church" theory think that Boron and Wolfram had before them?
3. If the lance be the Christian symbol, how did the terms "spear of vengeance,"¹⁴ and

French literature, derived from hearsay, take Wolfram's *Parzival* for their starting point because it is the one version they have read."

¹⁴Miss Peebles does not mention the names "spear of vengeance," etc., but she objects (p. 191) to my statement that the lance of the Grail romances is primarily a destructive weapon. She thinks that the two lines in the Mons MS of *Perceval* [which I quote] are "hardly sufficient support, since the Montpellier MS [which I also quote] reads exactly the opposite." Professor Nitze informs me that the Montpellier MS seems to be alone in this. All the *Perceval* MSS at Paris say that the lance "destroyed the land." Such is the reading of *Perceval*, ed. Baist (1910), vv. 6132-3 (which Miss Peebles does not mention). The destructive power of the lance is perfectly obvious anyhow from Wauchier *Perceval*, 20288-90.

The reader will hardly be impressed by Miss Peebles' section on "The Poisonous and Destructive Lance and the Spear of Longinus," pp. 189-91. Her evidence is Deguillville's *Pelerinage* (1330-32), and Lydgate's English translation of this (1426c).

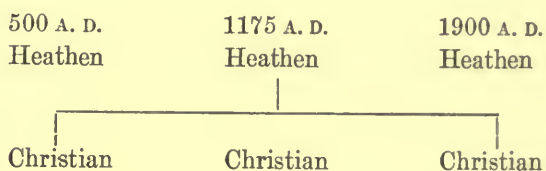
"spear adventurous" which are applied to it, even in such thoroughly ecclesiasticized versions as the prose *Lancelot* and the *Merlin* (see PMLA., xxv, 47), become attached to it?

4. How does the "high-church" theory explain the sword of the Grail castle? The sword is described in all but one of the oldest versions (Chrétien, Wauchier, Wolfram). According to the Celtic theory it goes back to one of the four jewels of the Tuatha Dé Danaan. No Christian explanation that is not extremely far-fetched has been suggested (sword with which John the Baptist was beheaded).

5. What does the "high-church" theory make of those features of the Grail castle in the oldest versions which identify it with the otherworld castle of Celtic folk-lore? Professor Nitze has recently set forth most of these features in "The Castle of the Grail."¹⁵ The Grail castle is difficult to find, is beyond a river or lake, is generally met with after sunset, and is not seen till one is close by. In Wolfram it is "round and smooth" (like the tower of glass of Celtic story), Nitze, p. 25. The Fisher King has the power of shape-shifting, *Perceval* "Elucidation," v. 222. The interior of the Grail castle resembles the ancient Irish royal house; *e. g.*, the fire with the seat of the king behind it, is in the center, Nitze, p. 39. The Grail announces those who shall serve it, much as the Irish *Lia Fáil*¹⁶ announced who should be king, Nitze, p. 42. The inhabitants of the Grail castle are at first silent, Nitze, p. 37. The mortal visitor is expected (Wauchier), and he soon grows drowsy (Wauchier), Nitze, p. 37. He goes to rest and next morning the castle (Wauchier) or its inhabitants (Chrétien, Wolfram) have vanished. It seems impossible for all these features to have crept into a Christian legend except on the theory of a fusion with an originally heathen story.

6. The purely Christian theory supposes that a story of the Eucharist grew more and more

secular until in the time of Chrétien and Wauchier it was written down with scarcely a trace of Christian coloring left. The moment it was written down it turned about, grew in the opposite direction,¹⁷ lost its secular features, and, as everybody knows, gradually became, in the versions of today, thoroughly identified with the Eucharist. The advocates of the Christian theory must explain this complete reversal in the direction of its growth which they assume happened in the twelfth century.



Until they explain this, their contention is worthy of little respect. Iselin is the only advocate of the "high-church" theory who has tried to meet this difficulty.¹⁸ He ingeniously assumes that a heterodox story founded on the Eucharist became separated from its original in some out-of-the-way place in the early ages, and there grew in darkness like any independent story. Then when it had been thoroughly paganized, it was rediscovered by crusading writers in the twelfth century, and went in the daylight through the contrary development that we know. If Miss Peebles wishes to champion the "high-church" theory she should study Iselin's method, which at least faces the difficulty.

But I think of no instance in which a Christian legend has in the middle ages broken away from its origin and undergone an independent development towards complete heathendom. Willy Staerk¹⁹ urged as a parallel the supposed growth of the Baldr myth from the crucifixion of Christ. Miss Peebles in the earlier and better-worked-out part of her thesis wisely rejects this supposed growth. The phrases with which she puts aside the theory of a

¹⁵ *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott* (1911), I, 19-57.

¹⁶ On the *Lia Fáil* see Hartland, *Folk-Lore*, xiv (1903), 28.

¹⁷ Cf. Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, ix, 319 (1912).

¹⁸ L. E. Iselin, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende*, Halle, 1909.

¹⁹ *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende*, 1903.

Christian origin of the Baldr myth will do excellently, *mutatis mutandis*, to answer the "high-church" contention about the Grail legend (p. 164):

Whatever parallels may exist between Baldr [the Grail] and the Christian story are probably to be explained by the fact that the Baldr [Grail] myth, going back as it does to primitive ritual customs, was, before it came into contact with the Christian story, made up of much the same essential traits that now characterize it; though in its later stages, it is highly probable that the Norse tale [Grail legend] has been somewhat influenced by the Christian.

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Idylls of Fishermen: a History of the Literary Species. By HENRY MARION HALL, Ph. D. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1912. xii + 216 pp. Price \$1.50 net.

This book calls for some notice, not so much because of its own merits as because it is published in a well-known series of 'Studies in Comparative Literature.'

Its precise purpose is not very clear. The title suggests a study of the 'piscatory eclogue,' the kind of poetry in which Sannazaro claimed to be a pioneer. But the author has not confined himself to a "history of the literary species;" he begins with a lot of utterly irrelevant matter from all sorts of ancient writings, and he even makes room for "an account of the spread of the fisher motive to other literary forms, such as the sonnet, the romance and the drama." Moreover, it is hard to make out just how far the study is meant to be 'comparative.' To be sure, the Appendix states (p. 199) that "the present work aims to treat the idyll of fishers as part of the broader field of pastoral in Europe, of which the English is but a corner." But on p. 65 the author says that the "English branch grew from direct imitation of Sannazaro, and not from the Italian poems, so that only a brief account of the continental pastoral need be given here." And on p. 143

he says of certain Latin eclogues: "These poems belong to humanistic rather than to English literature, and are included in this book only because," etc.

But, whatever the purpose of the book, the result indicates that the author has been most interested—and most at home—in the English 'corner.' Even Sannazaro—who ought to be the central figure in the whole study—is treated in very perfunctory fashion. His relations to Virgil and to Theocritus are stated only in rather general terms, and so is his influence upon the later piscatory. It is easy to say (p. 51) that "almost every line in his piscatories is an imitation," or (p. 162) that certain English poems are "filled with borrowings of individual Sannazarian conceits," but most readers would prefer to have something more definite and detailed.

A very large part of the miscellaneous learning which fills out the first half of the book is taken from a Paris Thesis of 1859, A. Campaux, *De Ecloga Piscatoria, qualem a veteribus adumbratam absolvere sibi proposuerit Sannazarius*. And it is no adequate acknowledgment of this indebtedness to say—in the Appendix, p. 199—that M. Campaux's pamphlet "covers much the same ground as the introductory portions of the present work." Another book which has furnished a certain amount of material is Fr. Torraca's *Gl' Imitatori Stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro* (Rome, 1882). Yet this is mentioned only to say (p. 199) that it is "an interesting work, but not very accurate"—a charge of inaccuracy which is supported solely by a misquotation of a single passage.

The Preface says that "the plan of the work has been to render all quotations in English." After this prefatory statement the author should have been very careful to acknowledge all the translations which he has borrowed from *Bohn's Classical Library*. And he should have said somewhere earlier than in his Appendix (p. 200) that all his translations from Theocritus and Moschus are taken from Andrew Lang.

The few translations which he has made for himself are not very good. Perhaps the worst

thing of the sort is on p. 24, the 'paraphrase' of a Greek epigram, "Parmis, the *far-famed* fisher, best *reaper* of the ocean strand," etc. This is *Anth. Pal.*, vii, 504, Πάρμις ὁ Καλλιγνώτου ἐπακταῖος καλαμειντής, κ. τ. λ. Dr. Hall makes ἄγκιστρον ('fish-hook') mean 'anchor,' he turns the adjective λάβρος ('greedy') into 'labrus' (a kind of fish), and he misunderstands the poem generally. Here is a part of the 'paraphrase:'

"as he caught his prey by the reefs of the dark blue deep, grew sad, and pined and prayed for death from the waves. Then destruction darted upon him in a whirl-wind, striking him on the neck, while lines and rod and anchors were whirled away."

And here are the corresponding lines of the Greek:

ἄγρης ἐκ πρώτης ποτ' ἰουλίδα πετρήεσσαν
δακνάζων, ὀλοὴν ἐξ ἁλὸς ἀράμενος,
ἔφθιτ'· ὀλισθηρὴ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκ χερὸς αἰΐξασα
ῥ' ἔχετ' ἐπὶ στεινὸν παλλομένη φάρυγα.
Χῶ μὲν μηρὶν ἔλθων καὶ δούνακος ἀγκίστρων τε
ἐγγὺς ἀπὸ πνοιῆν ἦκε κυλινδόμενος.

What really happened to Parmis was, that he once caught a fish, and on taking it from the water proceeded to bite it, and so came to his end. For the struggling creature slipped into his throat, and he rolled beside his own fishing tackle and choked to death.

Another reckless attempt at translation may be seen on p. 77: "either . . . grieving for love, sighing and weeping. It seems that I (who many years ago wrote plays) can not now write so far from the woods and the shores." The original of this is a part of one of Tasso's sonnets (*Le Rime*, ed. A. Solerti, iv, 96, Bologna, 1902): "Altri . . . | D'Amor si dolse e sospirò nel pianto. | Io de gli altrui (perché molti anni prima | Fur già favola i miei) non par che possa | Così lunge da' boschi e da le rive."

Even the translations from Latin are not always very faithful. On p. 46 Sannazaro is made to say of himself: "Nor less did my enthusiasm drive me, too, among the band of fishermen to cast my lines in the watery bays." This is supposed to represent *Eleg.* iii. 2. 53,

"Nec minus haec inter piscandi concitus egit | Ardor in aequoreos mittere lina sinus." On p. 50 there is another artless rendering: "May Mergellina bear thee oysters, and the rocky cliffs, sea-urchins" (Sann. *Ecl.* i. 110, "sic proxima Mergellina | Ostrea saxosaeque ferat tibi rupis echinos."). On p. 58 the striking expression "bristling groves of Bacchus" proves to be a translation of "horrida lustra *Lycaeï*" (Sann. *Ecl.* iv. 18).

On p. 142 it is said that Grotius' *Myrtilus* is "a very plain imitation of Sannazaro's *Gala-tea*." It is much more plainly an imitation of Theocritus (*Id.* iii. 6-7, 21-27, 37-39; xx. 19-32; xxi. 8-12). And Grotius' poem is itself paraphrased in Sarasin's eclogue *Myrtill, ou le Nautonnier* (Paris ed., 1877, pp. 193-201). On p. 53 it is said that the singing match in Sannazaro's eclogue *Mopsus* "is modeled song for song on that in Virgil's seventh bucolic." But some of the songs bear a closer resemblance to the eighth *Idyl* of Theocritus than to Virgil: compare line 46 with viii, 33, lines 62-65 with viii, 52 and 59, line 82 with viii, 43-44. The name 'Praxinoe,' Sann. *Ecl.* ii, 18, comes from Theocritus, *Id.* xv, 1, the name 'Phrasidamus,' *Ecl.* iv, 24, from *Id.* vii, 3. It might have been stated somewhere that Theocritus, *Id.* xxi, is paraphrased by Amadis Jamyn, *Le songe d'un Pescheur* (Paris ed., 1878, p. 244). The chorus from Fletcher's *Sicelides* quoted on p. 138 is a rather close imitation of Virgil, *Geor.* ii, 458-485. The passage from Sannazaro quoted on p. 52 is imitated in Fletcher's *Myrtillus* (ed. Boas, p. 309).

On p. 43 a passage in Lucan's *Pharsalia* (v, 511-560) is called a 'piscatory idyll'—an absurd remark based upon a misunderstanding of a passage in Campaux (p. 47). It is described, too, as "a dialogue between Caesar and an old fisher." But Lucan does not say that the 'pauper Amyclas' was a fisher; and the epithet 'iuvenis' (533) does not imply that he was old. On the same page Ausonius' *Mosella* is said to be 843 lines long, and to refer to the Meuse. It is 483 lines long, and it refers to the Moselle. On p. 59 Sannazaro's 'Proteus' is strangely said to "pity the sad fate of Sannazaro himself, still in exile with

his prince." What he really pities is the exile and death of King Frederick: "denique sistit | Spumantem ad Ligerim, parvaque includit in urna" (*Ecl.* iv, 84-85). On p. 142 there is a pleasant remark, that the singer in Grotius' *Myrtilus* "boasts 'the strains which once Arion sung,' which, rather curiously, include the seafaring of Jason, Ulysses, Circe, Calypso, Nausicaa, etc." They include nothing of the sort; the lines about Jason, Ulysses, and the rest, have nothing to do with Arion's song.

There are too many misprints in the book, and a good many other errors which can hardly be laid to the printer's charge. There are easy references to the ancient playwrights 'Antiphanis' (pp. 13, 14, 15) and 'Diphylus' (15). 'Paulus Silentiarius' has an odd look (39, 215), and so have the masculine names 'Lycota' (52) and 'Polybata' (53). Even the classical scholar will take a second look at 'Pomponius Bononiens' (41, 216) and at 'Lucian's "play" *The Fisherman*' (31). Tasso's *Aminta* is variously called *Amyntas* (72, 76, 77, 93), *Amynta* (136), *Amintas* (138), and the author twice speaks of the 'Spanish' eclogues of Camoes and Bernardes (86, 108). A certain French writer is called 'Giovanni Martin' (87), apparently because Torraca called him so, and another is called 'Franciscus Champion' (95) because of Campaux's Latin. But 'Jacob Vanieri' (95) is not what Campaux meant by 'Jacobus Vanieri,' and the name should not have gone into the 'bibliography' under 'J': 'Jacobi, Vanieri' (206). Even Ulrich von Hutten's name is carefully transcribed from the Latin Thesis as 'Hulric de Hutten' (200), and so is the date of one of his poems, 1488—though that is usually given as the date of his birth.

On pp. 201-211 there is a long and imposing 'Bibliography of Piscatory Literature.' This is very badly made, it is badly printed, and it is shamelessly padded. Some of the authors have a strange look in this class: Homer (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*), Lucan (*Pharsalia*), Baptista Mantuanus, Milton (*Lycidas*), Nonnus (*Dionysiaca*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), 'Pomponius Bononiens,' Sidney (*Arcadia*), Virgil (*Aeneid* and *Georgics*). Yet even this is

matched by a 'Chronological List of the chief English Piscatories' (pp. 212-213) which somehow includes Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare's *Pericles* and *Tempest*, and Milton's *Paradise Regained*. A good many items are merely transferred from the pages of Campaux or Torraca, or from Carrara's *Poesia Pastorale*, with no additional bibliographical details. For Jacques de Fontenay's *Iolas*—a poem which "recalls by its title and general tone the piscatories of Sannazaro" (p. 95)—we are told merely to "see Colletet—*Vita poetarum Gallorum*." See him where, and why? Campaux could mention this poem, in 1859, only on the authority of a statement in a manuscript treatise—"ut in *Vita poetarum Gallorum manu scripta* asserit Colletet" (p. 104). Dr. Hall fails to say just where he saw it, or where he got his impression of its "general tone."

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE 1536 TEXT OF THE *Egloga* OF JUAN DE PARIS

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In a recent publication of capital importance to the student of early Spanish drama, Kohler's *Sieben Spanische Dramatische Eklogen* (Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, Band 27, 1911), there is to be found a defect which I have the material to correct. The last of the texts reprinted, the *Farsa* of Juan de Paris, pp. 329-350, is based on an edition of the year 1551. The existence of the 1536 edition was known to Kohler,¹ cf. pp.

¹The copy of which Ticknor gave an inexact description passed through the libraries of Salvá and Heredia into the Biblioteca nacional. What was perhaps only a suggestion on the part of Wolf has led Kohler (p. 183) to identify the *Farsa á manera de tragedia*, etc. (Valencia, 1537) with the *Egloga* of Juan de Paris. Among the available works that destroy this hypothesis, one might mention Gallardo, *Ensayo*, No. 636, where the list of characters and a synopsis of the play are given.

182-3, although he does not seem to know its present whereabouts. But one copy of the latter is known to bibliographers. It is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid under catalogue number R-4104. Since it is improbable that this play will be published again in the near future, it seems worth while to make available to readers of the Kohler text the variants of the earlier edition. A ms. copy of the 1536 edition that was made under my supervision and compared by me with the original, here serves as the basis of comparison. Kohler's emendations are disregarded for the present, and variant readings are given in full with the exception of interchange of *b*, *v* and *u*, *c* and *z*, *i* and *y*, *l* and *r*, and initial *f* and *h* from Latin *f*; dropping or retention of *h* from Latin *h*; doubling of *c* and *s*; and spellings *pus*, *pues*; *sancto*, *santo* in its several forms; and *-sc-* or *-c-* in Latin *-scēre* verbs and in *nescio*. The evident misprints of the 1536 edition are enclosed in parentheses. Abbreviations are expanded in italics, but the sign for the conjunction *y* (é) is passed over unnoticed.

Title-page Egloga for Farsa, and date 1536, line 6 (cuento), 22 y dezilla, 31 mi anima, 32 de te conocer, 33 E dame, 36 el mundo/el diablo, 37 mi anima, 38 concupiscencia, 40 orden amena, 41 E a vos, 44 abundosa, 45 vos plega, 55 holgança, 62 (trstie), between 64 and 65 (Estado) for Estacio, 66(toda), 84 otra, 95 prognes, 98 homicida, 119 a mi mesmo, 142 holgura, 150 aburriesse, 155 sutiles, 166 arancaras, 169 sabeys, 172 busqueys, 186 (fnego), between 216 and 217 y el hermitaño, 218 me contino, 220 (quite), 235 siga, 237 hara le dexar, 239-240 quiero muy apressurado yr y. 247 traygo, 254 empiego, 259 tiñia, 263 resgaños, 266 matas, 277 buscallo, 296 (leuante te), 304 tambien tu, 309 dizme, 311 tenes, 344 que diz que vos, 354 terneos, 356 (gorgura), 359 los, 367 dezid, 376 lluego, 384 (mantega), 391 ños esso, 394 ños, 395 jurio, 403 ño, 407 lluzida, 408 no lay, 413 quies que lo, 418 veynte, 422 filosofança, 426 huerte tacaño, 429 y an soncas . . . encordojares, 451-452 and 455 are assigned to Vicente and 453-454 to Cremon, 462 y otea, 466 (agun), 471 al hermita, 483 ves, 496 ves el, 502 toca la, 507 (mantega),

528 allegado, 542 (dos), 554 entramos, 568 ymagino, 573 (braz), 577 comos, 579 diz vos, 582 tomar, 586 pelleja, 587 la ygreja, 592 dixiste, 599 que quirriel, 603 pardiez, 606 quirrie, 612 an que alos, 615 que es, 632 (y soy), 633 Huyamos, 646 eñllos,² 654 huydores, 658 halagos, 664 omitted.

A majority of these variants are of but slight importance, but a considerable number give satisfactory readings where the 1551 edition does violence to the meter or the sense of the play. In line 40 *amena* restores the rime.³ The following lines that are unmetrical by reason of length, hiatus within the hemistich, or displacement of accent may be corrected by reference to the variants of the 1536 text: 45, 95, 304, 309,⁴ 391, 413, 483, 528 and 579. Unusual syntactical constructions, suspicious forms and erroneously used words are avoided by following the older text in lines 22, 32, 84, 95, 119, 166, 218, 239-240, 254, 263, 354, 359, 429, 496, 586, 587 and 654.

The corrections of Kohler are generally supported by the 1536 text, but his attempt to restore line 344 was a failure. His emendation of line 67, on which both texts agree, is supported neither by the other passage to which he refers nor by the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.

While I should not care to assert that the 1551 text is a direct reprint of that of 1536, there is not the slightest evidence of the hand of the author in its variant readings, and in nearly every case⁵ of material difference the earlier text is the better.

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²This is an abbreviation resulting from the crowding of two columns on the page.

³Cf. Kohler, p. 188. Ticknor's statement concerning the careful construction of the verse is somewhat less apt when applied to the 1551 text.

⁴The peculiar forms "*diz me señora porque . . . estadcs*" (309) and "*diz vos*" (579) are in both cases supported by the meter. The attempt to avoid them made by the editor or printer of the 1551 edition leaves the line too long and the accent displaced.

⁵In line 568 the reading of the 1551 text is preferable.

THE TOWER OF FAME IN MILTON

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The poem of Milton, *In Quintum Novembris* contains a description of the Tower of Fame, in which are the lines:

Esse ferunt spatium, qua distat ab Aside terra
Fertilis Europe, et spectat Mareotidas undas
Hic turris posita est Titanidos ardua Famae (170–173).

The word *Mareotidas* has troubled various commentators. Keightley writes: 'It certainly should be *Maeotidas*, for, as Warton observes, Lake Mareotis is in Egypt. Most probably it was a printer's error.' Masson says: '*Mareotidas undas*: distinctly so in both Milton's editions, but certainly, as Mr. Keightley observes, either a mistake or a misprint for *Maeotidas*. For Milton cannot have meant Lake Mareotis, which is in Egypt, but the great Lake Maeotis, now the sea of Azof, north of the Black Sea. That lake, washing the western end of the Caucasian chain, does lie close to that boundary line between Asia and Europe where Milton places his House of Fame.' This reasoning seems the better when one remembers that in his later poetry Milton twice mentions the Sea of Azof:

Sea he had searcht and Land
From Eden over Pontus, and the Poole
Maeotis, up beyond the River Ob (*P. L.* 9. 76–78);

Sarmatians North
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric Pool (*P. R.* 4. 78–79).

In the time of Milton the Sea of Azof was considered part of the boundary between Europe and Asia; for example, Samuel Purchas says of Asia: 'On the West it hath the Arabian Gulfe, that necke of Land which divided it from Africa, the Mediterranean, Aegean, Ponticke Seas, the Lake Maeotis, Tanais, with an imagined line from thence to the Bay of S. Nicholas. Some make it yet larger and make Nilus to divide it from Africa, but with lesse reason' (Pilgrimage, ed. 1617, p. 50). Hence if Milton located his Tower of Fame

on the boundary of Europe and Asia, he may well have written *Mareotidas*, which is metrically possible.

Yet it is well to examine other possibilities before supposing the accurate Milton to have allowed a misprint in the edition of 1645 to have gone uncorrected in the edition of 1673. As Warton says, Mareotis is a lake in Egypt west of the Nile near Alexandria, and hence in Africa, even though the Nile be made the western boundary of Asia. Since the adjective is used figuratively to mean Egyptian (*e. g.*, *Mareotica arva*, Ovid. *Met.* 12. 39–42), *Mareotidas undas* might signify literally the waters of Lake Mareotis, or figuratively Egypt. In that account of the Tower of Fame to which commentators refer as one of Milton's sources, Ovid describes its location as follows:

Orbe locus medio est inter terras fretumque
Caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi,
Unde quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit,
Inspicitur, penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures
(*Met.* 12. 39–42).

The simplest explanation of the words of Milton as they stand is that, giving another turn to Ovid's 'triplicis confinia mundi,' and thinking of Egypt as on the confines of Asia and Africa, he has imagined his Tower of Fame to be located in some indefinite spot, as nearly as possible central to Europe, Asia, and Africa, the three divisions of the world of the ancients; from such a place Fame could behold equally well what took place in any of the three continents.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MYTH

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Grässe has called attention to an alleged Aragonese ms of the Prose Tristram romance made in the year 1438.¹ He supports

¹ Grässe, *Trésor*, Vol. vi, Pt. 2, p. 202.

this assertion with a reference to Souza's *Provas*.² An investigation of this reference showed that the passage in question was the inventory of the books in the library of King Duarte of Portugal. Among them was a *Livro de Tristã*, a lost work which other scholars have united in considering Portuguese.³ The date 1438 nowhere appears, but immediately across the page is mention of a *Historia de Troia por aragoës*. In his *Literär-geschichte*,⁴ Grässe again refers to the alleged Aragonese Tristram but this time quotes Hagen's *Minnesinger* as the source of his information.⁵ Referring to the passage indicated in Hagen we find that the latter in turn derived his information from Olfers.⁶ The mistake, then, originated with Olfers who carelessly assumed that the words *por aragoës* referred to two works instead of one. King Duarte died in 1438, so that year was taken by Olfers as a posterior date to be used in determining the ages of all MSS found in the Duarte collection. Hagen and Grässe were wrong in assuming that the year 1438 was that of the writing of the MS. This particular Aragonese Tristram is therefore clearly a myth.

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BRIEF MENTION

Cury and Boerner's *Histoire de la littérature française, à l'usage des étudiants hors de France* (Deuxième édition. Teubner, Leipzig-Berlin, 1912. 400 pp.) can scarcely be of service in America. Too elementary for graduate students, it is not superior in form or matter to works already employed in high schools and colleges in this country. The most distinctive

characteristics are the introduction of detailed outlines of selected works, occasionally inaccurate and invariably wearisome, and a laudable fidelity to the sound and luminous doctrine of M. Lanson, quotation marks being omitted in some cases.

D. S. B.

Carolina Michaëlis; Lista dos seus trabalhos litterarios acompanhada de um preâmbulo e de um appêndice, por J. Leite de Vasconcellos.¹ The 122 bibliographical items represent the fields of ethnography, philology and literary history, and are not restricted entirely to Portuguese and Spanish subjects. The Appendix contains not only a list of the reviews of the works cited, but the reproduction of personal letters and dedications. The Introduction presents a brief but highly appreciative estimate of Dr. Carolina Michaëlis' scientific work, and a few salient biographical items. The bibliographical portion of the treatise shows evidence of official endorsement and the portrait inserted as a frontispiece is a most welcome addition. The treatise as a whole forms an important contribution to Romance studies. A few addenda of recent items of interest may not be amiss; namely, the transfer of Carolina Michaëlis from the faculty of the University of Lisbon to that of the University of Coimbra; her appointment as a co-editor of the new *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*; and her *Notas Vicentinas, preliminares duma edição crítica das Obras de Gil Vicente*, which appeared in the second issue of the *Revista* (Junho e Setembro de 1912).

In his *Argot ancien* (1907), Sainéan gave an historical analysis of the French thieves' jargon. He has now materially supplemented this study in his *Sources de l'argot ancien* (2 vol., Paris, Champion, 1912). Beginning with the fifteenth century and continuing to 1850, he discusses and in many instances gives *in extenso* the important documentation of this artificial language. By reason of the method and extent of his investigations, he succeeds in eliminating most if not all of the teeming vagaries of the argotic dictionaries, and adds substantially to our positive knowledge. The book is of marked interest and importance to the linguistic student, and a comfort to the reader who wishes to grasp the meaning of Villon's *jobelin* or sift the real from the fanciful in the argot of *Les Miséra-*

² Ant., Gaet. de Souza, *Provas*, Vol. I, p. 544. I am indebted to Librarian W. R. Martin of the Hispanic Society for his kindness in copying for me the Duarte inventory. I am also indebted to Professor Karl Pietsch for a very helpful suggestion.

³ Michaëlis and Braga, *Geschichte der portugiesischen Litteratur* (Gröbers Grundriss), II, 2, p. 213.

⁴ Grässe, *Lehrbuch. Literär-geschichte der berühmtesten Völker des Mittelalters*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, p. 204.

⁵ Hagen, *Minnesinger*, Vol. IV, p. 576.

⁶ Olfers, *Leben des standhaften Prinzen nach der Chronik seines Geheimschreibers Alvares* (Berlin, 1827), p. 107.

¹ Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa. Separata do "Boletim da Segunda Classe," volume V. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1912. 8vo., 54 pp.

bles. The detailed index to Sainéan's first work, and the etymological glossary at the end of his *Sources* make it easy to utilize this valuable series as a dictionary of "pedlars' French"—the first dictionary on scientific principles that we possess.

In his *Religions, Mœurs et Légendes*, 4me série (Paris, Mercure de France, 1912), A. van Gennep includes a long essay on the *Légendes populaires et Chansons de Geste en Savoie*. The fourth chapter of this essay, "Le Cycle d'Arthur," offers an ingenious, if not wholly convincing, explanation of the presence in Savoy of two Arthurian knights who fight a monstrous cat. The chapter is of especial interest, both because of van Gennep's familiarity with the folk-lore of the region, a familiarity the beginnings of which date back to his school-boy days in the lycées of Savoy, and because he utilizes, in part, Mr. Bédier's theories regarding the pilgrim routes. A. S.

Professor Jespersen's *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912. 187 pp.) constitutes a revised and condensed edition of his *Lehrbuch* of 1904. Nothing essential has been omitted and there is even a gain in the clearness of presentation. The Jespersen system of alphabetic symbols is of course retained, and forms the basis of arrangement for the treatment of the sounds. This facilitates and shortens sound analysis, and tends to direct attention to phonetic similarities and differences that usually pass unnoticed. For the beginner, the multiplicity of symbols (alphabetic and international-phonetic) is liable to confuse more than it helps, but for those who have a competent guide or some preliminary knowledge this feature will readily change from an obstacle to an aid. The book is rich in helpful suggestions and well repays reading. The decimal system of paragraph numbering, first used in Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar*, is to be commended to prospective makers of text-books.

OBITUARY

WILLIAM HAND BROWNE

Dr. William Hand Browne, Professor (Emeritus since 1910) of English Literature in the Johns Hopkins University, died on the morning of December 13, 1912. He was born De-

cember 31, 1828, and had therefore almost completed the eighty-fourth year of his age. Like so many men of letters, Dr. Browne was first trained for one of the standard professions, and then turned from the practical pursuit opened to him to follow the more authoritative dictates of his nature. After his graduation as M. D. (University of Maryland, 1850), he began his career as critic and historian, in which he won early recognition. Shortly after the war, Dr. Browne was for a decade especially interested in re-establishing the literary magazines of the South. In 1866 he joined the Rev. Albert Taylor Bledsoe in founding *The Southern Review* [New Series; Vol. I, Baltimore, Bledsoe and Browne, 1867]. He had a share also in the inauguration of *The New Eclectic*, a monthly magazine of select literature (Vol. I, Jan.-Apr., 1868; Baltimore), which was continued, under the editorship of Dr. Browne, from 1871 (Vol. 8) to 1875 (Vol. 17) with the changed name, *The Southern Magazine*. A member, meanwhile, of the Maryland Historical Society, Dr. Browne came to be the acknowledged authoritative historian of his native State. By the authority of the State and under the direction of this Society Dr. Browne accomplished the most important work of his life in editing the *Archives of Maryland* (32 large volumes, 1883-1912).

Dr. Browne was first connected with the Johns Hopkins University as Principal Librarian, 1879-1880. In the next year he began to take part in the instruction in English Literature, and in the course of the years his official designations were: Librarian and Associate, 1880-1891; Associate Professor, 1891-1893; Professor, 1893-1910; Professor Emeritus, 1910-1912. As Librarian and thereafter as a member of the Library Committee, he rendered admirable service; but he rapidly became more and more engaged in teaching. His wide and varied culture and his peculiarly attractive personality combined to make his instruction especially valuable and effective. Although not young in years when he began to teach, Dr. Browne was always young in spirit and in alertness of mind. He assimilated new knowledge with notable eagerness, and to the last maintained a keen interest in promoting accuracy of knowledge. His contributions to *Mod. Lang. Notes* extend from the first volume to the last number, issued after his death. This persistent activity, shown especially in the publication, just before his death, of the last volume of the *Archives of Maryland*, exemplified that beneficence of the intellectual life which, in the words of Emerson, 'redeems us in a degree from the conditions of time.'

THE CASE OF SOMAIZE

Antoine Baudeau or Beaudeau, sieur de Somaize, began the second period of his existence in 1856. He had been born presumably in the year 1630.¹ With the publication of Ch.-L. Livet's edition of his *Dictionnaire des Précieuses* Somaize dead became privileged to enjoy a vogue totally unknown to Somaize living. Slighted during his lifetime, ignored for the space of more than two hundred years, he is at last occupying an exalted posthumous rank. Five years of Livet's life were devoted to the preparation of his works on Somaize.² Paul Lacroix reprinted *Les Véritables Précieuses*, accompanying it with an introduction.³ The late M. Larroumet gave Somaize the place of honor in his *Études de littérature et d'art*.⁴ M. Emile Magne has relied chiefly on Somaize for the facts presented in his *Madame de la Suze et la société précieuse*.⁵ Finally, Herr Fritz Schwarz has made Somaize the subject of a doctor's thesis.⁶ It is hardly an exaggeration to say that few studies on seventeenth-century literature and society in France have, since the appearance of Livet's book, failed to cite Somaize as an authority.

A brief summary of the opinions concerning Somaize's contributions to literary and social knowledge will serve to indicate the high esteem in which he is held. M. Bourciez considers his name "inséparable de cette période de notre littérature, et c'est dans son *Grand Dictionnaire* qu'il faut chercher les renseignements les plus circonstanciés sur l'étrange épidémie qui sévissait alors."⁷ In the words of Larroumet, Somaize has left a name, and his works will have

to be consulted as long as his models remain of interest.⁸ M. Delaporte regards Somaize as a faithful collector of *précieux* mannerisms.⁹ Professor Crane quotes Somaize at length concerning the use of emphatic adverbs in the age of Boileau.¹⁰ M. Magne has as much confidence in Somaize as in Tallemant des Réaux. Livet believes it quite within the realm of possibility that Molière had Somaize's dictionary in front of him when he composed the *Précieuses ridicules*.¹¹

Testimony of this character—of which the foregoing constitutes merely a suggestion—would seem to be sufficient to assure Somaize of a permanent and honorable position among the sources utilized by students of the seventeenth century. There are, however, such peculiar deficiencies in Somaize's personal record, and such doubtful phases in his work, that evidence obtained from him and discussion centering on him may well be subjected to scrutiny.

One of the first essentials required of any historical witness is that he establish his own identity with the period in which his testimony is accepted. He must do this through direct evidence of some sort. If he has not done it for himself, those who make use of him must do it for him. In so far as Somaize is concerned, it would be legitimate to doubt that he ever lived. Larroumet, Livet, and the rest freely admit that we have no information either as to Somaize's birth or as to his death; either as to his birthplace or as to his family. "Sorti de l'obscurité en 1657, il y est rentré en 1661."¹² If it were not for the trustworthiness of the scholars who have been his sponsors, we might suspect Somaize of being an eigh-

¹ Larousse, *Grand Dict. universel*, XIV, 1875.

² Livet, *Dict. des Préc.*, préface, p. xxxvi.

³ Genève, J. Gay et fils, 1868.

⁴ Paris, Hachette, 1893, pp. 1-54.

⁵ Paris, Mercure de France, 1908.

⁶ Fritz Schwarz, *Somaize und seine Précieuses rid.*, Königsberg, 1903.

⁷ In Petit de Julleville, *Litt. fr.*, IV, p. 129.

⁸ Larroumet, *Études de litt.*, p. 53.

⁹ P. V. Delaporte, *Du merveilleux dans la litt. fr. sous le règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1891, pp. 200 and 224-225.

¹⁰ T. F. Crane, *Les Héros de roman*, 1902, p. 204.

¹¹ *Précieux et Précieuses*, Paris, 1895, Intr., pp. xxx-xxxi.

¹² Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 4.

teenth or nineteenth century hoax, the more convincing in that he cannot be traced to any modern writer through a revealing cleverness of expression or through peculiarities of style. His very mediocrity has saved him from critical inspection. But, granted that he played some rôle in the seventeenth century, how are we to account for the absolute dearth of mention of him by his contemporaries? Nobody appears to have heard of him. The preface to his *Dictionnaire*, ostensibly written by a friend, though in all probability due to the author's own pen, states magniloquently that "jamais homme n'a tant fait de bruit que luy dans un âge si peu avancé. Il a eu l'honneur de faire assembler deux ou trois fois l'Académie française; il a fait parler de luy par toute la France; il s'est fait craindre, il s'est fait aimer."¹³

Yet this prodigy has never been made the subject of a paragraph, a sentence, a line even in the discursive pages of the *Ménagiana*, the *Segraisiana*, the *Huetiana*, the *Furetièriana*, or in the wide-ranging notes of Bayle. That the *Académie* should have foregathered on account of any one man and left no record of what must have been momentous meetings seems hard to believe. No accounts of such reunions, however, exist.¹⁴ The reader has almost no escape from the conviction that the friend's assertion is false. Two recent writers have attempted to provide Somaize with distinguished acquaintances in his own day: but they have both made almost inexcusable blunders, though nobody has as yet, I believe, called attention to them. Herr Schwarz declares that Livet was mistaken in affirming that no trace of Somaize can be found among his contemporaries. "Boileau, den er in seiner *Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron* lächerlich machte, widmet ihm den schmeichelhaften Vers:

Aux Somaizes futurs préparer des tortures
(Sat. ix)."¹⁵

The name used by Boileau, and slightly altered by Herr Schwarz, happens to be that of

Claude de Saumaise, the erudite commentator who died in 1653, as the note to the Fournier edition of Boileau clearly proves.¹⁶ M. Magne, who is certain that Somaize is a *bourguignon*, though Larroumet makes him out to be a *gascon*, and Herr Schwarz judges him a *normand*, deposes that Boisrobert definitely mentions our Somaize. "Boisrobert. *Les Epistres*, 1647, p. 154, A. M. Gineste, dit en effet, qu'il lui communique, étant en Bourgogne, les épîtres qu'il reçoit de son ami Gineste. Il le nomme Somaize, mais l'orthographe du nom n'a, à ce moment, aucune importance et nous avons la certitude qu'il ne s'agit pas, en cet endroit, de Claude de Saumaise qui habitait Leyde."¹⁷ If, as Somaize's friend stated, he was a young man in 1660, and if we assume thirty years of age to be a fair guess, thus placing the date of Somaize's birth in 1630, it is clear that he must have been seventeen years old on the occasion referred to by M. Magne. It is scarcely likely that Boisrobert submitted to a school-boy the *épîtres* sent him by Gineste. The critic, Claude de Saumaise, is undoubtedly the person in question. Moreover, Boisrobert could not have obtained from this juvenile Somaize the latest news concerning the *Académie*, the *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, and the *Marais*.¹⁸

The latest efforts, then, to furnish witnesses of the existence of Somaize have been fruitless. We are no wiser than before. In an era of portrait-writing, when insignificant characters were honored by one or more notices in the collections of portraits, the novels, the satires, the farces, Somaize was neglected. The only picture of him handed down to us is that written by Somaize himself, under the name of Suzarion.¹⁹ It is needless to remark that he does not err on the side of injustice in evaluating his qualities either as a man or as an author. He may readily have ascribed to himself many virtues that he did not possess, just

¹⁶ *Œuvres complètes de M. Boileau*, par Edouard Fournier, Paris, 1873, p. 52.

¹⁷ Magne, *Le plaisant abbé de Boisrobert*, Paris, 1909, p. 365.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁹ *Dict. des Préc.*, ed. Livet, p. 226.

¹³ *Dict. des Préc.*, ed. Livet, préf., p. 15.

¹⁴ Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 27.

¹⁵ Schwarz, *Somaize*, etc., p. 2.

as he borrowed a title of nobility which, Larroumet conjectures, did not belong to him.²⁰

Though nobody appears to have known him personally, we have one document tending to show that notice was taken of his works by the great writers. This is the *Songe du Rêveur*, an answer to Somaize's *Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron*. It is supposed to have been constructed by Molière and other poets in collaboration, whom the *Pompe* had attacked. Written in prose and verse, it is even more platitudinous and execrable than Somaize's own works. That neither Molière nor the other worthies could have stooped to put hand to this pamphlet is the conclusion of MM. Despois and Mesnard.²¹ Whoever the author was, he was aware that Somaize's satire had been rewarded with one of those beatings not uncommon in the refined society of the age of Louis XIV. Curiously enough, Somaize himself in his *Remarques sur la Théodore* of Boisrobert (1657) acknowledges, not without pride, that Boisrobert had previously threatened him with corporal chastisement. It is barely possible that Somaize wrote the attack on himself. The *Songe* appeared anonymously—as did most of the books attributed to Somaize—and it is more in his style than in that of anybody else of whom we have knowledge. We may find it difficult to understand the attitude of a man who could attack himself in public print; but if we remember that cases have occurred in which a literary critic and dramatist has praised his own plays, it may not strike us as incongruous that a most peculiar and mysterious scribe like Somaize may have degraded himself for purposes of advertisement. Anybody who reads his works in a spirit free from prejudice realizes that Somaize was seeking notoriety at any cost. To be fulminated against by the popular playwrights and poets would have been glory to many a man.

Not content with providing himself in rather an unconventional fashion with a character and, as is thought, with a title, Somaize has taken pains to present himself under powerful patron-

age. The four personages to whom he has dedicated various of his undertakings are Marie Mancini—the connétable Colonna and niece of Mazarin,—Henri Louis Habert, the Academician, the Marquise de Monloy or Monlouet, and the Duc de Guise, who figures in Paul de Musset's *Extravagants et Originaux du XVII^e siècle*. This array of dignitaries would ordinarily suffice to lend weight to the words of any aspirant in arts. Yet, as in most things connected with Somaize, there is something suspicious in the persons he has chosen as his literary god-parents. The Duc de Guise, brilliant, foolhardy, baffled in most of his plans, is thus addressed by Somaize: "Après avoir dit tant de belles et d'illustres veritez, ne puis-je pas, Monseigneur, m'écrier avec justice que vous estes le plus genereux, le plus galand, le plus civil, le plus vaillant, le plus adroit, le mieux fait, et pour renfermer dans un mot toutes ces nobles qualitez, le plus accomply de tous les princes de la terre?"²² The death of the Duc occurred four years after the publication of the *Dictionnaire*. Of the Marquise de Monloy, whose virtue appears to have been her least failing, he exclaims: "Dans ce lieu où vostre naissance vous avait appelée, dans ce lieu, dis-je, où la médisance n'épargne personne, vostre vertu lui a si bien fermé la bouche que les plus médisans ne l'ont jamais ouverte que pour publier que vous estiez la plus sage et la plus vertueuse personne de la cour."²³ Habert was noted as a Maecenas. As for Marie Mancini, her tempestuous character and her sentiments toward Louis XIV are well-known. Married by proxy to Colonna, she arrived in Rome in June, 1661. Somaize claims to have followed in her retinue as her secretary, and the title-page of the second part of the *Dictionnaire* bears the legend, "Par le Sieur De Somaize secretaire de Madame la Conestable Colonna." According to Lacroix, the cessation of Somaize's labors was due to his absence from France, to which he never returned.²⁴ One might suppose that here, at last, direct

²⁰ *Dict. des Préc.*, ed. Livet, pp. 5-6.

²¹ *Dict. des Préc.*, II, p. 52: preface to the *Procez des Pretieuses*.

²² *Les Vêrit. Pré.*, ed. Lacroix, notice, p. xii.

²⁰ Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 5.

²¹ *Œuvres de Molière*, ed. Despois et Mesnard, Paris, tome ix, 1886, pp. 569-571.

evidence about Somaize would be met, especially since Marie Mancini published, or caused to be published, in 1678 the *Apologie, ou les Véritables Mémoires de Madame M. Mancini*. Though she mentions several servants and retainers, she has not once spoken of Somaize.²⁵ Neither Amédée Renée nor Lucien Perey, who have investigated carefully Marie Mancini's life, has a word to say about Somaize.²⁶ Until genuine proof is offered, the presumption, it seems to me, is against Somaize's having held the position of which he boasts. Why, then, has he selected her for his benefactress? That problem must remain in as much doubt as his reasons for sending his other writings out under the wing of a discredited soldier, a discredited coquette, and an Academician accessible to everybody. It is probable that none of them paid much attention to him, and that they were convenient figure-heads whom almost any writer could utilize in time of need. The mere fact that dedications were addressed to the nobility does not imply that the nobility sanctioned them or acquiesced in the opinions of the authors. It does not mean, as some critics have imagined, that they lent their moral support to Somaize, or that they knew him, or that they ever heard of his works or of his dedications.

The mystery that envelops Somaize is in no way dissipated by an examination of his title-pages or of the list of works ascribed to him. Somaize's friend declared that our author had published nine or ten books. Larroumet credits him with only seven.²⁷ Herr Schwarz grants that he wrote eight, among which is an elegy in 112 Alexandrines dedicated to Marie Mancini.²⁸ In reality, the number of Somaize's writings, as attributed to him in the different accounts which I have thus far been able to examine, amounts to twelve. On seven of them the principal authorities are agreed. They are:

1. *Le Grand Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, I;

2. *Le Grand Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, II;
3. *Les Précieuses ridicules*, in verse;
4. *Le Procez des Précieuses*;
5. *Les Véritables Précieuses*;
6. *Les Remarques sur la Théodore*;
7. *La Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron*.

A *Pompe funèbre d'une précieuse*, advertised by Somaize and thought by some to have appeared, is regarded by Livet as never having seen the light.²⁹ Lacroix mentions a *Dialogue de deux Précieuses sur les affaires de leur communauté*, contained in the second edition of the *Véritables Précieuses*,³⁰ and *La Cocue imaginaire*, in verse.³¹ The writer of the biography of Somaize in Larousse's *Dictionnaire* adds *le Secret d'être toujours belle*.³² If the present tendency to enlarge the scope of Somaize's activities is persisted in, it may soon be necessary to open a special section for his *apocrypha*, as has been done in the case of a few great writers, notably Shakespeare.

Eight of these works were written in one year, 1660, namely, *Les Précieuses ridicules*, *La Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron*, the *Dialogue*, *Les Véritables Précieuses*, *Le Grand Dictionnaire*, I, *La Cocue imaginaire*, *La Pompe funèbre d'une Précieuse*, *Le Procez des Précieuses*. They are all short pamphlets and might easily have been produced in that space by one man. The majority of the total collection lacks the name of Somaize. With the exception of the *Cocue*, printed under the name of François Donneau, this larger portion came forth anonymously. One person, however, is nearly omnipresent—Jean Ribou, the book dealer.³³ In some instances, the *privilege* granted Somaize is immediately transferred to Jean Ribou; thus, the *Grand Dictionnaire*, I; in others, the imprint of Jean Ribou is the only mark of identification, as in the *Pompe funèbre de M. Scarren* and the *Véritables Précieuses*: in one—the *Remarques sur la Théodore*—, the authorship of Somaize is stated together with the addendum: "imprimées à ses dépens."

²⁵ Schwarz, *Somaize*, etc., p. 5.

²⁶ Cf. Amédée Renée, *Les Nièces de Mazarin*, Paris, 1858; Lucien Perey, *Marie Mancini Colonna*, Paris, 1896.

²⁷ Larroumet, *Études*, etc., pp. 25-26.

²⁸ Schwarz, *Somaize*, etc., p. 7.

²⁹ *Dict. des Préc.*, II, ed. Livet, p. 55.

³⁰ *Vérit. Prét.*, ed. Lacroix, notice, p. vii.

³¹ *Ibid.*, notice, p. x.

³² *Op. cit.*, tome xiv.

³³ Cf. Schwarz, *Somaize*, etc., p. 6.

Why so much mystification where everything should have been open and above-board? The following hypotheses may be entertained: Somaize feared the wrath of Molière, Boisrobert, the *précieuses*, and the poets manhandled by him in the *Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron*; he was a person of importance and not an individual named Somaize, and wished to preserve an *incognito*; he was an author pillaged by Molière and timid about charging the favorite comedian with bare-faced plagiarism, as Charles Sorel might have done; he was a publisher who was desirous of making money out of the popular theme of *préciosité* rendered famous overnight by Molière. That he had no very great fear of Molière and the rest is evidenced by the fact that he presented himself in his own person in dealing with Boisrobert and later claimed the responsibility for the *Pompe funèbre de M. Scarron*. In addition, he seems to have enjoyed the protection of the *chancelier*, if his words can be accepted at their face value,³⁴ and succeeded in having inserted in the authorization of his *Procez des Précieuses* the most posterous prohibition ever made use of by any author, directing that nobody should take it upon himself "ni même de se servir des mots contenus en icelui."³⁵ Any of the other suppositions may be argued with a show of reason. That Somaize was desperately hostile to Molière seems clear through his burlesques in verse of some of the dramatist's plays; and Larroumet specifically designates his attacks as the first made against Molière.³⁶ Several incidents demonstrate that he knew Molière well, or at least was in touch with what the latter was doing. The most conspicuous is in the *Véritables Précieuses*, where the as yet unpublished *Don Garcie de Navarre* is mentioned.³⁷ Whatever his feeling toward Molière was, he did not disdain to steal unconscionably from him, as Büchmann, with his four and a quarter pages of the deadly parallel, has proved.³⁸ Of course, if the exact dates of publication of the genuine

Précieuses ridicules and the *Grand Dictionnaire des Précieuses* were not available, the question as to who copied whom might be impossible of solution. We know, however, that Molière's play appeared Jan. 29, 1660, and Somaize's *Dictionnaire*, April 12 of that year.³⁹ How Livet was persuaded to believe that Molière borrowed from his enemy is hard to understand. If he had mentioned, besides the Abbé de Pure's *Prétieuse*, Sorel's voluminous compositions on the *précieuses* and the Abbé d'Aubignac's disquisitions as Molière's sources, he would undoubtedly have been much nearer the truth.

The identity of Somaize, accordingly, appears to be obscure. It is not the intention of the present writer to try to clear up this particular puzzle. It is his desire, indeed, to open that subject for discussion, but more especially, to raise the question concerning Somaize's value as a witness in behalf of *préciosité*. Whoever he was—whether a hoax as to name or a real living person—, his testimony might still be valid, provided it were shown to be original. If he did nothing more than pilfer existing material, then we must discard him in whole or in part as an independent contributor to our knowledge of the seventeenth century. If he was of the caliber of Charles Sorel—who probably knew more than Molière about *préciosité*—, we should be justified in admitting his statements where they do not conflict with Molière's and where they would not be likely to be colored by feelings of personal spite. For, as may not be generally known, Molière's unacknowledged debt to Charles Sorel was almost incredibly large,⁴⁰ and it would be wrong to blame Sorel severely for whatever reprisals he might indulge in.

In general, Somaize is esteemed a friend of the *précieuses*. Larroumet is convinced that he seriously meant to defend them, and quotes: "Je n'ai pas prétendu par ce titre parler de ces personnes illustres qui sont trop audessus de la satire pour faire soupçonner que l'on ait dessein de les y insérer."⁴¹ Nevertheless, few men and women who ever used metaphorical

³⁴ Cf. Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 13.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁶ Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 8.

³⁷ Cf. Lacroix, *Vérit. Prét.*, notice, p. ix.

³⁸ Büchmann, *Somaize*, in *ASNS.*, 1861, pp. 51 ff.

³⁹ Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 29.

⁴⁰ Cf. Emile Roy, *Charles Sorel*, Paris, 1891.

⁴¹ Cf. Larroumet, *Études*, etc., p. 37.

and affected language about the year 1660 and, in some instances, before, have been omitted from his catalog of *précieux* and *précieuses*. Malherbe occupies a place in it (p. 64): Queen Christine of Sweden is not forgotten (p. 49): Corneille is treated at some length (pp. 85-92).⁴² Obviously, Somaize has in mind an extremely elastic definition of *préciosité* which should put us on our guard against over-confidence in his decisions. His books have not in any real sense added to the population of the kingdom of *préciosité*. The inhabitants discussed by him we have already learned about, for the most part, in Mlle de Scudéry's novels, in Voiture's letters, in Molière's comedies. He has supplied us with few additional details. The Greek names borne by his personages—Quirinus by Quinault, Gadarie by Mlle de Gournay—are of his own coinage, and do not perpetuate the pseudonyms actually used in designating them. Outside of this, the suspicion that the author furnished only a meager handful of facts from his own personal store grows strong, especially when we read in the *privilege du roy* the extract given below, to which none of the students of Somaize has called attention:

Ce Dictionnaire historique des pretieuses est un *extrait fidelle* de toutes les galanteries qui regardent cette matiere *dans les meilleurs romans du temps*, et merite d'estre imprimé, afin qu'on connoisse les habitants et la langue du païs des alcoves et des ruelles.—Ballesdens.⁴³

In the face of this declaration, we should scarcely feel willing to credit Somaize with much originality or to rank his dictionary among important contemporary witnesses of the essence and the propagation of the mannerism termed *préciosité*.

A last doubt may be ventured concerning Somaize's sincerity in retailing his information to the public. To believe that he has done it for commendable motives or in a frame of mind which should secure for his words serious consideration by historians is, it seems to me, completely to ignore the tenor of his own affirma-

tions. The very title of his *Grand Dictionnaire* is a burlesque and reminds one forcibly of Rabelais:

"Le Grand Dictionnaire des Pretieuses, Historique, Poetique, Geographique, Cosmographique, Cronologique et Armoirique Où l'on verra leur antiquité, costumes, devises, eloges, etudes, guerres, heresies, jeux, loix, langage, mœurs, mariages, morale, noblesse; avec leur politique, prédictions, questions, richesses, reduits et victoires; comme aussi les noms de ceux et de celles qui ont jusques icy inventé des mots pretieux."

Somaize evidently thought himself a good deal of a wag. In the preface to the *Précieuses ridicules* he confesses to lengthening out his introduction simply because he has some unwritten paper still left.⁴⁴ In the "autre apostille" to his *Dictionnaire* he observes that he is besieged by persons bringing him *mémoires* for use in his book, and that if he had attempted to content them all the reader would not have received his work for six months longer.⁴⁵ The preface by a friend, adopting a suitably grave tone, dilates on the importance to posterity of the *Dictionnaire*, "histoire veritable et dont les siècles futurs doivent s'entretenir,"⁴⁶ and curiously enough, in a way which cannot have been foreseen by him, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have busied themselves with it, though the seventeenth and eighteenth ignored it. In the note addressed by the bookseller to the reader,—manifestly the concoction of Somaize, also,—those eager to purchase the book are begged to have patience and to remember that "il faut non seulement du temps pour le faire, mais encore pour imprimer un ouvrage si grand et si mysterieux."⁴⁷ In another passage, the author promises that in the second part, shortly forthcoming, will be seen "toutes les predicions astrologiques qui concernent leurs estats et empires (which is reminiscent of Cyrano de Bergerac); l'on y connoistra aussi ce que c'est que les Pretieuses et leurs mœurs. Il y aura, de plus, un sommaire de leur origine, progrès, guerres, conquestes et victoires."⁴⁸

⁴² *Dict. des Préc.*, II, pp. 46-47.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, *préf.* by un ami, p. 10.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lxi.

⁴⁶ *Dict. des Préc.*, p. xl.

⁴² The pages refer to the *Grand Dict.*, ii.

⁴³ *Dict. des Préc.*, ed. Livet, p. 18. The italics are mine.

The above is probably sufficient to convince the reader that a better knowledge of Somaize would be desirable and that a cautious, discriminating attitude, unbiased by what has thus far been written about Somaize's revelations on seventeenth century literature and society, would be advisable in the perusal of his works.

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SOME NOTES ON *HAMLET*

I

Rowe is our authority for the statement that Shakespeare acted "the ghost in his own Hamlet." Yet Shakespeare, as we know from several sources, was an actor of ability; consequently it seems hardly likely that his share in the performance of the play would consist of only a minor part requiring the utterance of less than a hundred lines. Since it was common for players to assume more than one rôle, we may conclude that Shakespeare acted some other character in addition to the Ghost. An examination of the text shows that this character would be limited to (1) Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, or Osric; (2) Claudius, Laertes or Fortinbras; (3) the First Player.

It is highly unlikely that he assumed the comic part of Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, or Osric. This would not be in keeping with the statement by John Davies (*The Scourge of Folly*, 1610), that he played "some kingly parts," with the statement of his brother that he performed the dignified part of Adam in *As You Like It*, or with his assumption of the part of the Ghost in *Hamlet*.

Again, it seems unlikely that he took the part of Claudius, for the rôle of Claudius would be in itself quite enough for one actor—say Heminge, or Condell; and for him to assume this in addition to the rôle of the Ghost would put too heavy a burden of acting upon his shoulders. Furthermore, in Act I, scene 2,

Claudius enters thirty-three lines after the exit of the Ghost. This would hardly allow time for the necessary changes in costume.

And since, in the scene just referred to, Laertes enters with Claudius, he seems also to be excluded from consideration; for surely it would be impossible for Shakespeare during the quick utterance of thirty-three lines to change himself from a ghost "so majestic" into a young gallant ready for "the primrose path of dalliance"—if, indeed, Shakespeare's qualities as an actor fitted him for such a rôle.

The character of Fortinbras, who speaks only twenty-six lines, is histrionically too insignificant for a "sharer." Any "hireling" properly costumed might perform his part satisfactorily.

This process of elimination leaves for our consideration the First Player. No objection, I believe, can be raised to him. The rôle is sufficiently important to justify Shakespeare in assuming it; at no time does it interfere with the rôle of the Ghost; and its lines throughout are in keeping with what we know of Shakespeare's quality as an actor. The same voice that uttered the solemn conjurations of the Ghost could have spoken well the story "of Priam's slaughter," and equally well, too, the lines of the Player King in "The Murder of Gonzago." Furthermore, if Shakespeare acted the part of the Ghost, and then of the Player King, this fact could be used to heighten greatly the effect of the "Mouse Trap"; for the Player King could be made to resemble closely in features the elder Hamlet.

II

Laertes. . . . Hold off the earth awhile
Till I have caught her once more in mine arms:

[*Leaps into the grave.*]

Now pile your dust upon the quick and dead. . .

Hamlet [*Advancing*]. . . . This is I,
Hamlet the Dane. [*Leaps into the grave.*]

The leaping of Laertes and of Hamlet into the grave of Ophelia has always seemed to me both startling and unpleasing. Surely the dead body of the unfortunate Ophelia might be

¹ V, i, 272-81.

spared such an outrage. Moreover, the action seems rather inappropriate on the part of Laertes, who throughout invariably does what he thinks the world expects of him. No editor of the play, so far as I am aware, has attempted, by any explanation, to make this action less startling or less painful to the reader.

Recently, while examining Richard Brathwaite's play, *Mercurius Britannicus* (1640), I came upon the following passage:

"What canst thou finde in this spacious Theater of the world, which is worthy thy smallest teare? where servants are made Lords, Lords servants: the Masters head is cut off, the servant riseth up and climbs into his place: wives bewaile the funerall of their husbands, counterfeit teares, and offer to leape into their graves; and yet before one worme hath entred into the winding sheete, or before the flowres are withered wherewith the coarse was garnished, they entertaine new affections, and kindle new nuptiall tapers."

Does this passage suggest that offering to leap into the grave was in the seventeenth century sometimes used as an exaggerated expression of sorrow? There is absolutely nothing to indicate that Brathwaite was echoing *Hamlet*. If we can believe that Laertes's conduct was suggested by the occurrence even rarely of this sensational mode of expressing sorrow, we can better understand the scene in *Hamlet*; for Laertes's conduct would then appear more natural, and, like his bearding the King with a drawn sword, thoroughly in keeping with his newly assumed rôle of a melodramatic hero. Of course more references to leaping into the grave (as a real or an imaginary way of expressing sorrow)² are needed to render this suggestion plausible.

III

Hamlet's attempt to make his friends swear, in which he shifts to four several places on the stage³ ("Hic et ubique? then we'll shift our ground. . . . Once more remove, good

²It is not necessary to conceive of the "leaping into the grave" as an actual custom; it may have figured merely in the imagination of the literary artist.

³I, v, 148-82.

friends") is apt to be taken as grotesque. Yet perhaps there was something conventional in this, as Professor Bradley suggests (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 412). I am reminded of the attempt of Balaam to curse the Children of Israel (*Numbers* xxiii-xxiv). Each time Balaam found himself unable to utter his curse, and each time Balak suggested a removal of ground ("And Balak said unto him, Come; I pray thee, with me unto another place. . . . And Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I pray thee, I will bring thee unto another place."). This scene had already appeared on the stage of the mystery plays. In the *Processus Prophetarum* of the Chester Cycle the stage directions read as follows:

*Tunc Balaam versus austrum.**

Tunc adducens secum Balaam in montem et ad australem partem respiciens dicat ut sequitur.

Tunc adducet eum ad borealem partem.

Ad occidentalem partem.

It will be observed that in his attempt to curse the Israelites Balaam visits the four corners of the stage, as does Hamlet. Such "business" is surely no more grotesque in *Hamlet* than it is in the Chester Play; and perhaps the convention (if it be such) may after all be traced back to the Bible.

IV

Ophelia. Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind. There, my lord.

Hamlet. Ha, ha! are you honest [=virtuous]?⁵

Hamlet's "ha, ha" is invariably printed as though it were a part of his utterance to Ophelia,—a laugh, perhaps; yet a laugh is hardly in keeping with the rest of the sentence, or with his following speech. The exclamation, I believe, is not addressed to Ophelia at all, but is an involuntary utterance of surprise, and should, therefore, be printed as an aside. At this exact moment Hamlet becomes aware of the presence of the King and Polonius in the upper gallery. Perhaps as Ophelia made her

*Omitted from ms. Harl. 2124; supplied from another version.

⁵III, i, 101-3.

most tempting speech, the eavesdroppers, in their anxiety to see, leaned forward and slightly moved the curtains.⁶ From this point on Hamlet seems to be talking not only to Ophelia, but to the King and Polonius. For example:

I am proud, revengeful, ambitious, with more offenses at my beck than . . .

Hamlet. Where's your father?

Ophelia. At home, my lord.

Hamlet. Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool no where but in's own house. . . .

Those that are married—all but one—shall live.

If this interpretation of the words "ha, ha" be right, we are helped to answer a very important question, which Professor Bradley gives up (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 157): "The question whether or no Hamlet suspects or detects the presence of listeners . . . in the absence of an authentic stage tradition . . . seems to be unanswerable."

V

Hamlet, Horatio and Marcellus are on the platform at midnight;⁷ the air bites shrewdly, for it is very cold. The three men are awaiting the coming of a ghost which, they know, invariably appears "in the dead waste and middle of the night." The clock has already struck twelve, and they are naturally somewhat nervous, with all their thoughts bent directly upon the fearful visitation that is imminent. Yet they feel, quite naturally also, that they must talk. The boom of ordinance shot off within starts the conversation about "the custom of the country" that is "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." Horatio and Marcellus are very quiet, almost inattentive, and Hamlet, uninterrupted, finally launches out into a rambling sentence of extraordinary length. It would be hard to find a sentence more involved, or more difficult to follow. Yet Hamlet, we know, could be remarkably concise and clear when he wished;

and so could Shakespeare. The sentence runs thus:

So, oft it chanceth in particular men,
That, for some vicious mole of nature in them,
As in their birth—wherein they are not guilty,
Since nature cannot choose his origin—
By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,
Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,
Or by some habit that too much o'er-leavens
The form of plausive manners, that these men,
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,—
Their virtues else—be they as pure as grace,
As infinite as man may undergo—
Shall, in the general censure, take corruption,
From that particuilar fault: the dram of eale
Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
To his own scandal.

Is it not clear that Shakespeare *meant* for Hamlet to speak in this labyrinthine manner? Did he not construct the sentence to show us that although Hamlet keeps on talking, his mind is not on what he is saying? Furthermore, did not Shakespeare intend for the audience to lose the thought in the maze of the sentence, and, as a result, direct its whole attention anxiously to the appearance of the ghost? The sentence, I believe, shows us Shakespeare, the conscious artist, seeking to reveal the mental state of the speaker; and then, as a by-product perhaps, to focus the attention of the audience upon the entrance of a highly important character.

This interpretation of the sentence suggests certain remarks about the last clause, "dram . . . scandal," which has given so much trouble to students of the play. (1) If this clause be so emended as to make a clear, epigrammatic sentence, perfectly intelligible to every one in the audience, the effect aimed at in the long, involved sentence that precedes would be destroyed. Yet nearly all the suggested emendations have been of this nature. Thus Staunton suggests "A *dram* of ill doth all the noble substance of a *pound* to his own scandal;" and he supports this emendation by quoting two epigrams: "Where ev'ry *dram* of gold contains a *pound* of dross"—Quarles's *Emblems*; and "A *dram* of sweet is worth a *pound* of sowre"—Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. (2) It seems better to regard this clause not

⁶ This, I believe, is the way in which the scene is commonly acted on the modern stage.

⁷ I, iv, 23-9.

as a corrupt reading of a short, pithy sentence, but rather as the beginning of another long rambling sentence, interrupted by the sudden appearance of the Ghost. If we place after the word "scandal" a dash instead of a period, we shall secure the effect evidently aimed at by the playwright in the preceding sentence.⁸ Perhaps it would be going too far to accuse Shakespeare of having deliberately made this last phrase unintelligible; but at least that general effect seems to have been in his mind. (3) If we consider the large number of parenthetical phrases in the sentence that precedes, introduced obviously for the purpose of rendering the sentence involved and the thought obscure, we may feel inclined to favor the change of "of a doubt" to the parenthetical phrase "out o' doubt."

The sentence arranged in accordance with these suggestions would harmonize perfectly with the speech as a whole:

The dram of eale

Doth all the noble substance—out o' doubt—
To his own scandal—

Horatio. [Interrupting] Look, my lord, it comes.

VI

I give below a few changes in the text of the play as usually printed, which have suggested themselves as possible or desirable.

(a) IV, vi, 201.

Ophelia has just entered and for the first time exhibited before Laertes her pathetic madness.

"His beard was white as snow,
All flaxen was his poll:
He is gone, he is gone
And we cast away moan:
God ha' mercy on his soul!"

And of all Christian souls, I pray God,
God be wi' ye. [Exit.]

Laertes. Do you see this, O God?

⁸This dash was suggested by J. D. M., in the *Athenæum* 1886; and Keightley, in the *Expositor*, 288, has advanced somewhat the same arguments for accepting it. The suggestion, however, seems not to have received much attention, hence I give here the line of reasoning by which I quite independently arrived at the same conclusion.

This is the usual way of printing Laertes's speech. But does he ask this question of God? Should not the line be interpreted thus?

Laer. [To King] Do you see this? O God!

(b) V, ii, 153.

Ham. What's his weapon?

Osric. Rapier and dagger.

Ham. That's two of his weapons; but, well.

The last line would be rendered more intelligible if printed thus:

Ham. That's two of his weapons.—But? Well?

That is, Osric is embarrassed by the banter to which he has been subjected, and Hamlet in his impatience is prodding him on to further speech.

(c) II, ii, 353-68.

"Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace: but there is, sir, an aery of children, little eyasses, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for't: these are now the fashion, and so berattle the common stages—so they call them—that . . .

"Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players—as it is most like, if their means are no better—their writers do them wrong to make them exclaim against their own succession?"

The meaning of the passages quoted would be rendered clearer and more forceful by printing the phrases *common stages* and *common players* in marks of quotation, for the following reason. Shakespeare, in his remarks about the city players, had in mind the bitter attack upon the public playhouses made by the chapel children in 1600-1. The latter taunted their grown-up rivals with the well-known statute which classified "common players" with "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars." Ben Jonson was the chief playwright for the children, and his *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) and *Poetaster* (1601) were doubtless their main attraction during the time that Shakespeare was writing *Hamlet*. These plays are very abusive of the public theatres; and in particular *Poetaster* directs most of its attack at a

wretched actor, Histrio, who, it is almost certain, was meant to represent the Globe company. Furthermore, in *Poetaster* Jonson points his finger directly at the Globe: "Life of Pluto! an you stage me, stinkard, your mansions shall sweat for 't, your tabernacles, varlets, your *Globes*, and your Triumphs;"⁹ and twice the statute is thrust into Histrio's face ("They forget they are in the statute"; "I'll have the statute repealed for thee"). Most important of all, Jonson uses the specific expressions that Shakespeare quotes: "Common stages"—*Cynthia's Revels*, p. 147; "will press forth on common stages"—*Idem*, p. 176; "a tragedy of yours coming forth for the common players"—*Poetaster*, p. 211. When, therefore, Shakespeare said "so they call them," he was speaking quite literally, and marks of quotation would bring out more forcefully what he meant his audience to understand.

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ZWEI GEDICHTE VON GOETHE

I. DAS BLUTLIED

Schon in den *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Februar 1912, habe ich ein paar Notizen zu dem Liede geliefert, hier sollen die Quellen nachgewiesen werden (vgl. WA, I, 14, 310 f.).

Wo flieszet heiszes Menschen Blut
Der Dunst ist allem Zauber gut
Die grau und schwarze Brüderschaft
Sie schöpft zu neuen Wercken Kraft
Was deutet auf Blut ist uns genehm,
Was Blut vergieszt ist uns bequem.
Um Glut und Blut umkreiszt den Reihn
In Glut soll Blut vergossen seyn.

Die Dirne winckt es ist schon gut
Der Säuer trinckt es deutet auf Blut
Der Blick der Tranck er feuert an
Der Dolch ist blanck es ist gethan.

⁹ Cunningham's ed. of Jonson in three volumes, Vol. I, p. 232. The other page references are to the same edition.

Ein Blut Quell rieselt nie allein
Es laufen andre Bächlein drein
Sie wälzen sich von Ort zu Ort
Es reiszt der Strom die Ströme fort.

Der Terminus post quem für die Entstehung ist etwa der Anfang des Februar 1783. In dem damals erschienenen Heft von Gedike und Biesters *Berlinischer Monatsschrift* standen S. 151 f. in einem Reisebericht die folgenden Bemerkungen über Wallenstein:

"Von Zittau aus wandte ich mich nach Friedland und Neustädte in Böhmen, und fand da bald die Unterthanen arm, die Häuser schlecht, und schlecht angebaute, auch wüste liegende Felder. Die Folgen von Religionszwang und *Sklaverei*. Mir schien es, *der Geist Wallensteins ruhe noch auf den gegenwärtigen Beamten dieser Herrschaften*. Ich besah mit einer Art von Grausen das vor dem Städtchen Friedland auf einer Anhöhe liegende alte Schloß, zu welchem zu *Frohnarbeiten* hunderte von Einwohnern aus der Ferne nach dem Schalle einer Glocke herbei eilten. Hier wars, sagte ich mir, wo Wallenstein thronte; hier wohnten seine Obersten und Anhänger, die auf *seinen Wink warteten*, als ihr Gebieter . . . Deutschland verwüsten, und *die Erde mit Blut tränken wollte!* . . . Aber bald *nöthigte das Misstrauen Ferdinands* (dieses allen schwachen Leuten so eigene Laster) den Wallenstein, *höhere und rebellische Gedanken zu fassen*: den er aber nachher weder abzusetzen noch zur Rede zu stellen wagte, sondern ihn auf gut asiatisch *meuchelmörderisch tödten liesz*. Wenn Wallenstein . . . der bewährten Kriegsregel gefolgt wäre, und *die Scheide weggeworfen hätte, nachdem er seinen Degen einmal gegen seinen Herrn gezogen hatte*, so glänzte heute vielleicht sein Name. . . ."

Es schloß sich (S. 153 f.) ein Gedicht an mit der Überschrift *Die Zeit*:

O Zeit wer klagte dich nicht schon!
Dir jammern Vater, Mutter, Sohn;
O Zeit, in deiner Fluthen Grab,
Rann Manche Thräne schon hinab!

Wir wogen hin, wir wogen her,
Zwar schwebend auch, doch stürzend mehr;
Kaum schwimmt auf dir das Abendroth,
Da deine Fluth schon wieder droht.

Von fernen Ufern führest du
Dem Mädchen oft den Jüngling zu;
Aus Fernen sammet oft durch dich
Der Freunde treues Häuflein sich;

Doch kaum verschränkt sich Hand in Hand,
Kaum knüpft sich schöner Seelen Band;
 Noch bebt im ersten Vollgenuss
Der jungen Liebe Feuerkuss;

Da hebst du dich in deinem Lauf
Allmächtig allzerstörend auf,
Zerreisest Herzen, wälzest fort
Den einen hier, den andern dort.

Den trägst du zwar mit Wiegensang
 Auf deiner Wogen Silberklang
 Und führst sanft und sorgsam ihn
 Zu neuen Rosenufern hin;

Doch gönnst du ihm nur kurze Lust
In Freundesarm, an Weibesbrust;
Und andre stürzt mit schneller Wuth
Zum Abgrund deine wilde Fluth.

Wenn uns nicht deines Sturms Gewühl
Hinüberfluthete zum Ziel,
 Was heilte dann der Trennung Schmerz,
 Was gösse Balsam uns ins Herz?

Doch wollt' es, der aus Ewigkeit
Dich ausgegossen, Stroh der Zeit,
 Dasz du, so stürmend du auch rollst
 Dort Spiegelhell dich enden sollst.

Und nun folgte (S. 155) eine kleine Abhandlung "Über die mit Stein, Stok und Blut zusammengesetzten Wörter," aus der ich ein paar Sätze heraushebe:

"Blutsauer kommt vermuthlich von der Redensart her, da Schweisz und Blut so viel heiszt, als mühsame, saure und schwere Arbeit.¹ So sagt man auch: Ich musz arbeiten, dasz ich dabei Blut schwitzen möchte. Desgleichen: Er soll arbeiten, dasz ihm das Blut aus den Fingern springe. Blutsauer würde also heissen, so sauer, dasz man dabei Blut schwitzen möchte, oder bis zum Blutvergieszen sauer. In dem Worte blutjung scheint mir blut aus Blüthe entstanden zu sein. . . . Die Niedersachsen haben noch mehrere Zusammensetzungen mit dem Worte Blut gemacht, welche bei ihnen im gemeinen Leben gewöhnlich sind, aber kaum einen verständlichen Sinn geben, und gar keinen Nachdruck haben würden, wenn man das Wort Blut als eine bloße Intension ansehen wollte, die weiter nichts bedeutete als sehr; und es würde dieses der Natur der niedersächsischen Sprache zuwider sein, welche überhaupt sehr naiv, und in ihren Zusammensetzungen sehr nachdrücklich ist. Daher glaube ich, man

müsse diese Wörter aus der figürlichen Bedeutung des Wortes Blut erklären, in welcher es *das Temperament des Menschen*, seine *sinnlichen Triebe* und Neigungen bedeutet. Man sagt: Er hat ein *hitziges, feuriges Blut*,² das ist, er ist von einem hitzigen feurigen Temperamente. Es steckt ihm schon im Blute. . . . So auch eine *Bluthure*, *der es schon im Blute steckt*, die nach ihrem ganzen Temperament dazu geneigt ist.—"

Die Erwähnung der harten Frondienste, die den Wallensteinschen Leibeigenen auferlegt gewesen; die Anführung von Wendungen wie "Ich musz arbeiten, dasz ich Blut schwitze, dasz mir das Blut aus den Fingern springt," endlich die Bemerkung über die Eigenheit der niedersächsischen Mundart; das alles zusammen genommen erinnerte den Leser an Vossens von häufigen sprachlichen Anmerkungen begleiteten Bauerngedichte, weiterhin an jenes in den Gedichten der niedersächsischen Bauern- und Pfarrersöhne Bürger, Voss, u.s.w. oft wiederkehrende Motiv von dem gewalttätigen Herren und dem armen Pflüger, dem Wilden Jäger, u.s.w., schliesslich, such wieder sammelnd, an eine bestimmte Dichtung, nämlich Vossens *Leibeigenschaft*, die aus zwei stark kontrastierenden Gedichten, dem düstern *Die Pferdeknecchte* und dem heitern *Der Ährenkranz* bestand. So kam es, dasz aus dem letztern, den harmlos-fröhlichen ländlichen Bilde, in das grauenhafte Blutlied ein paar Verse übergingen:

Die Freyheit schenkt uns solchen Muth!
 Die Dirn' ist frisch wie Milch und Blut. . . .

Die Dirne winckt es ist schon gut
 Der Säuffer trinckt es deutet auf Blut
 Der Blick der Tranck er feuert an—

Sie stehen in dem in die Idylle eingelegten *Lied von der Freyheit* das auch zu einem andern Lied im Faust das Vorbild abgegeben hat, *Der Schäfer putzte sich zum Tanz*; man vergleiche nur die beiden ersten Strophen:

Wir bringen mit Gesang und Tanz
 Dir diesen blanken Ährenkranz,
 Wir Bräutigam und Braut!
 Die Fiedel und Hoboe schallt!
 Die Glocken gehn, und Jung und Alt
 Springt hoch, und jauchzet laut!

¹Vgl. i. d. Hexenküche, 2450 ff; und zu 2453, Blutlied 9, 12.

²Vgl. Faust, 1795.

Der Schäfer putzte sich zum Tanz,
Mit bunter Jacke, Band und Kranz,
Schmuck war er angezogen.
Schon um die Linde war es voll;
Und alles tanzte schon wie toll, . . .
So ging der Fiedelbogen.

Ebenso wurde die Gestalt des Bettlers durch
Vossens Lied geliefert:

Im blauen Tremsenkranz juchheyn,
Zu Weidenflöten und Schalmeyn
Die Kinder rund und roth;
Und schenken froh dem bleichen Mann,
Des Sklavendorfes Unterthan,
Ihr kleines Vesperbrodt!

Ihr guten Herrn, ihr schönen Frauen,
So wohlgeputzt und backenroth,
Belieb' es euch mich anzuschauen,
Und seht und mildert meine Noth! . . .
Nur der ist froh, der geben mag.
Ein Tag den alle Menschen feiern,
Er sei für mich ein Erntetag.

Der Bettler erinnert an die alte Kupplerin,
ihre Worte ergeben mit denen im Blutlied be-
kannte Bilder:

Ei! wie geputzt! das schöne junge Blut!
Wer soll sich nicht in euch vergaffen?
Nur nicht so stolz! es ist schon gut!
Und was ihr wünscht das wüßst' ich wohl zu schaffen.

Die Dirne winckt es ist schon gut
Der Säufer trinckt es deutet auf Blut
Der Blick der Tranck er feuert an
Der Dolch ist blanck es ist gethan.

Es ist schon möglich dasz Goethe an Mar-
lowes Ende gedacht hatte.

In der ersten Idylle steht unter andern die
Beschreibung der Wilden Jagd, deren einzelne
Motive sich literarisch weithin, z. B. auch in
Goethes Ungetreuen Knaben hinein, ausge-
breitet hatten. Der eine Pferdeknecht erzählt,
sein Oheim habe sie einst für die fürstliche
Jagd gehalten, und sei gegangen

Ihnen nach in die *Burg*. Nun denk wie der Satan
sein Spiel hat!

Jäger und Pferd' und Hunde sind Edelleute, mit
Manteln,

Langen Bärten, und eisernen Kleidern, und groszen
Perücken;

Wie die Schlaraffengesichter im Spiegelsaale des
Junkers.

Weiber mit hohen Fontanschen und Bügelrücken
und Schlentern

Fodern sie auf zum Tanz. Da rasseln die glühnde
Ketten!

Statt der Musik erschallt aus den Wänden ein
Heulen und Winseln.

Drauf wird die Tafel gedeckt. Ganz oben setzt sich
der Stammherr

Vom hochadlichen Haus', ein Straszenträuber. Sein
Beinkleid,

Wams und Bienenkapp' ist *glühendes Eisen*. Sie
fressen

Blutiges Menschenfleisch, und trinken siedende
Thränen.

Unsers Junkers Papa kriegt meinen Oheim zu sehen,
Nimmt den Becher voll Thränen, und bringt ihn:

Da trink' er eins, Jochen!

Jochen will nicht; er musz. Nun soll ich denn
trinken, so trink' ich,

Sagt er, in Gottes Namen! Und Knall! *war alles*
verschwunden.

Ich habe den Passus nicht nur wegen des
Blutlieds und der folgenden Worte des Paralipi-
pomenon, sondern auch wegen des Lieds der
Soldaten in *Faust* herausgehoben: "Burgen
mit hohen Mauern und Zinnen, Mädchen mit
stolzen höhnnenden Sinnen . . . Mädchen
und Burgen müssen sich geben. . . . Und
die Soldaten ziehen davon." Man denkt dabei
ganz allgemein auch an *Egmont*, und hier
findet sich eine andere Parallele zum Blutlied.
Clärchen will den Geliebten aus dem Gefängnis
befreien (8, 275): "Die—Tyrannei—*zückt*
schon den Dolch . . . kommt wir wollen
uns theilen; *mit schnellem Lauf von Quartier*
zu Quartier rufen wir die Bürger heraus. . . .
Auf dem Markte treffen wir uns wieder, und
unser Strom reiszt einen jeden mit sich fort.
Die Feinde sehen sich umringt und über-
schwemmt . . ." Den entsprechenden Ver-
sen des Blutlieds sind wiederum diejenigen, in
denen Valentin die schnelle Karriere der Dirne
schildert, nachgeahmt:

Die Dirne winckt es ist schon gut
Der Säufer trinckt es deutet auf Blut
Der Blick der Tranck er feuert an
Der Dolch ist blanck es ist gethan.
Ein Blutquell rieselt nie allein
Es laufen andre Bächlein drein
Sie wälzen sich von Ort zu Ort
Es reiszt der Strom die Ströme fort.

Ich sag dir's im Vertrauen nur:
Du bist doch nun einmal eine Hur' . . .
Geschehn ist leider nun geschehn,
Und wie es gehn kann, so wird's gehn.
Du fingst mit Einem heimlich an,
Bald kommen ihrer mehr dran,
Und wenn dich erst ein Dutzend hat,
So hat dich auch die ganze Stadt.

Natürlich waren aber die betreffenden Blutverse ihrerseits jenen in dem bekannten Schwank von Hans Sachs angelehnt (Goetze, 255, 123 ff.):

Es kumet kein vnglueck allein,
Es sey geleich gros oder klein,
Sünder es pringt ein id vnglueck
Ein anders vnglueck auf dem rueck.

Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem Blutlied und Valentins Worten ist so natürlich wie nur möglich. Im *Urfaust* (Kerker, 53) hatte Mephisto zu Faust gesagt: "Und die Gefahr der du dich aussezzest! Wisse dasz *auf der Stadt noch die Blutschuld liegt die du auf sie gebracht hast. Dasz über der Stätte des Erschlagenen rächende Geister schweben*, die auf den rückkehrenden Mörder lauern." An diese Worte war Goethe bei der Lektüre jenes Reiseberichts über den Schauplatz von Wallensteins Wirken (s. oben) aufs lebhafteste erinnert worden, und im Zusammenhang mit den übrigen herzutretenden Momenten, worunter die Einlage des Freiheitslieds in Vossens Idylle, ergab sich die Idee, die rächenden Geister ihr Blutlied singen zu lassen. Dasz es über der Richtstätte ist,³ war durch Bürgers Leonore veranlaszt, wo sie um das Rad schweben:

Sieh da! sieh da! * Am Hochgericht
Tanz, um des Rades Spindel
Halb sichtbarlich, bei Mondenlicht,
Ein luftiges Gesindel.

Vorher war dem Paar der Leichenzug begegnet: "Aus diesen Momenten hätte sich bei Goethe das Wort von der "schwarz und grauen Bruderschaft" unschwer bilden können, wenn es nicht auf lustigere Art geschehen wäre. Goethes Blutlied ist dem Inhalt nach recht nahe verwandt mit zwei Gedichten jenes jungen Schwaben, der sich vor kurzem durch das Drama *Die Räuber* und die lyrische *Anthologie auf das Jahr 1782* einen Namen gemacht hatte.

* Zu *Urfaust*, 1440, "Sie streuen und weihen," vgl. *Egmont*, 8, 287, wo Brackenburg von den schaurigen Vorbereitungen zu Egmonts Hinrichtung spricht: "Sie schienen die Weihe eines grätzlichen Opfers vorbereitend zu begehen."

³Der Weg von diesem "Sieh da! sieh da!" bis zu demjenigen in den Kranichen des Ibykus liegt jetzt offen da.

In der letzteren begann das Gedicht *Die Pest* (Gödeke I, 299) mit den Versen

Grätzlich preisen Gottes Kraft
Pestilenzen würgende Seuchen,
Die mit der *grausen Bruderschaft*
Durchs öde Thal der Grabnacht schleichen,

während die Räuber (Gödeke I, 130 f) in ihrem Liede "Stehlen, morden, huren, balgen" die folgenden Verse singen:

Und haben wir im Traubensaft
Die Gurgel ausgebadet
So machen wir uns Muth und Kraft,
Und mit dem Schwarzen Bruderschaft,
Der in der Hölle bratet.

Das Wehgeheul geschlagner Väter,
Der bangen Mütter Klaggezetter,
Das Winseln der verlasznen Braut
Ist Schmaus für unsre Trommelhaut!

Ha! wenn sie euch unter dem Beile so zuken,
Ausbrüllen wie Kälber, umfallen wie Muken,
Das kizelt unsern Augensterne,
Das schmeichelt unsern Ohren gern. . . .

Beide Stellen kombinierte Goethe, wobei die *grause* Bruderschaft neben der *schwarzen* zur *grauen* wurde. Um sicher zu gehen, vergleiche man die ganze erste Strophe des Blutlieds mit dem oben abgedruckten Passus aus dem Räuberliede. Auch steht diese Beziehung des *Faust* zu den *Räubern* durchaus nicht allein da: Ist doch z.B. das vierversige Szenenrudiment *Landstrasse* im sogenannten *Urfaust*,

Was giebt Mephisto hast du Eil?
Was schlägst vorm Kreuz die Augen nieder?
Ich weisz es wohl es ist ein Vorurtheil,
Allein genung mir ists einmal zuwieder

zum Teil durch Spiegelbergs ebenfalls vierzeiliges Liedchen angeregt worden:

Memento mori! Aber das regt mich nicht an, . . .
Geh ich vorbey am Rabensteine,
So blinz ich nur das rechte Auge zu,
Und denk, du hängst mir wohl alleine,
Wer ist ein Narr, ich oder du?

und gleich darauf erzählt der dem sicheren Tode entronnene Roller: "Ihr hättet sollen—*den Strik um den Hals*—mit lebendigem Leib zu Grabe marschiren wie ich, und die sakermentalischen Anstalten und Schinders Cereimonien, und mit jedem Schritt, den der scheue

Fus vorwärts wankte, näher und fürchterlich näher die verfluchte Maschine, wo ich einlogirt werden sollte, im Glanz der schrecklichen Morgensonne steigend, und die laurenden Schinders-Knechte, und die grässliche Musik—noch raunt sie in meinen Ohren—und das *Gekrächz hungriger Raben* . . . ich sag euch, wenn man aus dem glühenden Ofen ins Eiswasser springt, kann man den Abfall nicht so stark fühlen als ich, da ich am andern Ufer war . . .” womit man nun die auf das Blutlied folgenden szenischen Angaben vergleiche: *Hochgerichtserscheinung—Gedräng—Auf glühendem Boden—Nackt das Idol—Die Hände auf dem Rücken—Bedeckt nicht das Gesicht und nicht die Scham—Gesang—Der Kopf fällt ab—Das Blut springt und löscht das Feuer—Rauschen—Geschwätz von Kielkröpfen.*

Man hat natürlich anzunehmen, dass das Lied von den Hexen gesungen wird. Nach einer früheren Bemerkung in demselben Paralipomenon wären die Hexen “zufällig wie Python” entstanden, während “die Schöpfung des Menschen durch die ewige Weisheit” vollzogen sei. Diese Anschauung des von dem ganzen Treiben angeekelten Faust hat Goethe aus einer ihm bei Haller begegneten Stelle fortgebildet, und das Bindeglied liegt in den nächsten Versen des Paralipomenon vor:

Dem Rusz der Hexen zu entgehen
Muss unser Wimpel südwärts wehen;
Doch dort bequeme dich zu wohnen
Bey Pfaffen und bey Scorpionen.

Sie bedeuten: Im Süden ist es nicht besser als im Norden; sind es hier die schwarzen und düstern, so dort die bleichen und giftigen—“Pfaffen und Skorpionen” ein Hendiadyoin dem “Rusz der Hexen” auf der andern Seite entsprechend—Ausgeburten des Menschengeistes, seines Aberglaubens, von dem Haller (*Versuch schw. Ged.*, Göttingen 1768, S. 55) an Stähelin sang:

Diess ist der grüeste Gott, ver dem die Welt sich
bücket.⁵

Die Götzen, die man ehrt, und auf Altären schmückt,
Sind, bunten Farben gleich, nur Theile seines Lichts,⁶

⁵ Vgl. WA, 14, 306, 11 ff.

⁶ Vgl. *Faust*, 1336, 1349 ff.

Sie selbst sind nur durch Ihn, und ausser Ihm ein
Nichts.

*Sie sind im Wesen eins, nur an Gestalt verschieden,
Weiss unterm blanken Nord, schwarz unterm braunen
Süden;*

Dort grimmig, ihr Getränk ist warmes Menschen-
Blut,

Hier gütig, etwas Gold versöhnet ihre Wuth.

Doch ein verwöhnt Paris, dem Argenson nicht wehret,
Zeugt so viel Diebe nicht, als Götter man verehret;
Kein Thier ist so verhasst, kein Scheusal so veracht,
Dem nicht ein Volk gedient, und Bilder sind gemacht.
Den trägt hier ein Altar, der dort am Galgen hängt,
Das heisse Persen ehrt die Sonne, die es sänget;
Das tumme Memphis sucht im Sumpf den Crocodill,
Und räuchert einem Gott, der es verschlingen will . .
Des bösen Wesen selbst, des Schadens alter Freund,⁷
Hat Kirchen auf der Welt und Priester, wie sein
Feind.⁸

Entsetzlicher Betrug! vor solchen Ungeheuern
Kniert die verführte Welt, und lernet Teufel feyern. . .
*Für seines Gottes Ruhm gilt Meineid und Verrath;
Was böses ist geschehn, das nicht ein Priester that?*

Man sieht, dieser Passus, dessen Beziehung zu der Teufelsanbetung der Walpurgisnacht zu Tage liegt, hat ebenfalls eine Wendung für das Blutlied geliefert, dessen Spuren an mehreren Stellen des *Faust* zu beobachten sind—im Verein mit dem Gedicht *Die Zeit* z.B. in den Versen 11339–11383; dann natürlich auch in den hier in Betracht kommenden Abschnitten des ersten Theils, z.B. 4191; und wenn ebendort (4183 ff) auch aus dem Gespräche zwischen Schildwache und Freund Hain Reminiszenzen unterlaufen, so erklärt sich das sofort, wenn man neben dies Gespräch das Lied von der Zeit und das Blutlied hält.

Ich denke, es ist so gut wie sicher, dass das Blutlied direkt unter dem Eindruck der ersten Lektüre des genannten Hefts der Berliner Monatsschrift entstanden ist: der sonstige Inhalt des Hefts war nicht danach,⁹ dass Goethe Veranlassung gehabt hätte, es zu anderer Zeit als eben gleich nach dem Erscheinen durch-

⁷ Vgl. *Faust*, 1337.

⁸ Vgl. WA, 14, 306 ff.

⁹ S. 168 steht noch ein Aufsatz “Vergleichung der Aktion des Predigers mit der des Schauspielers” mit dem entgegengesetzten Resultat als es *Urfaust*, 174 festgesetzt war. S. 189 von Biester: “Ist Kursachsen das Tribunal der Sprache und Literatur für die übrigen Provinzen Deutschlands?” nicht von Belang.

zulesen, es später noch einmal vorzunehmen. Auch die oben aufgedeckten Beziehungen zu den Räubern beweisen dass die Meinung unserer Faustforscher, in der ersten Weimarer Periode sei am *Faust* nicht gearbeitet worden, hinfällig ist, wie denn ihre ganze Urfaust-Chronologie sich mir bei meinen Arbeiten als ein Kartenhaus gezeigt hat.

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THE ARRAIGNMENT OF PARIS AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY FLATTERY

Prof. F. E. Schelling, in a note on *The Arraignment of Paris* (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, 207), suggested that Peele's converting the story of Ate and the golden apple into an elaborate compliment to Elizabeth probably owed its inspiration to the lines in Gascoigne's *Vanities of Bewtie*:

"This Queene it is who, had she sat in feild
When Paris judged that Venus bare the bell,
The prize was hers, for she deserved it well."

There are, however, other "suggestions" for the compliment. Indeed the device seems to have been almost a common-place of sixteenth century flattery.¹ Creizenach (*Geschichte*, IV, 45) has recently pointed out that in 1569 Lucas de Heere in a picture at Hampton Court represented Queen Elizabeth standing triumphant before Juno, Minerva and Venus who, we are told, are "beschämt und überwunden" in the presence of so much beauty. And Reyher (*Les Masques Anglais*, 390) and Creizenach (*Geschichte*, 45) have both noted in connection with *The Arraignment* Udall's pageant prepared for the coronation of Elizabeth's mother in 1533. This ingenious little "show" was exhibited "at the Little Conduete in Chepe Side in maner and forme following:" Mercury sent from Jupiter presents a golden apple to Paris which the latter is to award to the most

beautiful of the three goddesses. Juno promises him the best of "all riches and kingdoms" to decide in her favor. Pallas promises "incomparable wisdom," Venus "the fairest ladie that on erthe is." Paris decides in favor of Venus, but with the words,

"Yet, to be plain,
Here is the fouerthe lady now in presence,
Most worthie to have it of due congruence,
As pereles in riches, wit, and beautee,
Whiche are but sundry qualities in you three,
But for hir worthynes, this aple of gold
Is to symple a reward a thousand fold."

This last idea is taken up and elaborated in "The Conclusion of this Pageant pronounced by a Child," wherein it is stated that a worthier reward awaits Queen Anne in the form of "a crown imperiall with glorie ymmortall." At the departure of the Queen a "balad" was sung in which Anne is again assured that of all ladies she is most deserving of the gift, but as the golden ball is too "lowe and bace" for her worthiness it will be presented to Venus. Yet in spite of all this, it appears that the ball was actually presented to Anne in the name of the three goddesses. This is brought out in the descriptive words of Leland² accompanying Udall's verse and in the contemporary accounts of the pageant. The description printed by Wynkyn de Worde (*Arber, Eng. Garner*, II, 48) mentions "a costly and rich pageant; whereat was goodly harmony of music and other minstrels, with singing. And within that pageant were five costly seats wherein were set these five personages, that is to wit, Juno, Pallas, Mercury, Venus and Paris; who having a ball of gold presented it to her grace [Anne] with certain verses of great honour; and children singing a ballad to her Grace, and praise to all her ladies." Hall's account (*Chronicle*, p. 802) is very similar. Before the three deities stood Mercury who "in the name of the iii goddesses" gave to the Queen "a balle of gold devided in thre, signifying thre giftes ye

¹ For an interesting case of a later use of the "conceit" see Phoebus' song in III, i of *The Maydes Metamorphosis*.

² The Pageant, etc., is printed in Nichols' *Prog. of Eliz.*, ed. of 1805, Vol. I, p. xv; Furnivall, *Ballads from Manuscript*, I, 379-401; *Arber, Eng. Garner*, II, 52-60.

which three Goddesses gave to her, that is to saye, wysedomc, ryches and felicitee." Holinshed (*Chronicle*, III, 782) copies Hall:

With these accounts should be compared a much earlier one, for it appears that the "show" was not original with Udall. When Elizabeth's aunt, Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII, was married in 1503 to the Scots King, she was received at Edinburgh with great ceremony. In one pageant an angel presented to her the keys of the city; and near the town cross "was a Scarfawst [Scarfallt?] maid, wher was represented Paris and the Thre Deessys, with Mercure, that gaffe hym the apyll of gold, for to gyffe to the most fayre of the Thre, whiche he gave to Venus" (Leland, *Collectanea*, Ed. of 1770, IV, 289). We can rest assured that the apple was presented with the understanding that Margaret really deserved it, for otherwise such a pageant on such an occasion would have been without point.

Now if we must find a suggestion for Peele's flattery, where shall we turn? His device differs pretty widely from the earlier ones. One may raise the question, too, whether he ever saw the manuscript containing Udall's production. But the same question also arises in connection with Gascoigne's poem. Hall and Holinshed were well known, as no doubt was Wynkyn de Worde's account of Anne's coronation; and it is certainly more conceivable that their descriptions, bald though they be, are abler candidates for suggestion than is the general statement by Gascoigne. At least it is reasonable to suppose that interested as he was in pageants and pageantry, Peele certainly knew through some source or another—perhaps an account more detailed than any mentioned above—the devices at Anne's coronation or at the reception of Margaret into Edinburgh. To me, however, the significance of Udall's show at the little conduit and the pageant of the unknown Scot lies not in their direct connection with Peele's production, but in the fact that long before *The Arraignment* the same classic material had been used to compliment the mother, and no doubt the aunt, as extravagantly as it was later used, in a different and more effective manner, to tickle the

vanity of Elizabeth. The nature of the device is, I feel, such as might have occurred independently to various poets during a century of classicism and flattery.

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LONGFELLOW AND SCHILLER'S *LIED VON DER GLOCKE*

When Longfellow's *Building of the Ship* was published, his friends recognized in it a close relationship to Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke* which, as they well knew, was so much admired by the American poet. It is not at all necessary to offer proofs of this admiration. His acquaintance with Schiller's work was of early date, and he read it repeatedly with his classes in German at the university, and always with keen delight. His own poem is related to Schiller's in both spirit and form, but chiefly in spirit.

The central bond of both poems is the detailed description of the production of a masterpiece by a master and his workmen. Furthermore, this masterpiece of craft has in each case a symbolic meaning. In the one is symbolized the American Republic riding the stormy political seas of the ante-bellum period, when prophets were not wanting on both sides of the Atlantic, who foretold the destruction of democratic institutions in the impending crisis; in the other the peace of Europe after the wild orgies of the French Revolution.

The German poem has, however, a series of pictures of human life in its typical forms from birth till death, all associated directly with the functions of the bell. The American has but a single episode of this kind, the story of the love of the ship-builder's daughter and his apprentice, yet this is broken up into a series of pictures, such as: the betrothal, the maiden standing before her father's door watching the work, the twilight scene where the maiden rests her head on her lover's breast, her form used as the model for the image carved by her lover

to adorn the ship's bows, the bridals celebrated on board the finished vessel, every stage of the story being linked either naturally or symbolically with the making and launching of the ship. In spirit there is no doubt of the kinship, and the influence of Schiller is as certainly shown as any literary influence can well be.

In form, however, the kinship is less marked. In Schiller's poem the description of the casting of the bell is kept absolutely separate from the panorama of human life associated with it, except for the inevitable philosophic sentences in any of Schiller's best work. The Song of the Bell proper is a series of strophes or stanzas of like form making a unity which could exist without the typical pictures, which are inserted as a series of antistrophes of unequal length between the successive pairs of stanzas. In Longfellow's poem the building of the ship is completely blended with the love episode and the symbolic references are scattered throughout. The only approach to an accompanying strain like Schiller's is the twice repeated song:

Build me straight, O worthy master!
 Staunch and strong, a goodly vessel,
 That shall laugh at all disaster,
 And with wave and whirlwind wrestle!

with an additional variant:

In the shipyard stood the master,
 With the model of the vessel,
 That should laugh at all disaster,
 And with wave and whirlwind wrestle!

The whole metrical movement of Longfellow's poem, beginning with:

Behold at last
 Each tall and tapering mast,

and running through more than a hundred verses, in fact up to the final apostrophe to the Union:

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!

announces unmistakeably to eye and ear its essential kinship with the antistrophic meters of the *Lied*. Swift verses, rimed, of varying length, intended generally to conform to and express the mood and content, are common to both poems. Possibly even finer shades of like-

ness might be pointed out as results of Longfellow's complete assimilation of the model, but this is sufficient.

But Schiller's poem did not cease to mould Longfellow's poetry with the closing of this one poem. Again after a score or more of years the formative influence is felt. When writing the Second Interlude of *Christus*, in 1871, Longfellow translated Luther's hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, and cast between successive stanzas a series of antistrophes, poetical glosses, presenting Luther's attitude toward the Reformation and its leaders. Two years later, 1873, the beautiful poem, *The Hanging of the Crane*, shows again a series of strophes and antistrophes, the strophes, however, being more disconnected than in the previous case, and somewhat dependent upon the intervening antistrophes for their full appreciation. The series of beautiful scenes from happy domestic life betrays a kinship of content with Schiller's poem, but there is no borrowing, for Longfellow's pictures are partly personal and wholly American. The metrical regularity is more severe than that of the German poem. Still later, in *Keramos*, 1877, is shown the lasting formal influence of Schiller's *Lied*. This is a poem of the strictest regularity of structure and beauty of melody. Here the Potter's Song is as strict a unity in itself as the master bell-caster's, and as in Schiller, the operations of a particular industry are made symbolic of human life in its various phases, though the symbolism is contained in the Potter's Song proper, rather than in the accompanying panoramic antistrophes. These latter are sketchy scenes from the world-romance of the fictile arts, of which the only unity is that of an imaginary flight on the wings of the song itself, from land to land, wherever any notable pottery works exist or have existed.

With this, almost at the close of his life, the productive impulse from Schiller's poem seems to have ceased; the few remaining years of Longfellow's active literary career show no further traces of its form or spirit.

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BANDELLO AND *THE BROKEN HEART*

The latest word in regard to the source of *The Broken Heart* is, I believe, from Mr. S. P. Sherman (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, June, 1909), who advances the theory that instead of adapting some Italian tale, as Ellis suggests, Ford based his play on the story of Sidney and Lady Penelope Rich (Stella), using a Spartan setting to disguise an English love affair. In choosing this setting, Ford, according to Mr. Sherman, was following in the footsteps of Sidney himself, who in *Arcadia* had familiarized the public with the same imaginary Sparta as a background for the same type of incidents as Ford's. Mr. Sherman makes out a strong case even if it is impossible to reduce the matter to a certainty; but probably he goes too far in disregarding the Italian flavor which others detect in the play. The Astrophel-Stella story would account only for the forced marriage of Penthea in *The Broken Heart*, and room would still be left for a decided Italian influence on the other important complications of the play. There seems no reason, in fact, why Ford, with the story of Astrophel and Stella in mind, wishing to set forth the danger of interference in matters of the heart, may not have drawn his treatment from Italian romance, to which the theme is at least appropriate. At any rate, Bandello, one of whose novels furnished Ford, possibly directly, with the device of the chair that imprisons Ithocles, has a second novel, the story of Livio and Camilla (I, 33), which may well have furnished suggestions for *The Broken Heart* to a dramatist who adapts with so free a hand as Ford. This novel is translated into French by Belleforest in his *Histoires Tragiques* (No. 22), and into English, through Belleforest, by Fenton in his *Tragicall Discourses* (Discourse II).

The portion of Bandello's story that is of interest for *The Broken Heart* runs as follows. Livio and Camilla having become desperately enamored of each other, Livio seeks the consent of the girl's father to their marriage. The old man readily agrees to a betrothal, but adds the condition that his son Claudio, who is then

at Rome, shall on his return sanction the match. The lovers regard the matter as settled, and, while the brother's coming is long delayed, their love, unrestrained, grows apace. But Claudio, on his return, objects to the match without reason, and persuades the father to withdraw his consent. The remainder of the story bears no relation to Ford's play except that the brother's opposition results in a tragedy involving his death and that of the two lovers. For Livio and Camilla, who hold the pledge that has passed between them as binding as marriage, taking matters into their own hands, enter into a secret contract, as a result of which Livio dies of excessive joy and Camilla, overcome with grief, expires by his corpse. Claudio, in fierce anger against Camilla's maid for her part in the intrigue, kills her with his sword, and is put to death for his crime.

In *The Broken Heart*, the theme of a brother's interference in the love affairs of his sister appears in two forms. Penthea is by her father Thrasus contracted to Orgilus. In consequence, Orgilus tells his father (I, 1),

A freedom of converse, an interchange
Of holy and chaste love, so fixed our souls
In a firm growth of union, that no time
Can eat into the pledge.

But on the death of Thrasus, Penthea's brother Ithocles, nursing an old enmity, disregards the contract, and forces his sister into a hateful marriage with Bassanes. Penthea, however, considers herself the wife of Orgilus, upbraids her brother as the cause of her wretchedness, and broods over what she terms her adulterous marriage to Bassanes, till death rids her of the bond. But the interference of Ithocles leads to a tragedy involving his death and that of his own betrothed, Calantha, who dies of a broken heart upon her lover's corpse, after the manner of Camilla. Orgilus, like Claudio, is condemned to death for his part in the tragedy of these last two lovers. The death of Calantha in Ford's play is sufficiently striking as a catastrophe to make the coincidence of Camilla's similar end at least interesting.

In the love of Prophilus and Euphranea,

Ford's second variation on the subject of a brother's authority over a sister in the matter of marriage, the other side of the picture is presented. Orgilus, ostensibly leaving for Athens,—compare Claudio's sojourn at Rome,—exacts from his father and from his sister Euphranea an oath that the girl shall not marry without his consent. Immediately after his departure, Euphranea falls in love with Prophilus. The father sanctions the match for his own part, but stipulates that the marriage must depend upon his son's consent. When Orgilus returns home, he finds, however, that his consent has been taken for granted by the lovers and by the court in general. Though he is strongly tempted to interfere,—for the marriage is distasteful to him because Prophilus is the bosom friend of Ithocles, who, exercising a brother's authority, has robbed Orgilus of his own mate Penthea,—in the end he refrains from doing violence to his sister's heart, and the revels in honor of Euphranea's happy marriage to Prophilus furnish the background of gayety which deepens the gloom of the tragedies growing out of the tyranny of Ithocles toward his sister.

If Ford borrowed the device of the chair directly from Bandello or Belleforest instead of through an adaptation such as Barnes's *Devil's Charter*, there is no reason why he should not have known, also, the story of Livio and Camilla either in the original or in the French version. This particular story he might easily have known through Fenton, but Fenton does not translate the novel in which the fatal chair appears. As between the Italian and the French or English versions, assuming that Ford used this tale at all for *The Broken Heart*, I should say that the French or English was the more likely source; for Belleforest, followed closely by Fenton, greatly enlarges Bandello's terse narrative, naturally not so much by filling in details in regard to events as by enhancing the subjective interest, so that his version seems nearer to the spirit of Ford's play. Thus, in both translations, when the lovers find the marriage to which they have so confidently looked forward balked by Claudio's unreasonable opposition, Camilla bursts forth into a

monologue of great length, inveighing against the tyranny of her brother and the iniquity of thwarting inclination in marriage. "How can I refuse that wherof is passed alreedy a confirmation,"—I quote Fenton,—“or admit other husband then hee to whom I ham bounde by vowe of consente?” Her father, she protests, has already “paste th'accorde” between herself and Livio, and her brother has no privilege to give laws to her fancy. She vows never to be “bestowed in an other place by his appointment,” but to yield herself to him only to whom she has pawned her faith. Again, in the enlarged form of the tale, great stress is laid on the power of excessive emotion over life, whether of joy or of grief. It is said in the argument: “And like as a vehement and inward greffe of the mynd . . . is of such force to close the poares and conduictes of the vitall partes of man, that, cancelling the commission of lyfe, the soule departes leaving the body without sence; like power, I saye, hath the vehemencie of semblable gladnes,” etc. A number of ancient examples of death from joy or sorrow are then cited, among them that of the daughter-in-law of the High Priest Eli, who is said to have died of grief at the news of her husband's sudden end. It seems at least possible that the emphasis on this manner of death attracted Ford's attention to the theme.

The events of Bandello's story are said to have taken place during the papacy of Alexander VI (1492–1503), and there is a circumstantial account of how Claudio was put to death by order of Catalano, governor of Cesena under Caesar Borgia. Fenton, whose translation appeared in 1567, is apparently responsible for the express statements that the story is of undoubted truth and that the affair “doth not exceed the remembrance of our time.” Though I know of no corroborative evidence, the tale of these two lovers may have been well known, and may have had some foundation in fact. If so, it is just possible that we have here the basis of Ford's claim in the prologue,

What may be here thought Fiction, when time's youth
Wanted some riper years, was known a Truth.

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Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend, by R. W. CHAMBERS, M. A., Fellow and Librarian of University College, London. Cambridge University Press, 1912.

Around this poem of one hundred and forty-three lines, Mr. Chambers has written a book nearly as long as Mr. Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, with which it is uniform in size and binding. No student of the *Widsith* will question the propriety of this minute examination. It is abundantly warranted, in the first place, by the great importance and interest of the subject-matter. No single vernacular document, not even *Beowulf*, throws clearer light upon early Germanic ethnography and saga. The significance of its briefest references is far-reaching; and these references cannot be explained in a few words. Again, the poem presents many difficulties of interpretation. Various problems, exceedingly complicated in themselves, have engaged the attention of critics for years, and any careful survey of the piece is bound to consider these conflicts of scholarly opinion, to sift the wheat from the chaff, and to assign credit where credit is due. This task Mr. Chambers has performed exceedingly well. The footnotes and references show how little has been taken for granted, how carefully even minor issues have been guarded. The editor is, if anything, over-conscientious in giving credit to his predecessors, and in noting all his sources of information. In short, the surprising thing is not that the book is so long, but, considering its completeness, that it is so short. It is not only a practically definitive edition of *Widsith*; it is a cyclopedia of Germanic saga. Its pages generally give the effect of conciseness, and it contains little that the expert would wish omitted.

In a book dealing with so many controversial matters, there are naturally some statements from which the reader will dissent. On the whole, however, the decisions of disputed questions display sound judgment. Criticism of details is not, in any case, the object of the present review, but rather an explanation of the general plan and scope of the volume. A

general outline is afforded by the opening chapter, entitled "*Widsith and the German Heroic Age*." One or two matters are provisionally settled at the outset,—that the piece is not genuine autobiography, and that it is more or less interpolated.

"Our poem . . . reflects a definitely marked period: that of those barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire, which began when the Goths first swarmed across the frontier, and ended with Alboin's falling upon an Italy worn by famine, pestilence and the sword of Visigoth, Hun, Vandal and Ostrogoth. Whether *Widsith* is to be regarded as the work of one man, or as a cento of several heroic catalogues, need not for the moment trouble us; for, though the various sections of the poem may show minor idiosyncrasies, they all reflect the same heroic age. Excluding the lines of Biblical lore, we are left with a poem recording the tribes and chiefs of the German migrations, from the middle of the third to the middle of the sixth century: from Ostrogotha to Alboin."

The following chapter summarizes the epic material connected with the Gothic and Burgundian heroes whom *Widsith* has supposedly visited. Here it is noteworthy that the editor recognizes that the key to the Eormenric-Ealhild passage lies in regarding Ealhild as the wife, not of Eadgils, but of Eormanric (pp. 21 ff). He is also right, I think, in identifying the hero of l. 115 with Theodoric of Verona, rather than with the Frankish king mentioned in l. 24. In chapter III, which is entitled "*Tales of the Sea-Folk, of the Franks and Lombards*," particular attention is paid to Offa of Angel, Eadgils, Wade, Hagen and Heoden, Breca, and Theodoric the Frank. Sceafa, Ægelmund, Æfwine and Eadwine are naturally the prominent Lombard heroes. Mr. Chadwick's treatment of the Breca-episode makes it clear that this is still imperfectly understood. His summaries of the available information about the heroes of saga are almost uniformly satisfying, and occasionally his comments are singularly felicitous, as for example in regard to the tragic elements in *Beowulf*. "We cannot rightly understand *Beowulf* unless we realise the background against which the hero is depicted. The poet meant *Beowulf* to stand out in contrast to the masters of

Heorot, a house of heroes second to none in all northern story, but tainted by incest¹ and the murder of kin almost beyond the measure of the lords of Thebes or the house of Pelops. So he depicts in his hero loyalty, duty, subordination of his own fortunes to those of his chief. *Widsith* shows us that it was this terrible and tragic tale which the old poets associated with the name of the hall Heorot, rather than that figure of Beowulf the monster-queller which the later poet has chosen to paint in the foreground."

The present reviewer is perhaps hardly qualified to speak impartially of Chapter IV, "Widsith and the Critics," since some of his own views in regard to the structure of the poem are here combated at some length. The fundamental question at issue here is, after all, one of method. Mr. Chambers favors a return to the methods of Müllenhoff and his followers. To those who distrust those methods he replies that arguments about plurality of authorship must define the exact scope of the interpolations in a given poem. "It is therefore the duty of a critic who believes a poem or play to be the work of several hands," he says, "to form a hard and definite theory, consistent with the facts that he has noted. The law of chance is against his theory being right in every detail. But a critic who is quite clear in his own mind as to exactly what he is trying to prove may often prove his general theory, even though we are in doubt as to many of the details. If he confines himself to generalities he will prove nothing."—Mr. Chambers here seems to have fallen under the spell of a fallacy which destroys the value of much "higher criticism." Precise and definite results give an air of scientific exactness, but when such exactness is by the very nature of the problem impossible, it is surely not indicative of "vagueness and confused thinking" to indicate in a general way such stylistic discrepancies as lead to the belief that a poem is the work of different hands, and abandon the attempt to fix definite boundaries. The second part of *Absalom and*

Achitophel, for example, is the combined work of Dryden and Tate. Lines 310–509 are generally believed, on the authority of Tonson, to have been written by Dryden. For the rest of the poem, the critic may surely with far more propriety point out lines or passages which appear to him reminiscent of one author or the other, and assert in a general way duality of composition, than assign fixed limits to the work of each.

Mr. Chambers dissents also from the results of Chadwick, Brandl, and Siebs, agreeing, in the main, with the theories of ten Brink. The most cursory examination of this chapter will illustrate strikingly the wide range of argument and conjecture as to the structure of the poem. That the end is not yet at hand is obvious from a recent review,² which gives hints of the nature of a forthcoming article on *Widsith* for Hoops' *Reallexicon für germanische Altertumskunde*.

Two shorter chapters follow, one treating of geography, the other of language and meter. Considerable space is devoted to the vexed question of the location of the country of the Myrgings, to which is added further material in an appendix. Mr. Chadwick is inclined to identify it phonetically with the "Maurungani" of the Geographer of Ravenna, and to place it "south of the Eider in the modern Holstein." A general survey of the geography suggests the point of view of a gleeman of ancient Angel, and leads to the conclusion that the poem was made not long after the invasion of Britain, "whilst the traditions of the continental home were still fresh." Moreover, the geography confirms us in the belief "that *Widsith* cannot have any autobiographical basis, but that it represents an exceedingly early form of traditional lore, and that certain portions, which can be defined with some accuracy, are likely to be later interpolations." An excellent map at the end of the book makes the positions of the various peoples much clearer, and still another map traces the course followed by the voyager Ohthere. A study of the grammar of the poem reveals, according to Mr. Chambers,

¹ Is this reproach, as Mr. Chambers states it, justified?

² R. Jordan, *Englische Studien*, Vol. 45, pp. 300 ff.

instances of late usage in just those portions which earlier critics had been inclined to treat as accretions and interpolations, while the undoubted portions are primitive in grammar and metrical form.

"Reason has been shown," says the author, in the closing chapter, "for believing that these undoubted portions of the poem fall into two sections, originally distinct, the Catalogue of Kings, and the lay of Ealhild and Eormanric which we may regard as the essential *Widsith*. *Widsith*, alike on grounds of legend and geography, cannot be the work of a contemporary of Eadgils and Ealhild who really visited the court of Eormanric. The Catalogue of Kings is older than *Widsith* proper, yet on account of the names it contains it can hardly be earlier than the middle of the sixth century, and may be considerably later. *Widsith* seems to belong to a period later than this, but earlier than *Beowulf* or *Genesis*: that is, to the seventh century."

How far the minuteness of Mr. Chambers' studies have been from blinding him to the literary significance of the poem is well seen in his closing comments on its place in the history of Germanic verse. He feels that it reveals to us "the stock-in-trade of the old Anglian bard," and that "it demonstrates the dignity of the Old English narrative poetry, and of the common Germanic narrative poetry of which the Old English was but a section." Perhaps he is inclined to underrate the seriousness of *Beowulf*, and to over-emphasize the essentially childish *märchen*-plot, but he does not overrate the tragic power of the tales linked with the names of the heroes of *Widsith*. A review of his admirable book may fittingly close with the final sentences, a defence, if any there need be, for such minute and searching labor as his. "In the old heroic poetry we get a glimpse of the thoughts of those men whose unrecorded lives and deaths have done more to the building up of Europe than have the intrigues and quarrels of their lords. This should render sacred not only every recorded line of the old poems, but every paraphrase and every allusion."

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Œuvres de François Rabelais, édition critique publiée par ABEL LEFRANC, JACQUES BOULENGER, HENRI CLOUZOT, PAUL DORVEAUX, JEAN PLATTARD et LAZARE SAINÉAN. Tome premier: Gargantua (Prologue—Chapitres I–XXII). Paris, Champion, 1912. clvi + 214 pp.

M. Abel Lefranc is held in grateful remembrance by so many American students of the Romance languages that a book fathered by him is sure to receive a royal welcome in this country. The fine quarto volume before us comprises two diametrically opposed parts. There is, first, in beautiful large print, an *Etude de Gargantua* by M. Lefranc himself, supplemented by two essays, *L'Education de Gargantua* and *Thélème*, by M. Plattard, all of which any layman, interested in Rabelais, might read with the greatest of pleasure. The text here given, with its modern punctuation, capitalization and alignment, he might also enjoy reading. On the other hand, there are the voluminous notes in finer print, so voluminous that if read with the text as they are intended to be, running parallel with it, Rabelais himself is quite lost from sight. The reading of Rabelais becomes a study in the history of civilization, in archeology, in philology, in anything but Rabelais as literature. For simple pleasure in Rabelais, in the play of his imagination, in his pithily expressed and wise philosophy, in his marvelous gift of language, we must fall back on our old Burgaud des Marets and Rathery.

The question, therefore, immediately arises why there should be in a scholarly edition the slightest modernization of Rabelais' text. M. Boulenger,¹ after an examination of the ten editions of Gargantua that appeared during the life-time of Rabelais, decides that the last edition revised² by Rabelais (E) should form the basis of a critical edition. This text (E) is the same as that published by Marty-Laveaux, but Marty-Laveaux reproduces it with-

¹ Intro., pp. cvii–ccxiii.

² Lyon, F. Juste, 1542.

out alteration, claiming that if the original orthography is to be kept, much more should the old punctuation, because the punctuation affects the thought more than the orthography.³ In Rabelais' case at any rate, we are inclined to believe he is right. Compare, if you will, the opening lines of Ch. I. In M. Lefranc's edition we have: "Je vous remectz à la grande chronique Pantagrueline recongnoistre la genealogie et antiquité dont nous est venu Gargantua. En icelle vous entendrez plus au long comment, etc. . . . , et ne vous faschera si pour le present je m'en deporté, combien que la chose soit telle que, tant plus seroit remembrée, tant plus elle plairait à vos Seigneuries; comme," etc. With the period after *deporté* and *combien* beginning with a capital as in the untampered text, we seem to catch a different impression of the sequence of Rabelais' thought. He seems to say: ". . . and don't be provoked if (therefore) I refrain from giving it now. Although (when I come to think of it) it is a subject," etc. On account of such possible differences in interpretation, it is probable that Marty-Laveaux' edition will still remain indispensable to the student of Rabelais. It is unfortunate that all excellencies cannot be combined, for this new edition has the great advantage over its predecessor in giving all the variants of A, B and D⁴ just below the text, whereas in the edition of Marty-Laveaux, only the important ones are given, and these are hidden in the Commentary in Volume iv.

In *L'Etude de Gargantua*, M. Lefranc gathers the results of all the recent researches upon the subject of Rabelais and his time, and focuses them upon *Gargantua* until the manner and time of its composition and its full significance are more fully revealed to us than ever before. Throughout, no name of place or person is treated lightly. "Quant à Brizepaille," says Marty-Laveaux,⁵ "il faut, je crois, ne point s'évertuer à le chercher sur la carte." Not so M. Lefranc. He not only locates Brise-

paille,⁶ but he is so convinced that Rabelais is building upon personal reminiscences of his youth that he is willing to affirm that "L'orde vieille, venue de Brizepaille d'auprès Saint-Genou, soixante ans auparavant, est sûrement la femme qui assista les accouchées de la famille."⁷ We wonder whether even in the sixteenth century a man of property and importance in the community, such as Rabelais' father,⁸ would employ an "orde vieille" in this capacity. The searching of archives has resulted so successfully in the reconstitution of Gargantua as a tale woven by Rabelais out of real stuff that almost with surprise we read later on in the notes that there still remain a few names "*qu'il est apparemment inutile de chercher à identifier.*"⁹

In the interesting discussion of the various Gargantua stories and their relation to Rabelais' work, the conclusion reached does not differ greatly from that of Marty-Laveaux. M. Lefranc is somewhat more reluctant to allow that Rabelais had any part in the edition of the *Grandes et inestimables Croniques*: Marty-Laveaux concludes that Rabelais "refit une facétie traditionnelle"¹⁰ for the publisher, and M. Lefranc grants that "peut-être il l'a relue pour lui, et un peu arrangée et corrigée."¹¹ M. Lefranc's opinion on this point has, therefore, notably changed since he wrote *Les Navigations de Pantagruel*.¹²

In spite of the charm of M. Lefranc's exposition, we hesitate at times to follow him. We are willing to grant that Grandgousier and Gargamelle had to a certain extent the grandparents of Rabelais as prototypes, and that they lived at La Devinière.¹³ We are willing to accept the deduction that Rabelais was born at La Devinière, près de Chinon,¹⁴ and not at Chinon as we had good reason to believe.¹⁵

³ Ch. VI, n. 29.

⁷ Intro., p. lviii.

⁸ Cf. M. Lefranc in *RER.*, 1904, pp. 291-292.

⁹ Ch. XX, n. 24.

¹⁰ Vol. v, p. xxiv; cf. Vol. iv, pp. 19 and ff.

¹¹ Intro., p. xlii.

¹² P. 194, n.

¹³ Intro., p. lv.

¹⁴ Intro., p. cxxviii under [1494].

¹⁵ Marty-Laveaux, Vol. v, p. v (1902).

³ *Œuvres de Rabelais*, éd. Marty-Laveaux, Vol. I, p. v.

⁴ The 1537 edition published at Lyons (C), is found to be only a reprint of B.

⁵ Cf. Vol. iv, p. 83.

But we cannot get far enough away from the familiar story to admit that Grandgousier and Gargamelle were not giants.¹⁶ The "à peine trois ou quatre traits" given in the foot note, would alone be ample indications that they were quite out of the pale of ordinary mortals. But was not the famous mule with a tail alone more than seventy feet long and twelve feet square, sent in three boats from over seas as a present to Grandgousier (I, xvi)? Did not even the cabbage and lettuce in his garden grow so tall that men could hide in them (I, xxxviii)? In short, could any woman but a giantess give birth through the ear to a child that required to feed him the milk of 17,913 cows? The fact that Grandgousier is represented "se chauffant à un beau, clair et grand feu, recevant ses amis, ou buvant ou dînant ou priant dans son lit,"¹⁷ does not militate in the slightest against his being a giant.

Again, we are willing to admit that Rabelais made a visit to the scenes of his childhood before he began to write his Gargantua, and that this accounts for the Gargantua's offering "un caractère presque exclusivement chinonais";¹⁸ that it was after this visit that he inserted in the second edition of his Pantagruel¹⁹ the speech of Panurge "en langage lanternois," in which are mentioned Gravot, Chavigny, la Pomardièrre, la Devinière and [Ci]nays, but we find it difficult to make out that "le second livre ne renferme aucune allusion aux gens ni aux choses du pays de l'Auteur."²⁰ The still popular designation of Touraine as "le jardin de France" is in this second book.²¹ In the second²² speech of Panurge in the "languaige des antipodes," *Chinon* can be read quite as plainly as the above villages in the sixth speech. According to the map of the Chinonais,²³ Gravot and Chavigny are about three times as far from La Devinière as Chinon is. It may be

recalled also that the gesture made by the Englishman while arguing is designated by its name "en Chinonnoys."²⁴

The Chronology²⁵ of the life of Rabelais presents many dates of references to Rabelais, or to persons and events connected with him, that have rewarded recent research workers. A comparison, however, with the dates given in the biograph of Rabelais by Marty-Laveaux (-Huguet)²⁶ reveals but two important differences.²⁷ Marty-Laveaux gives the date of Rabelais' entering Saint-Maur-les-Fossés as 1540, whereas M. Clouzot finds that in 1536 Rabelais "figure parmi les chanoines prébendés de Saint-Maur." M. Clouzot also makes Rabelais resign his two curacies Jan. 9, 1553, instead of 1552.²⁸

M. Sainéan, in the philological notes, endeavors to call attention to all words coined by Rabelais, whether preserved in modern French or not. Such other words as are not to be found in the *Dictionnaire Général*, he attempts to replace "dans leur milieu et à leur époque."²⁹ It would be little short of miraculous if in so difficult a task all grounds for criticism had been avoided. The note³⁰ on *ou* (ou dialogue de Platon) ends: "La forme nasalisée *on* de la variante B est isolée et particulière à R." Does this mean that *on* is only found in B? But a little farther on, we read it in the text before us (E).³¹ Or, does it mean that *on*, in whatever text found, is peculiar to R? But Godefroy gives many examples of its use. Le *Psautier de Metz* alone abounds in them.³² There had even been a tendency in the literary language to confound the sounds *ou* and *on*. Christine de Pisan, for example,

²⁴ Bk. II, ch. XIX.

²⁵ Intro., pp. xxxviii-exliii.

²⁶ Vol. v, pp. iii-xxxvii.

²⁷ The date 1539, which M-L names (p. xxvii), as the year R. took his "licence en médecine" is evidently a typographical error, as, later on (p. xxxi), 1537 is given.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.

²⁹ Intro., p. cxxvi.

³⁰ Prol., l. 2, n. 6.

³¹ Ch. V, l. 3.

³² " . . . ne li pechour on conseil des justes, Ps., I, v. 6, etc.

¹⁶ Intro., p. lvii.

¹⁷ Intro., p. lvi.

¹⁸ Intro., p. xii.

¹⁹ Ch. IX.

²⁰ Intro., p. xii.

²¹ Ch. IX.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Intro., p. lxxv.

rimes moult: mont;³³ demonstre: loustre;³⁴ Longis: lougis.³⁵ The note³⁶ on *es* (=en les) seems still less satisfactory: "R. prend *es* dans ce passage (*semblable es Silenes*) et quelques autres (cf. l. 65 *pensast es allegories*) au sens de *aux*; il l'emploie généralement (cf. l. 5: *es boutiques*) au sens étymologique 'en les, dans les' (de même que Marot, Amyot et Montaigne)." But the use of *es* for *aux* is not a mere caprice of Rabelais. Godefroy gives examples of *es*, where to-day *aux* would be used, similar to every case in which R. so uses it. Oresme, the able translator of Charles V, writes: "Ils ressemblent *es* figures de notre temps."³⁷ As for *en* with *penser*, it had not only been occasionally used thus from early times,³⁸ but Marot, in his *Adieu aux Dames*, says: "Mais en ses amours pensera." The construction is still found in the seventeenth century.³⁹ It would seem more desirable to make such notes as these specific than to devote so much space to words in which the only difference from the modern form, is the presence of *ou* for *o* or vice-versa.⁴⁰

*Quel*⁴¹ is noted as a Latinism for *tel* in line ten of the Prologue, ". . . aultres telles pinctures . . . (*quel fut Silene . . .*)," and the words added: "pas d'autre emploi chez R." We shall be interested therefore in seeing how *quelles* is construed in the sentence: "C'est un poisson . . . ayant auesles cartilagineuses (*quelles sont es Souriz chaulves*), etc."⁴²

Of the words that call for remark we note only one that appears to have been overlooked: *dont*⁴³ introducing a sentence, in the sense of

C'est pourquoi;⁴⁴ or *a propos de quoi*.⁴⁵ The note on *dont*, interrogative,⁴⁶ seems incomprehensible: "*Dont* par suite de la prononciation fermée de l'*o* nasal se confondait alors avec *d'où*; il n'y avait pas de distinction rigoureuse entre *dont* pronom relatif et *dont* interrogatif." *Dont* from earliest times was used both as relative and interrogative.⁴⁷ The simple fact to be noted is that *d'où* had not yet supplanted *dont* as an interrogative. Maupas' Grammar (1607) still gives *dont* by the side of *d'où*.⁴⁸

The closing sentence of note 7, Chapter IX, appears to be misplaced. After a discussion of the word *trepelu*, in which an example of its use is cited from a "*sermon joyeux du XV^e s.*," we read: "*C'est sans doute à Grenoble que R. a entendu ce mot qu'on rencontre pour la première fois en français dans ce passage de Gargantua.*" In note 47, Chapter X, the word *analogie* is said to be a "néologisme introduit par R." Alain Chartier used the word a century before Rabelais: "Si dy que toutes noz attentes mondaines sont appellees Esperance par analogie."⁴⁹ Note 35 of Chapter XII reads: "*Le son oi s'est changé dès la fin du XV^e s. en ouè; de là les notations qu'on lit chez R.*" etc. But at the very beginning of the century Christine de Pisan, for example, writes *mirouer*;⁵⁰ *dourouer*: *refectouer*: *lavouer*: *parlouer*.⁵¹

The purely philological notes in this volume, form but a small part of the total number (1690). Many of them are digests of articles in the *RER.*, to which frequent reference is made. It is perhaps worth while to call attention to note 54 of Chapter VI. As the statement is made without further remark that "*R. n'est donc pas d'accord avec la mythologie traditionnelle en faisant sortir Castor et Polux du même oeuf*," it has possibly escaped notice that Rabelais follows in this Jean Lemaire

³³ *Dit de la Pastoure*, l. 53.

³⁴ *Debat*, l. 1479.

³⁵ *Œuvres poét.*, Vol. III, p. 24, l. 201.

³⁶ *Prol.*, l. 5, n. 8.

³⁷ Cited by Godefroy under the def. art. *le*.

³⁸ Cf. "Mais en la lei de nostre Seigneur la voluntet de lui, et en la sue lei purpenserat par jurn e par nuit." *Psalt. gal. vetus*, I, v. 2.

³⁹ Cf. Haase, *Syntaxe du XVII^e s.*, p. 359.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Prol.*, n. 33, 69, 122; Ch. I, n. 33; Ch. II, n. 3, 6, 22; Ch. VII, n. 4; Ch. VIII, n. 91; Ch. X, n. 7; Ch. XV, n. 3; Ch. XVII, n. 47.

⁴¹ N. 13.

⁴² Bk. IV, Ch. 3.

⁴³ Ch. VI, l. 37; Ch. VII, l. 7.

⁴⁴ Trans. of Huguet, *Pages choisis de R.*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ Trans. of Marty-Laveaux, Vol. v, p. 210.

⁴⁶ Ch. I, l. 2, n. 3.

⁴⁷ Cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, Vol. III, p. 39.

⁴⁸ P. 340.

⁴⁹ *Li Livre de l'Esperance*, éd. DuChesne, p. 328.

⁵⁰ *Œuvres poét.*, Vol. III, p. 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, *Dit de Poissy*, l. 324; see also Meyer-Lübke, *Hist. Gr. der frz. Spr.*, Vol. I, § 83.

de Belges and Boccaccio: . . . *et luy fait pondre deux enfans*⁵² *à diverses fois: C'est-à-dire luy fait faire quatre enfans à deux portees: dont de lune nasquirent Castor et Pollux freres jumeaux: et de l'autre Heleine et Clytemnestre, sœurs jumelles selon l'opinion de Bocace.*⁵³

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Histoire illustrée de la littérature française, précis méthodique, par E. ABRY, C. AUDIC, P. CROUZET. Paris: Didier, 1912. xii + 664 pp.

MM. Abry, Audic, and Crouzet, teachers in French lycées, have produced an admirable manual of French literature. Their work has already begun to supersede a number of similar books at present in use in American high-schools and colleges, and fully deserves to do so. Dominated by the ideas of M. Lanson, it should occupy in the elementary teaching of French a position similar to that which the more profound and extensive work of the Professor of French literature at the Sorbonne holds in advanced and graduate work.

The authors describe their work as a "précis essentiellement réaliste." It has two distinctive characteristics, the substitution of historical for aesthetic criticism, and the systematic use of illustrations. MM. Abry, Audic, and Crouzet dispense with the subtle analyses of individual style and the elaborate comparisons of different writers which are common in literary histories, though of value chiefly to readers familiar with the authors discussed. They substitute information much more profitable to the students for whom the present hand-book is intended, abundant biographical details, brief but illuminating extracts and outlines, and helpful sketches of literary connections and historical background.

In analyzing literary traits and tendencies,

the authors attempt a purely objective treatment. In so doing they permit the skeleton of their work to obtrude itself upon the reader with somewhat excessive insistence. In discussing Alfred de Vigny, for example (pp. 514-5), they point out with all the emphasis of very black type that his character had *three* principal qualities: "1. La tristesse;" "2. L'orgueil;" "3. La pitié." Similarly, his literary theories are summarized under "1. L'impersonnalité," and "2. Le symbole." Under each of these headings extracts are given in illustration of the statements made. At first sight this system appears mechanical and dogmatic, but more careful examination shows that the context softens the harshness of the outline, and that the extracts lend it life and meaning. Upon the whole, though the attempt to abstain from aesthetic criticism has been carried out with some exaggeration, the step taken in this direction is distinctly to be commended.

Like a number of other text-books issued by the same publisher, the book is remarkable for the large number (324) and the excellence of its illustrations. M. Crouzet, who was responsible for this part of the book, gives evidence of taste and judgment. Though the small size of the reproductions makes them in some cases difficult to appreciate—the legends of M. Crouzet frequently call attention to details that are scarcely visible—yet the freshness, variety, and helpfulness of the pictures are worthy of all praise. A student who sees a page reproduced from Montaigne's printed copy of his *Essais*, with numerous manuscript corrections (p. 108), or from Racine's Greek text of Aeschylus, with careful annotations in Racine's own hand (p. 244), gains a definite and useful appreciation of the way in which the masterpieces of French literature developed. *Préciosité* and the funeral orations of Bossuet are brought measurably nearer to one who sees the *Carte du Tendre* (p. 136) and an excellent picture of the funeral of Henriette d'Angleterre (p. 260).

The taste of the writers of the history, to judge from their inclusions and exclusions as well as their characterizations, is in general very good. As is to be expected in a school book, certain sides of French literature are de-

⁵² The ms. of Geneva reads *ufz*; cf. *Œuvres de J. L. de B.*, p. p. J. Stecher, 1882, Vol. 2, p. 22.

⁵³ *Illustrations de la Gaule*, Bk. II, Ch. ii.

cidedly ignored; the extracts from Rabelais are all edifying, and one is amazed at the success of the authors in ferreting out so many unobjectionable *fabliaux* to present as specimens of the *genre*. A certain sympathy with the masses appears in the respectful treatment accorded the novels of Dumas *père* and in the mild strictures passed upon Coppée.

As in many histories of French literature, the weakest part of the book is that dealing with the middle ages. Here the chief drawback consists in embracing the whole period anterior to 1500 in one section, divided only according to literary species (epic, history, satire, etc.), so that no distinction is made in the mind of the student between the earlier and the later mediaeval period.

There are naturally many single points upon which one is minded to differ from MM. Abry, Audic, and Crouzet. It is surprising to hear nothing of *La belle dame sans merci* in connection with Alain Chartier. Du Bartas comes off rather ill, as usual; he is represented by a ridiculous passage, and nothing is said of Milton's indebtedness to him, though Goethe and Tasso are spoken of as admirers. No mention is made of Massillon's avoidance of dogma and consequent popularity with the eighteenth century *philosophes*. Great enthusiasm is displayed for the works of Victor Hugo, and mediaevalists may be surprised to hear the *Légende des Siècles* described as "notre plus grand poème épique" (p. 508). Sainte-Beuve the poet is spoken of as a precursor of Coppée alone (p. 530); mention of his influence upon Baudelaire also would have been appropriate. It seems strange to find a funeral discourse by Pasteur, inspired by deep feeling, cited (p. 590) as an example of the "style scientifique." Admirers of Daudet will hardly be satisfied with a treatment of his works which gives a place of honor to the uneven *Petit chose*, the melodramatic *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné*, and the insignificant *Sapho*, barely mentions *Jack* and *Le Nabab*, and says nothing whatever of *Numa Roumestan* and the short stories. The average American reader will probably criticize an apportionment of space which gives Huysmans one line (p. 627) and Fromentin a

whole page (pp. 621-22). English-speaking people would doubtless wish to see such writers as Joubert, Amiel, and Cherbuliez included among the authors discussed.

The relations of language and literature receive adequate and accurate treatment. *Vulpeculum* as the etymon of *goupil* (p. 30, n. 1) is probably a misprint. By an unfortunate oversight, all the words introduced into the language by the Pléiade, including such common words as *patrie* (? See Godefroy, *Comp.*, s. v.), *pudeur*, *police*, are described as adopted "sans discrétion ni méthode" from different languages. They are given (p. 115) under the heading "Les excès de la Pléiade" !

In discussing points relating to the part played by Frenchmen in the advancement of knowledge, the authors are occasionally a little chauvinistic. Guizot's *Histoire de la révolution d'Angleterre* is scarcely regarded as an authority in England nowadays (p. 576). Michelet is hardly the "inventor of true historical method" (p. 583). Fermat did not discover the differential calculus (p. 112); he "almost discovered" it (*Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., xiv, 539, b). D'Alembert is not generally regarded as the first mathematician of his day (p. 308). Others shared with Buffon the honor of "creating" geology and paleontology (p. 310).

In regard to matters of fact a high standard of accuracy has been attained. The following points call for rectification; many of them are mere misprints. The *serventois* is hardly a simple "chanson badine" (p. 53). Guillaume de Machaut has found an editor in the person of Prof. Hoepffner (p. 54). Jean Lemaire de Belges is incorrectly called *des* Belges (pp. 60, 64); elsewhere (p. 81) the correct form occurs. Scaliger did not formulate the rule of the three unities in 1561 (p. 162); Castelvetro, the true author of the rule, so far as our knowledge at present goes, did not advance it until 1570. A letter of Madame de Maintenon (p. 189) is dated 1896 instead of 1686. M. Brunschvicg's name is spelt with a *w* on pp. 200, n. 1, and 206 (correctly on p. 204). Fénelon's name is de Salagnac and not Salignac (p. 271). Huet was bishop of Avranches and not

of Soissons (p. 302). P. 313 read Chesterfield for Chersterfield. Vauvenargues' name was Luc de Clapiers and not de Clapier (p. 326). P. 330 for Grandisson read Grandison. Of the four possible dates for the publication of the *Neveu de Rameau*,¹ 1891 is the only one mentioned (p. 374); one of the earlier dates would be preferable. It is usual but entirely inaccurate to speak of Anatole France as an "ancien chartiste" (p. 627).

Perhaps the most serious objection to the book from a pedagogical standpoint is its length; it is considerably more extensive (664 pages) than most of the books intended for similar purposes. This difficulty can easily be surmounted by judicious omissions. Most of the increased bulk, moreover, is due to the illustrations and the extracts, which put but little burden upon the student. It may also be noted in this connection that the excellent arrangement of the book renders the consecutive reading of it much easier than in the case of many similar works. Upon the whole, the new history merits the heartiest commendation. Teachers who may not desire to use it as a text-book would do well to procure it for the sake of the illustrations as well as for personal use.

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Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache von HEINRICH MORF (Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Classe, 1912, XLV, pp. 1014-1035).

Cette étude, dit M. Morf (p. 1035), pourrait s'intituler¹ "histoire d'un contre-sens." Le contre-sens est celui des provençalistes qui, sur

¹ Goethe's German translation, 1805; French translation of Goethe, 1821; first authentic French edition, 1823; publication of the text of an autograph manuscript, 1891.

² Ce titre permettrait aussi de croire que M. Morf traite, à l'occasion du provençal littéraire, le problème si complexe et si important de la formation des "langues communes": il n'en est rien.

la foi des *Razos de trobar* du Catalan Raimon Vidal (et sur la foi des *Leys d'Amors*), ont cru que le dialecte du Limousin est la source de la langue littéraire dont usent les troubadours. Or, après avoir rappelé l'opinion plus ou moins explicitement formulée d'une dizaine de savants modernes, M. Morf montre:

1. que le témoignage des *Leys d'amors*² ne vaut pas, puisqu'il est directement inspiré des *Razos*;

2. que, chez Raimon Vidal, "limousin" signifie non pas "dialecte du Limousin," mais "provençal," c'est-à-dire langue de tout le Midi de la France.

M. Morf suppose, en outre, que Raimon Vidal a choisi "limousin" en raison de la célébrité des troubadours limousins qui florissaient de son temps (en particulier Giraut de Bornelh).

Le texte des *Razos* ne permet point de douter que M. Morf ait raison: "Neguna parladura non es naturals ni drecha del nostre lengage mais acellà de Franza e de Lemozi, o³ de Proenza o d'Alvergna o de Caersin; per qe ieu vos dic que, quant ieu parlarai de Lemosy, que totas estas terras entendas et totas lor vezinas et totas cellas que son entre ellas."—Mais il est bien invraisemblable qu'un texte aussi clair ait pu si longtemps tromper tant de gens.⁴ M. Morf confond, ce me semble, deux choses bien distinctes: la question de l'origine limousine de la langue des troubadours et le sens de "limousin" chez Raimon Vidal. Or, même si Raimon Vidal et les *Leys d'Amors* n'existaient pas, le "provençal" des troubadours pourrait encore être du "limousin" très pur: c'est pourquoi la plupart des savants cités par M. Morf (Gaston

³ Et ceux de Terramagnino et de Jaufre de Foixà qui proviennent également de Raimon Vidal.

⁴ Texte d'Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, pp. 195-196. M. Morf écrit partout e (ms. B) au lieu de o (mss. CHL); il me semble que le contexte ne justifie e que pour de *Franza e de Lemozi*, puisque dans la suite Raimon Vidal ne distingue qu'entre la *parladura francesca et cella de Lemosin*. V., pour la légitimité de *Proenza* dans ce passage, *Annales du Midi*, I, p. 10, n.

⁵ M. Morf cite lui-même, p. 1022, n. l. une phrase où Diez indique le contre-sens possible.

Paris, Anglade, Meyer-Lübke, Counson)—qui ne font point mention des *Razos*—n'auront tort qu'autant qu'il sera démontré que la langue des premiers troubadours n'est pas du "limousin." Et M. Morf n'apporte aucune démonstration de ce genre.⁵

Il reste qu'il a mis en pleine lumière l'interprétation vraie de *Lemosy* chez Raimon Vidal et qu'il a suggéré la raison qui a fait adopter à Raimon Vidal le nom de cette province pour désigner la langue provençale; on s'étonnera pourtant que M. Morf ait cru devoir le faire avec tant d'ampleur après que M. Paul Meyer a écrit dans son article classique de *l'Encyclopaedia Britannica*:⁶ "In the 13th century a poet born in Catalonia . . . , Raimon Vidal of Besalú, introduced the name of *Limousin* language, probably on account of the great reputation of some *Limousin* troubadours; but he took care to define the expression, which he extended beyond its original meaning, by saying that in speaking of *Limousin* he must be understood to include *Saintonge, Quercy, Auvergne, etc.* This expression found favor in

⁵ Il n'entreprend même pas cette démonstration et se borne à dire (p. 1030 et n. 4) que, pour savoir dans quelle région s'est formée la langue des troubadours, nous aurions besoin d'une grammaire historique du limousin et, plus généralement, des dialectes provençaux. Sans doute.—M. Morf aurait pu citer encore M. Jean Beck, *La musique des troubadours*, Paris (1910), pp. 22-23 ["les premiers troubadours—et aussi les meilleurs—sont originaires des régions limitrophes du Limousin et . . . la langue littéraire qu'ils écrivent tous, sans distinction d'origine, est appelée par les contemporains (!) le langage limousin (*lingua lemosina*)"], et rappeler que M. Beck a la "certitude" que "les plus anciennes compositions musicales des troubadours sont d'inspiration religieuse" et que "l'enseignement des abbayes limonsines (S. Martial, S. Léonard et autres) a exercé une influence prédominante sur la musique profane" (l. l.). Le problème linguistique se double d'un problème musicologique, si tant est que M. Beck n'ait pas résolu celui-ci.

⁶ 11e édition, 1911, t. xxii, p. 491 (*id.*, 9e éd., 1885, t. xix, p. 868).—Cf. un autre article de M. Paul Meyer, *La langue romane du Midi de la France et ses différents noms* (*Annales du Midi*, I, pp. 1 sqq., notamment p. 7—sur Jaufre de Foixá—, et pp. 9-10—sur Raimon Vidal).

Spain . . . and in the same country *lingua lemosina* long designated at once the Provençal and the old literary Catalan."

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE BITER BIT

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—To its definition of *bit* as the mouth-piece of a bridle, the *NED.* appends the following note:

"It is not clear whether the word in this sense signifies that which the horse bites, or that which bites or grips the horse's mouth."

Light may be thrown on this question by another use of *bit* that seems thus far to have escaped the attention of lexicographers, namely, to denote the mouth-piece of a tobacco-pipe. When the word is used in this sense (common among both pipe-makers and pipe-users), the reference is doubtless to the biting man, not to the *beizender Toback*. There is a chance, to be sure, that this use has been taken over directly from the other, but that seems to me rather unlikely.

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A QUOTATION FROM MÖRIKE

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In Heyse's *Anfang und Ende* (1857) the hero, Valentin, reads while waiting for the heroine, Eugenie, Mörike's poems. Heyse writes: "Er . . . vertiefte sich . . . in die 'Mondscheingärten einer einst heiligen Liebe.'" Professor McLouth says (Holt, 1910, notes p. 65): "No such title occurs in Mörike's published works. It is probably a humorous invention of Heyse's as a good-natured joke on Mörike's romantic tendencies." But Heyse is too much of an artist to joke with a poet whom he intensely admires. The poem referred

to by Heyse is found in *Maler Nolten* (1832), p. 214 of the 2d volume of the 5th edition (Götschen, 1897). It is the third of the five "Percgrina" poems and begins:

"Ein Irrsal kam in die Mondscheingärten
Einer einst heiligen Liebe."

Heyse's reference to the poem is happy. This is namely one of the lyrics Mörike wrote about that mystic beauty who called herself Maria Clara Meyer and who caused Mörike some embarrassment. (Cf. *Eduard Mörikes Leben und Werke*, by Karl Fischer, 1901, pp. 51 ff.) *Maler Nolten* was revised by Mörike and there is a version of this poem dated July 6, 1824, beginning:

"Ein Irrsal kam in die Zaubergärten
Einer fast heiligen Liebe."

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BRIEF MENTION

The Science of Etymology, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912). Professor Skeat's last book comes to us when all students of English are lamenting his death. There is nothing in the book that betokens a waning of power or of enthusiasm; nothing of an abatement of that persistent solicitude with which, for so many years, he has been instructing the public in the historic and comparative methods of regarding the facts of the language. Professor Skeat has had a large share in advancing linguistic science; and for the historic study of English he has rendered inestimable service by a surprising amount of expert work in the editing and especially in the annotating of early texts. He has stood in the foremost rank with those who have put English lexicography on the 'basis of historic facts and principles.' His knowledge of the language in all its periods has been masterful, his industry unfaltering, and the exploring ingenuity of his mind has been balanced by a sanity of judgment that has won a world-wide confidence in his pronouncements. On the side of grammar

and comparative linguistics he has been an eager and progressive pupil of phonetics, morphology, and other divisions of the science to which his own contributions were of a more dependent character. To the end he has maintained characteristic vigor and eagerness in keeping sympathetically abreast with all investigation, and in promptly assimilating and genially and generously promulgating the most available results for the profit of a wider public. However varied the activities of this devoted scholar, his well-earned renown is centered in what he has achieved as etymologist. His name will be kept in enduring association with the subject of English etymology, which in his day and largely under his shared leadership was based on principles of accuracy. In this last treatise, which is "to draw attention to some of the principles that should guide the student of etymology in general, and of English etymology particularly," Professor Skeat has aimed to mediate, in his characteristic and attractive manner, between the technical investigator and the general reader, whom he would urge science-ward by showing him "how to make use of an English etymological dictionary" (p. 35). Canons of etymology are drawn up and illustrated; erroneous methods of derivation are exposed; rules and principles of historic changes in 'sounds' and 'forms' are made clear to the mind of average training; and in a succession of chapters, constituting the larger portion of the book, the English cognates traceable in the diverse languages of the 'family' are brought together in instructive lists. The book is well indexed (pp. 213-242) and should serve its purpose admirably.

Homer's Odyssey; a line-for-line translation in the metre of the original, by H. B. Cotterill. With twenty-four illustrations by Patten Wilson (Boston, Dana Estes & Co., 1912. \$5.50). This is a luxurious quarto. Its material make-up suggests the extravagance of a holiday season; but its artistic typography and the excellent art of its illustrations impose a limit on the suggestion. It is a book to go through the whole year with one, and it has an interest for the student of English meters that will be permanent. The translator, in a brief preface, discusses his choice of metric form. He recalls Matthew Arnold's controversy with Mr. Spedding, and adopts the conclusion that the English accentual hexameter, "in its effect upon

us moderns," is the closest imitation of the 'ancient' meter. Mr. Cotterill gratifies the reader by his clear statement of what he knows and feels to be true of the essentials of English versification, and in his attempt to write hexameters that will 'read themselves' he has, without doubt, been very successful. Many of his lines are, of course, more or less deficient in self-help, but these will be carried along without too much effort. Surely a new pleasure is in store for him who will now re-read his *Odyssey* according to the rhythm represented at its best by such lines as (selected for illustration by Mr. Cotterill himself): "Flashing she fell to the earth from the glittering heights of Olympus" (i, 102); and "Thine was the counsel that captured the wide-wayed city of Priam" (xxii, 230). Mr. Cotterill, in his preface, gives special attention to the meter of the *Voyage of Maeldune*, but misleads himself by a 'technical' analysis of what is clearly an anapestic Alexandrine, with a free cesura. It is therefore not so closely related to his dactylic hexameter.

The Modern Reader's Chaucer. The Complete Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, now first put into Modern English. By John S. P. Tatlock and Percy Mackay. Illustrations by Warwick Goble (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1912. \$5). Of this sumptuous quarto, with its beautiful pictures in color, one must hesitate before saying that it is chiefly a holiday book, although that may be one's first impression of it. Happily, there is now a general disposition to believe that too much can't be done for the popularization of Chaucer. That's a great gain. And at the hands of two such eminent Chaucerians as the present translators, both poet and public cannot fail to be rightly considered; there can be no doubt of that. One may thus find justification for a hearty approval of this project. At all events, since this prose-rendering (there are minor parts in verse) is a continuation and completion of the version begun by Mr. Mackay in his volume of 1904, it may be argued that the intervening years have made clear to the translators the extent of the book's usefulness. Granting then that it may be profitable to have a derailment of Chaucer's verse and a modernization of his language, the right remains to insist that this be done in the very best manner. That the translators have left a margin for revision cannot be denied. The conspicuous and familiar beginning of the book at once arrests

attention disappointingly: "and bathed every vine in moisture;" for this does 'misrepresent' (p. vii) the poet as, in the applicable words of Meredith,

"He sings of sap, the quickened veins;
The wedding song of sun and rains."

To a large extent the process of modernizing Chaucer's language is as easy as mere transcription, but the historic changes in the meaning of words and in the fashion of expressions make ample amends for this ease by peculiar and subtle difficulties. One of the temptations to which the modernizer is exposed is that of an incomplete recasting of idiom, which may give an altogether un-English result. The following sentence illustrates both the ease of transference and the temptation: "But what availeth so long a sermon about, and about, the chances of love?" (*Compl. of Mars*, 209-10). It is also possible to miss the plain prose sense when Chaucer becomes involved in construction. "When I was first created," etc. (*id.* 164 f.) is glaringly impossible. There is in this volume no uniform level of workmanship. A fine creative touch describes the Sumner "with slits for eyes" (*with eyen narwe*), and an unwarranted interference compels the host to swear by "beer or wine" (*As ever mote I drinke wyn or ale*, *Prol.* 832). But such trifles need not be multiplied. The book will interest many readers, and its value may far exceed one's initial expectation.

Pellissier's *XVIIe siècle par les textes* (Paris, Delagrave, 1908; see *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. xxiv, p. 183) and his *XVIIIe siècle* (1911) are now completed by a similar volume for the nineteenth century (1912) which maintains the high standard set by the earlier collections, though for the nineteenth century, with its great mass of literature, the problem of giving sufficiently long and sufficiently representative selections in a book of 475 pages is almost too hard to solve. In spite of this, the volume will serve as a valuable aid to all instructors who do not prefer to make their own choice of characteristic passages for classroom use. Particularly well chosen are Pellissier's selections from Joseph de Maistre (*Le bourreau*), from Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël, from Villemain and Thiers (*Rôle de l'intelligence*),—if only they were longer. The volume is accompanied by relevant and interesting illustrations.

A. S.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON POE

I. THREE NOTES ON POE'S SOURCES

1. Poe's *Sonnet—To Science* may have been prompted originally by Coleridge, whose discussion of the relation of poetry and philosophy (in the fourteenth chapter of the *Biographia Literaria*) gave Poe the cue for his discussion of the same subject in his "Letter to B—," prefixed to the 1831 edition of his poems. But the immediate inspiration to the writing of this poem came, I believe, from Keats's *Lamia*. The opening lines of *Lamia*:

Upon a time, before the faery broods
Drove Nymph and Satyr from the prosperous
woods,
Before King Oberon's bright diadem,
Sceptre, and mantle, clasp'd with dewy gem,
Frighted away the Dryads and the Fauns
From rushes green, and brakes, and cowslipp'd
lawns,—

find a pretty obvious parallel in the concluding lines of Poe's sonnet:

Hast thou not dragged Diana from her car?
And driven the Hamadryad from the wood
To seek a shelter in some happier star?
Hast thou not torn the Naiad from her flood,
The Elfin from the green grass, and from me
The summer dream beneath the tamarind tree?

The central idea of his sonnet Poe found also in a brief passage in the second part of *Lamia* (ll. 229-238):

Do not all charms fly
At the mere touch of cold philosophy?
There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
We know her woof, her texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things.
Philosophy will clip an Angel's wings,
Conquer all mysteries by rule and line,
Empty the haunted air, and gnomed mine—
Unweave a rainbow, as it erewhile made
The tender-person'd *Lamia* melt into a shade.

2. The atmospheric device of the barking of the dog in the climactic scene of *The Gold Bug* (*Virginia Poe*, V, pp. 115f.) was perhaps

suggested to Poe by a passage in Seba Smith's *The Money Diggers*, where a similar device is employed to intensify the excitement attending the unearthing of a rich store of buried treasure. *The Money Diggers* appeared in *Burton's Magazine* in August, 1840 (VII, pp. 81f.), shortly after Poe had resigned as its literary editor, and hence in all likelihood fell under his eye.

By way of making explicit the parallelism between the two stories, I give here the more significant sentences from the corresponding passages. I cite first from *The Money Diggers*. "While they were battling with this difficulty" [the collecting of water in the pit in which the treasure-seekers were digging], writes Smith (*Burton's* VII, p. 91), "a tremendously great black dog came and stood upon the brink [of the pit], and opened his deep red jaws, and began to bark with terrific power. They shrunk back from the hideous animal, and raised their shovels to fright him off; but a second thought told them they had better let him alone. . . . They again plied their shovels with all diligence, and as they stepped to and fro at their work, that deep-mouthed dog kept up his deafening bark, and leaping round the verge of the pit. . . . When they first struck the stone [beneath which the treasure had been buried] . . . the dog began to bark with redoubled fierceness, and as they proceeded to uncover it, he seemed to grow more and more enraged."

Poe, in describing the first attempt of Legrand and his confederates to unearth the treasure of Captain Kidd, writes as follows (*Virginia Poe*, V, pp. 115f.): "Our chief embarrassment lay in the yelpings of the dog, who took exceeding interest in our proceedings. He, at length, became so obstreperous that we grew fearful of his giving the alarm to some stragglers in the vicinity. . . . The noise was, at length, very effectually silenced by Jupiter, who, getting out of the hole with a dogged air of deliberation, tied

the brute's mouth up with one of his suspenders." Later, when the company had begun to dig a second hole, in which the treasure was presently found (*l. c.*, p. 118), they "were again interrupted by the violent howlings of the dog," whose improvised muzzle had now been removed. "His uneasiness, in the first instance," so runs Poe's account, "had been, evidently, but the result of playfulness or caprice, but he now assumed a bitter and serious tone. Upon Jupiter's again attempting to muzzle him, he made furious resistance, and, leaping into the hole, tore up the mould frantically with his claws." A few moments later the treasure box came into view.

It will be observed that the dog in Poe's story is the property of the treasure-seekers, and hence his attitude is not, as in *The Money Diggers*, a hostile one; but his function is evidently the same in both stories—the heightening of the dramatic effect.

There are other parallels between the two stories: in both, for example, the scene is laid in an unfrequented island off the Atlantic Coast (in *The Gold Bug*, Sullivan's Island, near Charleston, South Carolina; in *The Money Diggers*, on Jewell's Island, near Portland, Maine); in both it is a mysterious scrap of paper (or of parchment) that gives the clue to the whereabouts of the treasure; and in both, rings, necklaces, and watches are among the valuables that are found in the treasure-box. These agreements, however, can scarcely be held to possess any significance in themselves, since they involve details that are all more or less conventional in the story of buried treasure; though when taken in connection with the more striking parallel that I have noted, they seem to me to lend some support to the theory that I have advanced.

3. For a part of the material used in his essay on *Anastatic Printing*¹ (first published in the *Broadway Journal* for April 12, 1845) Poe drew on an article which appeared in the *London Art Union* for February, 1845.² Poe

tracks his original closest in his fourth paragraph, which is largely paraphrased from the third paragraph of the original article. Poe writes, for instance, in the second sentence of this paragraph: "We dampen the leaf with a certain acid diluted, and then place it between two leaves of blotting-paper to absorb superfluous moisture;" in the second sentence of the corresponding paragraph in the earlier essay, we read: "The sheet is first moistened with diluted acid, and placed between sheets of blotting paper, in order that the superfluous moisture may be absorbed." Again, in his fourth sentence Poe writes: "The acid in the interspaces between the letters, immediately corrodes the zinc, but the acid on the letters themselves, has no such effect, having been neutralized by the ink;" in the earlier essay we read: "The ink neutralizes the acid, which is pressed out from the blank space only, and etches them away." It is due to Poe to say that he mentions the *Art-Union* in his essay, though he nowhere makes any specific acknowledgment of his indebtedness to it.

II. THE ORIGINALS OF POE'S PROPER NAMES

The musical nature of Poe's proper names has been commented on by more than one of his critics, and it has been held that a number of these names were coined by Poe. There can be no difference of opinion as to the sonorousness of Poe's names—especially of those used in his poetry; but that any considerable number of these names were coined by him seems to me improbable.

The sources of most of the proper names used by Poe are readily obvious. A good many of them came from history, as with *Tamerlane*, *Politian*, *Pym*, and *Dupin*; others were drawn from Greek or Latin legend, as *Helen* and *Ligeia* and *Berenice*; others from Oriental tradition or myth, as *Al Aaraaf*, *Aidenn*, *Israfel*, *Astarte*; while others, as *Morella*, *Montresor*, *Arnheim*, and *Zante*, were European place-names. Many of them, moreover, as *Angelo*, *Ianthe*, *Lalage*, *Lenore*, *Prospero*, *Fortunato*, and the like, are either conventional or so common as not to call for any explanation.

¹ See the *Virginia Poe*, xiv, pp. 153 f.

² I have not seen the original article, but cite from a reprint of it which appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for June, 1845 (xi, pp. 383 f.).

Among those of which the derivation is not so readily apparent, *Marie Rogêt* (in *The Mystery of Marie Rogêt*) is, as Poe tells us in a footnote, merely Mary Rogers³—victim of a sensational tragedy of the early forties—made French. *Usher* (in *The Fall of the House of Usher*) was the name of a Boston family that befriended Poe's parents on their visits to Boston shortly after their marriage.⁴ The original of *William Wilson* was a hosier, first in Cheapside and later at Kendall, with whom the firm of Ellis & Allan (of which Poe's foster-father was junior member) did business during the second and third decades of last century.⁵ *Ermengarde* (in *Eleanora*) and *Rowena* (*Lady Rowena Trevanion of Tremaine* in Poe's *Ligeia*) perhaps come from Scott (though they may have been drawn directly from European history), and *Tremaine* was probably suggested by Robert Plumer Ward's novel of that title. *De Vere* in Poe's *Lenore* may have been suggested by the title of another of Ward's novels. *Nourjahad* (in *Eleanora*) was apparently taken from Mrs. Frances Sheridan's romance, *The History of Nourjahad*.

Julius Rodman (*The Journal of Julius Rodman*) found its origin, we can be all but certain, in the given names of Joseph Rodman Drake, whose lyrics Poe had reviewed in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in April, 1836,⁶ three years before the appearance of Poe's story in *Burton's Magazine*. *Wormley* and *Thornton*, lay figures in the same story, are well-known family names in Virginia to this day, and the Richmond Thorntons were intimately associated with the Allans, Poe's foster-parents, during the poet's boyhood.⁷ A

third lay figure in this story, *Wyatt* (who also appears in the tale, *The Oblong Box*), was in all likelihood suggested by Professor Thomas Wyatt, with whom Poe collaborated in the translation and adaptation of his *Conchologist's First-Book*, which gave rise in 1847 to one of the earliest charges of plagiarism against the poet.

Baldazzar and *Castiglione* in Poe's drama, *Politian*, are but the Christian name and the surname, respectively, of the celebrated author of the *Book of the Courtier*, Baldassarre Castiglione. *Alessandra*, in the same poem, is doubtless to be traced to Politian's friend, Alessandra Scala. The *Duke Di Broglio*, likewise in Poe's play, was probably suggested by Victor de Broglie, French Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1830 to 1836, during the time both of the composition and of the publication of *Politian*.⁸ The name *Lalande* in *The Spectacles* involves an allusion to the French astronomer, Joseph de Lalande (1732-1807), and a similar allusion to the German inventor, Baron Wolfgang von Kempelen (1734-1804), is to be seen in the hero of *Von Kempelen and his Discovery*. *D'Elormie* in *Bridal Ballad* appears to have been borrowed from G. P. R.

(though Poe is said to have had the poet Quarles in mind). *Littleton Barry*, a pseudonym adopted by Poe with several of his publications in the *Broadway Journal* in 1845, suggests the influence of Thackeray's *Barry Lyndon* (first published in 1844). *E. A. Perry*, the name assumed by Poe while a soldier in the United States army, was borrowed in part from a colleague of his at the University of Virginia, Sidney A. Perry (see Professor Harrison's *New Glimpses of Poe*, New York, 1901, the first of the facsimiles opposite p. 40).

³ Politian, Castiglione, and Alessandra Scala are all mentioned by Poe in his *Pinakidia* published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1836 shortly after the publication of *Politian* (see the *Virginia Poe*, xiv, pp. 48, 65). De Broglie also is mentioned by him in one of his reviews printed in 1841 (*Virginia Poe*, x, p. 134). Poe was fond of contemporary names. I have already mentioned Dupin and Mary Rogers. To these may be added *Landor* (in *Landor's Cottage*), and *Canning* (*Sir Launcelot Canning*, author of the apocryphal *Mad Trist* in *The Fall of the House of Usher*),—though it is barely possible that Poe in the last instance was playing upon the Chatterton tradition of "Mastre William Canynge."

³ *Virginia Poe*, v. pp. 1 F.

⁴ See Woodberry's *Life of Poe*, i, pp. 6, 9, 12.

⁵ William Wilson was a Quaker. A number of the letters that passed between him and the Richmond firm are preserved in the "Ellis-Allan Papers," now among the treasures belonging to the Library of Congress at Washington.

⁶ *Virginia Poe*, viii, pp. 275 f.

⁷ The nom-de-plume *Quarles* used by Poe with *The Raven* as published in the *American Whig Review* in February, 1845, may have been suggested by another well-known family of Richmond and vicinity

James's novel *De L'Orme* (1830).⁹ *Ulalume* was, I imagine, suggested by *Eulalie*, to which it is a sort of counterpart, the one connoting grief and gloom, the other lightsomeness and glee. *Annabel Lee* may have been influenced by the title of P. P. Cooke's *Rosalie Lee*, concerning which Poe and Cooke exchanged letters in 1846;¹⁰ and the first half of the name was possibly inspired in part by his friendship for Mrs. Richmond, whom he knew as "Annie."

Yaanek in *Ulalume* is, I take it, only a variant spelling of *Janik*, a Turkish district in Trebizond. *Auber* in the same poem, may have been suggested by the French *Aube*.¹¹

Nesace, finally, queen of Al Aaraaf, is, I venture to believe, Poe's adaptation of the name *Nausikaa*. A Latin spelling, *Nausicaæ*, if pronounced and accented in English fashion, gives us something approximating very nearly the form that Poe adopts. Both *Nesace* and *Nausikaa*, it may be noted, dwelt upon an island, both symbolized beauty of person as well as of character, both were surrounded by a train of admiring handmaidens.

There are still other names—among them *Nis*¹² (in *The Valley of Unrest*), *Trevanion* (in *Ligeia*), and the German names, *Berlitzing* and *Metzengerstein*—for which I have no satisfactory guess to offer, but think it probable that these, too, will ultimately be found to have originated elsewhere than in Poe's fancy. The

⁹ Poe used the name also in the first draft of his extravaganza, *The Man that Was Used Up*, which appeared in *Burton's Magazine* (v, p. 69) shortly after Poe had reviewed there one of James's books which mentioned on its title-page the author's *De L'Orme* (*Burton's*, v, pp. 60-61). James perhaps took the name from the famous French courtesan, Marion Delorme.

¹⁰ Woodberry, II, pp. 206, 210.

¹¹ Poe makes the name rhyme with *October*.

¹² *Nis* occurs in Norse mythology. But I have a theory that Poe means it merely as a play upon the word *sin* (note the similar inversion in the name *Oldeb*, who turns out to be *Bedlo*—in Poe's *Tale of the Ragged Mountains*). "The Valley of Unrest" is not, to be sure, a place sacred only to the wicked dead, but in all Poe's pictures of the realm of shades the notion of punishment is more or less prominent. *The City in the Sea*, it may be noted, a companion piece to *The Valley of Unrest*, bore in one of its earlier drafts the title "The City of Sin."

situation is very much the same as with the plots of Poe's stories, which (as Poe's biographers have succeeded in showing), were based almost invariably either upon his own observation or upon his reading in contemporary literature.

III. POE'S LECTURES IN BALTIMORE AND PHILADELPHIA

Professor Woodberry (II, p. 48) mentions the tradition that Poe "made his début as a lecturer" in Baltimore and "at some time during the summer" of 1843. It would appear, however, from the newspapers of Baltimore, that Poe did not lecture in that city until January 31, 1844. Of his lecture there on this date, the *Baltimore Sun* published on the morning of the day on which the lecture was to be delivered the following editorial comment: "It will be seen by a notice in another part of our paper, that the lecture of Mr. Poe, on 'American Poetry,' heretofore announced, will be delivered this evening, in the Egyptian Saloon of Odd Fellows' Hall. The name of the lecturer, the subject of the lecture, and the well-known adaptation of the talents of the one to the material of the other, form a combination of attractions which will irresistibly result in a crowded audience—and our word for it a delighted one."—There was also an editorial notice by Dr. J. Evans Snodgrass in the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* of February 3, 1844,—four days after the lecture was delivered—which ran in part as follows: "Edgar A. Poe delivered a lecture in Odd-Fellows Hall, on Wednesday evening—theme 'American poetry.' He was very entertaining, and enforced his views well—though to some of them we cannot assent. For instance—that the inculcation of truth is not the highest aim of poetry! He was witheringly severe upon Rufus W. Griswold."

Shortly before the Baltimore lecture, Poe had appeared a second time in Philadelphia, his first lecture there having been delivered on November 25, 1843. Of this second lecture—delivered on January 10, 1844—the editor of the *Philadelphia United States Gazette*, J. R. Chandler, published this compli-

mentary announcement on January 8, 1844: "We learn that Edgar A. Poe, Esq., has consented to repeat, at the Museum, on Wednesday night, his admired lecture on the Poets and Poetry of America. His first lecture was attended by one of the largest and most fashionable audiences of the season; and the Museum will doubtless be crowded by hundreds who were then unable to gain admission."

KILLIS CAMPBELL.

University of Texas.

ZWEI GEDICHTE VON GOETHE¹

II. MIGNON

Selbst ein Terminus ante wäre für das Blutlied festzulegen—wenn nämlich die Entstehung des das vierte Buch in Wilhelm Meisters Sendung eröffnenden Gedichts zeitlich feststände. In einer Arbeit über Goethes Mondlied habe ich darauf hingewiesen, wie er im Jahre 1775 durch die in Wielands "Mönch und Nonne" (*Teutscher Merkur*, April, 1775, S. 8) vorkommenden Verse

Sie wallen führerlos daher
Von Osten sie, von Westen er. . . .

und andere ebendort an Gerstenbergs Gedicht eines Skalden (1766) erinnert worden, und infolgedessen zahlreiche Züge daraus—der volle Beweis wird an andrer Stelle geliefert werden—in die erste Urfaustszene übergegangen waren. Dieser Vorgang wiederholt sich bei der Lektüre des Gedichtes *Die Zeit* (*M. L. N.*, xxviii, 43). Die Verse

Wir wogen hin, wir wogen her,
Zwar schwebend auch, doch stürzend mehr

und manche andere darin gemahnten unmittelbar an Gerstenbergs von Ossian stark beeinflusstes Gedicht (insbesondere wieder an die Zeilen

Wer schreitet königlich daher
In Vingolfs Hayn, am sanftern Meer?),

¹ Vgl. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxviii, 43 ff.

und so weist denn das Gedicht *Mignon* deutliche Spuren aus dem Gedicht *Die Zeit*, aus Vossens *Leibeigenschaft*, vor allem aus Gerstenbergs *Lied eines Skalden*, aber auch, übers Kreuz, aus Wielands *Mönch und Nonne*, auf.

In Mignons Lied wird zuerst ihre Heimat geschildert, dann der Weg, der dahinführt: die nordische Nebelsphäre bildet die Schwelle zum südlichen Paradiese. Den geographischen Kontrast hatte Goethe aus einem kulturellen umgebildet, während Schiller diesen später im Eleusischen Fest beibehalten hat. Der vierte Gesang des Skaldenliedes beginnt:²

Und doch—leichtgläubiges Gefühl!—
Ist alles diesz mehr als ein Gaukelspiel?
Kann diesz die Stätte seyn, wo wir
Ins Thal des Schweigens flohn? Kaum glaub ich dir!
Wie reizend, wie bezaubernd lacht
Die heitre Gegend! wie voll sanfter Pracht!
In schöner Majestat, in reiferm Strahle
Glänzt diese Sonne! Milder fließt vom Thale
Mir fremder Blüten Frühlingsduft;
Und Balsamgeister strömen durch die Luft,
Unübersehlich malt die Blumen-Flur
Sich meinem Aug, und die Natur
Ist rings³ umher ein Garten! Welcher Gott
Schmiegt eine Wildnisz unter das Gebot
Der Schönheit, Ordnung, Fruchtbarkeit?
Wer ists, der Wüsteneyn gebeut,
Sich in entfernter Sonnen Glut zu tauchen,
Und unbekannte Spezereyn zu hauchen!—

biegt dann folgendermassen um:

Ha! nicht also, im festlichen Gewand,
Grüßt ich dich einst, mein mütterliches Land!
Unfreundlich, ungeschmückt, und rauh und wüste,
Im trüben Dunkel schauerte die Küste;
Kein Himmel leuchtete mild durch den Hayn;
Kein Tag der Aehren lud zu Freuden ein;
In Hölen lauschte Graun und Meuterey
Und was am Ufer scholl, war Kriegsgeschrey.
Das Weib der Ehe trat mit Helm und Speer,
Und neben ihr, von blutger Rüstung schwer,
Die blühende Tochter fürchterlich einher—

um schliesslich wieder zurückzukehren:

O wie weit anmuthsvoller schreitet,
Von acht geliebten Kindern hold begleitet,
Dort jene Mutter durch den Schattengang,
In dessen Hecken friedlicher Gesang
Ertönt, wo goldnes Obst um sie entsprang. . . .

² Vgl. dazu *Urfaust*, 101 ff.

³ Vgl. *Urfaust*, 543.

Goethe hatte natürlich auch deutlich erkannt wie stark Gerstenbergs Skaldenlied von Tassos *Befreitem Jerusalem* beeinflusst war: seine Schilderung Italiens schlieszt sich darum noch näher an die Schilderungen bei Tasso an. Ich zitiere nach Heinse's Übersetzung und Auszug in der *Iris* (Werke hrsgg. von Schüddekopf III, 1, 319). Der Sohn des Königs von England erzählt von den Erlebnissen der fünfzig gefangenen Ritter:

“Endlich langten wir an. . . . Damals war es ein fruchtbar schönes Land, jezt ist es schweflicht heiszes Gewässer, eine dürre Lache; und rund herum eine schwere Luft und eine Schwüle von Fäulnisz. Hier ist *die Luft gelind, und der Himmel heiter, und froh die Bäume* und die Wiesen, wo zwischen den *lieblichen Myrthen* ein Quell entspringt. . . . *Sanfter Schlummer* senkt sich in den Schoosz der Blumen herab . . . von *Marmor und Gold* will ich schweigen, Kunst und Arbeit ist wunderbar daran. . . .”

Nachher kommen Ubald und Dano zu dem Greise, der ihnen die Mittel weist, den gefangnen Rinaldo zu befreien (326):

“Indem er so mit ihnen sprach, gelangt er an den Ort, wo er seine *Wohnung* hat. Diese hatte die Gestalt einer weiten geräumigen Höhle, die *Kammern und Säle* in sich enthielt. Alles *kostbare*, das Theuerste, *was die Erde in ihren reichen Adern nährt, glänzt daselbst, und ieder Zierrath ist geborenen*. . . .”

Auf dem Wege, den sie nun zu durchmessen haben, gibt es manche Abenteuer zu bestehen: Wie der Gotthard mit seinen Schrecken Italiens Schwelle behütet, so haben die Ritter einen steilen Berg zu ersteigen und auf dem Pasz mit Drachen und Löwen und andern Ungeheuern zu kämpfen (337), ehe sie in das gelobte Land kommen:

“Die nunmehr siegenden Helden gewinnen den Rücken des Bergs ohne Anstosz, auszer dasz das Eis und die Steilheit der Pfade ihren Gang ein wenig verzögert. Als sie aber den Schnee durchgewadet, und die steilen Klippen zurückgelegt hatten, fanden sie einen schönen lauen Frühlingshimmel, und die Ebene weit und offen. Immer frische geruchreiche Lüfte wehen hier unveränderlich. . . . Und nicht wie anderwärts wechseln Kälte und Hitze, Wolken und Heiterkeit in diesen Fluren ab, immer kleidet sich der Himmel in den reinsten Glanz. . . . *An dem See liegt der schöne*

Pallast.⁴ . . . Rund ist das reiche Gebäude. . . . Figuren waren in das Metall der königlichen Thore gegraben . . . es eröffnet sich ihnen der Garten in *froher Gestalt*. . . . Die Luft, nichts anderes, ist die Wirkung der Zauberin, die Luft, die die Bäume blühend macht. *Ewig dauert die Frucht mit ewiger Blüthe, und während die eine hervorbricht, reift die andre*. Auf dem nämlichen Stamm, und zwischen den nämlichen Blättern altert die Feige über der entstehenden Feige. An einem Zweige hangen, *einer mit goldner Schaale, der andre mit grüner, der neue und der alte Apfel*. In den *grünen Zweigen*⁵ singen schöne Vögel . . . die Luft murmelt sie. . . . der harmonische Wind begleitet sie. . . .”

Hausten auch hier Drachen über der Schwelle zu dem Paradiese, so steht doch die entsprechende Schilderung bei Gerstenberg noch näher: es ist wirklich das nordische Drachengeschlecht, das man sich nach der Bemerkung in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in den Felsenklüften des Gotthard wohnen denkt (Ende des 5. Gesangs):

Vergebens verletzt der Sohn des Odin
Das Ungeheuer mit triefendem Stahl!
Vergebens würgt auf seinem Riesengange
Der Helden-Same des Hlodin
Den Zwillingewolf, und die Midgardische Schlange!
Sie alle, die Götter, die Helden, sie alle
Sind hingegossen dem Falle
Furchtbar billt aus dampfender Grotte
Mit weitgeöffnetem Schlund
Hinter dem fallenden Gotte
Garm der Höllenhund!

Und besser als der Löwe des Orients paszte der Wolf des Nordens hierhin, der schon im dritten Gesang erwähnt war:

Schon öffnen Endils Wölfe
Auf meinen Feind den giergen Schlund!
Ach mir Unglücklichen! Da schlüpfst
Die Ferse mir im schwarzen Blut!
Da stürz ich hin, und über mich—

freilich jetzt noch nicht “die Fluth,” wohl aber im Gedicht *Die Zeit*:

⁴Mignons Heimat war am Lago Maggiore gedacht.

⁵Sollte hier nicht der Grund liegen, darum Goethe ursprünglich schrieb “im grünen Laub die Gold-Orangen Glühn”? Nachher erschien die Angabe doch zu gewagt, und es wurde das unbestimmtere, aber auch schönere “im dunklen Laub” dafür eingesetzt.

Und andre stürzt mit schneller Wut
Zum Abgrund deine wilde Fluth.

Das Drachengeschlecht wird die "alte Brut"
genannt: Der eine Pferdeknecht bei Voss will
dem Junker den roten Hahn aufs Dach setzen,
der andere aber wirft ein:

Aber, Michel, die Kinder!

und erhält zur Antwort:

Die Wolfsbrut? Fällt denn der Apfel
Weit vom Stamm? Und heult sie nicht schon mit
den Alten, die Wolfsbrut?
Gieng in den Tannen nicht gestern der Herr Hof-
meister, und weinte?

"Was hat man dir, du armes Kind gethan!"
In der zweiten Idylle, in dem Freiheitsliede,
beginnt die dritte Strophe:

Der du zur Freyheit uns erhobst,
Komm her, und schau! Dort glüht das Obst,
Das seinen Baum beschwert!
Dort brüllen Rinder ohne Zahl!
Dort blöcken Schafe durch das Thal!
Dort stampft im Klee das Pferd.

Zwei Strophen darauf folgen die Verse, die
oben als Vorbild für die Worte des Bettlers in
der Faustszene vor dem Thore nachgewiesen
sind: Goethe verrät sich uns selbst, indem er
an beiden Stellen denselben Ausdruck braucht:

Und Marmor-Bilder stehn und sehn mich an
Was hat man dir, du armes Kind gethan?

Ihr guten Herrn, ihr schönen Frauen,
So wohlgeputzt und backenroth,
Belieb' es euch mich anzuschauen,
Und seht* und mildert meine Noth!

Angesichts der Marmorbilder⁷ denkt man
natürlich an Vossens Verse:

Die Kinder rund und roth;
Und schenken froh dem bleichen Mann . . .
Ihr kleines Vesperbrodt.

* Statt "seht" sollte es hier lieber "steht" hei-
ßen—Goethe wird kaum haben sagen wollen: und
seht zu, dasz ihr meine Not lindert.

⁷ Die bei Goethe, soviel ich sehe, ungewöhnliche
Schreibung "Marmor-Bilder" (W.A., 52, 3) lehnt
sich gewisz an Gerstenbergs Nord-Sturm, Stunden-
Thron, Wasser-Szene, Helden-Auge, Brand-Altar, Blu-
men-Flur, Geister-Welt (vgl. *Urfaust*, 90, aus der-
selben Quelle!), Donner-Wagen, an.

Mignon sieht das alles in einer Vision, ebenso
wie der fröhliche Schnitter in seinem Lied ein
Zukunftsland sich malt, oder vielmehr nicht
sich, sondern demjenigen, der ihn und sein
Mädchen von dem drückenden Joch der
Knechtschaft befreit hat—genau so wie Mi-
gnon ihr Lied an ihren Befreier richtet.

Aus Wielands Gedicht endlich ergab sich die
Anregung zu den Versen

Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg?
Das Maulthier sucht im Nebel seinen Weg. . . .

und ebendorthier hätte die Veranlassung kom-
men können, den Weg in das Land der Liebe so
zu schildern wie es in der letzten Strophe ge-
schehen ist. Die Schutzgeister der beiden
Liebenden erscheinen ihnen des Nachts dreimal
hintereinander und sagen:

Hört an! Dort hinter jenem Hayn
Erhebt sich zwischen öden Bergen
Der kahle schrofe Mittelstein. . . .
Ein feste Burg war's hiebevorn,
Noch ragen stattliche Ruinen,
Aus wilden Büschen hoch empor,
Die sollen euch zur Zuflucht dienen!
Dort fliehet hin, dort sollt ihr ruhn;
Das Übrige wird die Liebe thun. . . .

Vgl. den Refrain in *Mignon*.

Damit sie "eilen und nicht säumen" reicht
ihnen der Genius—"ein Englein" wird er ge-
nannt und auch sonst so geschildert, dasz man
glaubt, man habe die kleine Mignon, auf die
Clärchens späterer Name Serafina paszt, vor
sich—

Sein weiszes Händchen unersucht,
Zum Unterpand, auf ihrer Flucht
Mit sicherem Geleit zu dienen.

Sixt entschlieszt sich nun auch,

Durch zwanzig Ritter-Görgens-Drachen
Den Weg zu seinem Nönnchen machen. . . .

Clärchen kämpft einen harten Kampf mit sich
selbst. Die Schilderung der Gewissensqualen
vor ihrem Fall⁸ geschieht, wie so manches

⁸ Wir wissen seit Kettners Nachweis, *Zs.f.d.Ph.*,
20, 230 ff., dasz sie bei der Domszene des Faust
mitgeholfen hat. Auch habe ich an anderer Stelle
gezeigt, dasz sich im Wilhelm Meister noch mehr
Reminiszenzen an Wielands Gedicht finden.

andere in dem Gedicht, in Anlehnung an Gerstenberg, und gerade an die Stelle, die oben als Nachweis für die Verse "In Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut" herausgehoben ist:

Die Hölle öffnet gegen dich
Den düstern Flammenschlund . . .

Furchtbar billt aus dampfender Grotte
Mit weit geöffnetem Schlund
Hinter dem fallenden Gotte
Garm der Höllenhund!

Schliesslich aber zog Sixt mit dreymal stärkeren Kräften Ihr liebend Herz dem seinen nach,⁹ sie beschlieszt denselben Weg wie er zu ziehen:

Auf ungebahnten Pfaden keuchen
Die Pilgrime der Liebe fort . . .
Sie wallen führerlos¹⁰ daher . . .

Sixt hat

Den hohen Berg bereits erstiegen
Das Ende seiner schweren Pein. . . .
Da steht er, zieht mit langen Zügen
Die Luft der Freyheit wieder ein.
Nachdem er lang ein Aferwesen
Das die Natur nicht kennt gewesen,
Welch eine Wollust, Mensch zu seyn!¹¹

Aber er findet Clärchen nicht sobald, und irrt
"unruhvoll"¹² umher,

den Weg zu wallen
Auf dem sein Nönnchen kommen soll.
Er ruft ihr laut; die Felsen hallen
Den Ruf zurücke, Clärchen schallt
Vervielfacht durch den Fichtenwald,

"durch den," freilich nur nach *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, "die schäumende Reusz über Felsenstürze sich von Zeit zu Zeit sehen liesz"

Man sieht, es bleibt kaum ein Zug in Goethes Gedicht, der im obigen nicht nachgewiesen

⁹ Der Kampf der Engel des Lichts mit den Dämonen der Finsternis am Ende von *Faust*, II, ist in den folgenden Versen ebenfalls schon enthalten. Vgl. auch den Schluss: Der beiden Verklärung.

¹⁰ Wie die Maultiere, die ihren Weg selbst suchen.

¹¹ Vgl. *Faust*, 940, 1022 ff., u.s.w.

¹² *Urfaust*, 703.

wäre. Der eigenartige Zusammenhang der Quellen unter sich hat es mit sich gebracht, dass einige von den entlehnten Zügen mehrfach in diesen Quellen begegnete. Häufiger natürlich assoziierte Goethes Phantasie heterogene Züge der Quellen zu einem einheitlichen Bilde. Dafür noch ein markantes Beispiel. Oben sind die Verse

Und Marmorbilder stehn und sehn mich an:
Was hat man dir, du armes Kind gethan?

solchen aus Vossens Idylle und aus dem *Faust* verglichen. Die letzteren waren damals aber noch nicht vorhanden, und obwohl die andern Daten vollkommen ausreichten, die Entstehung des Bildes vor dem geistigen Auge des Dichters herbeizuführen, so musz doch ein ferneres aufgedeckt werden, in einem Passus, der Goethe noch andere Anregungen geboten hat.

Clärchen ist (Märzheft des *Merkur*, S. 201) in den Mönch verliebt, und umso heftiger je strenger sie sich kasteit; es geht ihr wie Faust in Wald und Höhle und wie Gretchen am Spinnrade:

Im Tempel selbst, am höchsten Fest,¹³
Schwebt Sixtens theures Bild ihr immer¹⁴
Vor ihrer Stirn; im Speisezimmer,
In jedem Kreuzgang, jedem Saal,
An jeder Wand hängt überall¹⁵

¹³ Vgl. *Faust*, 3334 f.

¹⁴ WA. I, 99, 3 f., zu Strophe 3: "Sie wallen führerlos daher, Von Osten sie, von Westen er. . . . Unruhvoll steigt Sixt herab . . . doch von der theuren Geliebten . . . Gestalt Ist nichts . . . zu sehen. Schon will ihm Sinn und Muth vergehen, Als ihm, indem er Thal und Höhen Wie ein verrückter Mensch durchschweift, Auf einmal. . . . Clärchen in die Arme läuft."—und WA, 4, 204, dazu dann *Merkur* Aprilheft 10, 8 f. und oben den letzten Vers.

¹⁵ Im Schlosse zu Dux sah Goethe ein Bild, einen mit vielen Söhnen gesegneten Vorfahren Wallensteins, wie sie zu Karl IV. hinreiten, darstellend. Das erinnerte ihn zusammen mit dem vielgestaltigen Ausdruck der Liebe und Zuneigung, der ihm zum 70. Geburtstage zuteil geworden, an obige Stelle und zugleich an Gleims Marianne: "Ein Bild ist es. . . . Er siehts mit Freuden In ihrer Hand. Es war gehüllt in Gold und Seiden. Auswendig stand: Von meinen zärtlich treuen Thränen Entsteht ein Bach. . . ." So findet man denn in dem

Gemahlt, geschnitzt, mit einem Schimmer
 Von Gold ums Haupt; ihn musz sie sehn¹⁶
 Wohin sich ihre Blicke lenken¹⁷
 Und mit ihm auf und nieder gehn. . . .
 Eh konnte sie sich selbst verlieren¹⁸
 Als dem geliebten Bild entfliehn. . . .¹⁹

Ein paar Seiten weiter (S. 204) heiszt es nun:

Da sitzt bey mattem Lampenschein
 Das arme Kind in seiner Zelle,
 Blas, wie bey düster Mondeshelle
 Ein Geist auf einem Leichenstein. . . .

Doch nun genug.

Ich weisz nicht, ob die Entstehungszeit von Mignons Lied einigermaßen feststeht: Wenn nicht, so werden wir sie zusammen mit derjenigen des Blutlieds etwa in den Anfang Februar 1783 setzen. Auch das Lied "Der Schäfer putzte sich zum Tanz" wird um dieselbe Zeit entstanden und tatsächlich nur der Ökonomie halber—es geht unmittelbar vorher die Ballade "Der Sänger"—nicht aufgenommen.

Gedicht "Die Feier des achtundzwanzigsten Augusts dankbar zu erwidern" Reminiszenzen aus beiden älteren Gedichten. Es beginnt "Sah gemahlt, in Gold und Rahmen. . . ." zu V. 13 ff vgl. Gleim, 105 ff., 131 ff., und Wieland T.M. April 1775, 8, 1 ff., 12, 2 ff., 13, 1 ff., 14, 10 ff., zu V. 17, 18, 21, ff.

¹⁶ Vgl. *Urfaust*, 1082 ff.

¹⁷ Vgl. Petrarkas Sonett, *Ove ch' i' posi gli occhi lassi ogiri*.

¹⁸ Vgl. *Urfaust*, 1105 und dazu wieder Anmerkung 14 oben. Minor bemerkt I, 173: "Sie möchte ihn in Armen halten und an seinen Küssen ersticken. Das will natürlich der Schlussvers sagen, nicht: 'auf die Gefahr hin zu vergehen.' Sagt doch Gretchen später noch zu Faust (die Worte *Urfaust*, Kerker, 45 ff.)." Worauf sich das "natürlich" gründet, weisz ich nicht, und ebensowenig, wie mit dem Zitat aus Kerker 45 ff. etwas bewiesen werden kann; an letzterer Stelle steht: "als wolltest du mich ersticken," an ersterer "vergehen sollt." Der Sinn ist "und sollte ich an seinen Küssen vergehen." Offenbar ist die Konstruktion derjenigen in der 20. Strophe von Gleims Marianne nachgebildet, die man sich auch erst zurechtzulegen hat: "Weil von den Rosen seiner Wangen ein langer Bart herabhäng, und, wie sie vergangen, gesehen ward." Wie hier das Subjekt es zu ergänzen ist, so dort ihn. Vgl. Gleim v. 13 ff., mit *Urfaust*, 799, *Faust*, 3726 f.; Gleim 113 ff. mit *Urfaust* 1066 ff., und wieder Gleim 133 ff.; Gleim 193 ff. mit *Urfaust* 1281 ff., 1290. 1297.

¹⁹ Vgl. oben zu Anm. 14.

men sein. Wie es in die Erzählung eingeführt wird, das ähnelt ja auch durchaus den entsprechenden Versen bei Voss.

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CONCERNING THE TYPE *BEAU-PÈRE*, *BELLE-MÈRE*

Short accounts have hitherto been given of the introduction into modern French of the actual words of step- and law-relationship.¹ The substitution of *beau-père* for *suire* and *parastre*, of *beau-frère* for *frerastre* and *serorge*, etc., has been in the main correctly, if succinctly, explained. A word is due, however, regarding the dates assigned to these words in their actual acceptance. The *Dictionnaire Général*, which makes some attempt to cite the earliest attested use of its words, assigns the following dates as the earliest obtainable; the discrepancy in time will be noticed at once: *beau-père* (1549); *belle-mère* (1454); *beau-frère* (1549); *belle-sœur* (XVe S.); *beau-fils* (1611); *belle-fille* (1611). These dates are subject to correction. Even from a cursory glance at some of the prominent literary monuments, one will note in a single work examples, earlier than 1549, of most of these words.²

The use of these words as a class is of much earlier date, and there is no such disparity between the dates of their appearance as the citations of the *Dict. Gén.* would indicate. The earliest date may be approximately determined in three ways. A rather recent dissertation, as it incidentally touches our subject, attacks the problem from the side of "direct address" alone.³ The results of this

¹ Darmesteter, *Formation des mots composés*; Tappolet, *Verwandschaftsnamen*; Du Cange, *Gloss., et al.*

² Jean Le Maire, *Illust. de Gaule* (circ. 1510), ed. Stecher: *beau père*, I, 341; *beau frère*, 81; *belle mère*, 192; *belle sœur*, 310.

³ W. A. Stowell, *Old-French Titles of Respect in Direct Address*, Baltimore, 1909.

method would be of doubtful value in ascertaining the dates of our words: the moment when *beau-père*, etc., first possessed in *direct discourse* the connotation of relationship can never be determined.

It is undoubtedly true that words of step-kinship ending in the suffix *-aster* had, in the Middle Ages, a distinctly pejorative meaning. From words in *-aster* the depreciative connotation spread to the other words of legal relationship. This pejoration has been ascribed to some inherent quality of the suffix, which would be traced back as far as the Latin of Plautus.⁴ The suffix *-aster*, meaning 'incomplete resemblance to, inferior to,' then 'bad, cruel,' would have affected the meaning of the word-stem. Whether this pejorative meaning came from an original quality of the suffix, or was transferred to it from association with words of kinship that were in bad repute, one cannot venture to state categorically. The latter view seems to be in closer keeping with what we know of the Latin suffix and with semasiological processes.

It seems certain to us, however, that in the subsequent treatment of *-aster*, especially in the words under discussion, the suffix had a depreciative sense that increased with age. The words of law-relationship for the most part (save *gendre* and *bru*), fell into disrepute together with the words of step-kinship, probably by association with them—*asinus asinum fricat*.

Such pejorative sense in words of ordinary use naturally became intolerable. Other words took their place, growing out of a custom of courteous address. Prof. Stowell has shown, by many well-chosen examples, that *beau-père*, etc., in their actual acceptation, are derived from an extremely common form of polite salutation.⁵ We suggest that *beau*, *belle*, prefixing the words of immediate family relationship, titles, etc., in the stereotyped medieval

formulas, approximated our ancient *good my lord*, *fair sister*, etc.

A sufficiently illuminating, if uncited, commentary on this use of *beau* in trite formulas of respect, is found in the following passage from Chrétien de Troyes.⁶ The *jeu de mots* in the last two verses indicates a satiric appreciation of the painful triteness of the word *beau* in titles of polite address.

Par quel non je t'apelerei?—
Sire, fait il, jel vos dirai:
J'ai nom *biax fils*.—*Beax fils* as ores?
Je cuit bien que tu as ancores
Un autre non.—Sire, par foi
J'ai nom *biau frere*.—Bien t'an croi;
Mais se tu me vials dire voir,
Ton droit non voldrai ge savoir.—
Sire, fet il, bien vos puis dire
Qu'a mon droit non ai nom *biau sire*.—
Si m'aïst dex ci a *biau* non.
As an tu plus?

As the O.Fr. words of quasi-kinship gained in depreciative force, the modern terms began to usurp their place, gradually, and not as the sudden or conscious act of the grammarians. By a transference of meaning, the adjective denoting courtesy in direct address assumed an overt function in compound words of relationship, the use being later definitely fixed, by hyphenation, as a usage.

It is impossible to say just what was the psychological process involved. In the short notices hitherto given, two theories have been suggested, if not proposed, by the terms of the explanation. Burguy, when discussing the O.Fr. words, offered the following explanation: "Les mots avec cette terminaison *-astre* . . . qui, dans le principe, ne désignaient que la parenté, l'alliance, prirent peu à peu une signification péjorative, et par opposition à la *méchante* marâtre, on donna hypocoristiquement à la *bonne* marâtre, le nom de *belle-mère*, c-à-d. dans le sens primitif de *bellus*, cher, chère mère, et ainsi des autres."⁷

This explanation would propose either an unconscious reversion of a word to a primitive

⁴ Cf. F. Seck, "Das Roman, Suffix *-aster*, *-astrum*," *ALL.*, I, 39; F. F. Cooper, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, N. Y., 1895. Bréal unhesitatingly assigns to the suffix a pejorative sense "qui se montre déjà en latin." (*Sémantique*, p. 43.)

⁵ Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 147 seq.

⁶ *Contes del Graal. Abdruck d. Handschrift Paris, franc. 794*, vv. 343 seq.

⁷ *Gramm.*, III, 243.

meaning, or absurdly enough in the case of *beau*, a popular recognition of some such etymology as *beau* < *bellum* < *ben-lum* < *bon-(um)lum*.

Littre (*Dict.*) does not rely upon any inherent meaning of *beau* to explain how it came to be accepted in connection with words of family: ". . . la langue s'est sentie inclinée à chercher une périphrase, et elle l'a trouvée dans l'usage ancien qui faisait de *beau* un terme d'affection, surtout entre parents."

Disregarding the phrase "la langue s'est sentie inclinée à chercher," a manner of speaking that Bréal would class with such "illusions" as "tendances des mots" and "autres tendances non moins imaginaires,"⁸ we believe the explanation to approximate the truth.

In spite of the stereotyped use of the epithet *beau* in the later Middle Ages, its note of affection is very often evident, in the sense of 'dear.' This sentiment is felt in the affectionate warnings of Saint Louis to his son: "Biau filz, biau filz."⁹ Furthermore, very often associated with the iterative epithet *cher*, it would assimilate some of the quality of the latter adjective: "bels sire chiers" (*Rol.* v. 1693), "biaus amis chiers" (*Fab.*, Mont. et Ray., V, 107).

The use of *beau-père*, etc., antedates the citations of the *Dict. Gén.* and our own earlier ones of Jean Le Maire. The O.Fr. words of both step- and law-kinship were in force in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while *beau*, *belle* still continued in titles of respect in direct address. A rigorous search of many documents and literary monuments of the last quarter of the fourteenth century fails to reveal the use of *beau-père*, etc., in their actual meaning. In our search we have dealt not only with direct address, but also with works where the narrative *third person* is most used. In indirect speech only would the use of *beau-père*—in the proper context—be indubitable proof of its meaning "step-father, father-in-law."

In the dissertation referred to above, we

find the following: "Furthermore, since *bele suer*, *beaus fils*, and *belle fille* were employed during this period to designate a relationship by marriage. . . ." A footnote gives the following citations: "Entendés ça, soer bele. *Fabliaux*, II, 227 (noble lady to sister-in-law)—Thiebaut, biaux fils, qui longue voie va. *O. F. N.*, p. 162 (noble to son-in-law)."¹⁰

From the very fact that the author has elsewhere shown (p. 147 seq.) that *beau*, *belle*, were used almost indiscriminately with words of immediate family relationship, in honorific titles of address, there is surely no psychological process that can differentiate the citations here given from other contemporary titles of courtesy, in which *beau*, *belle*, are epithetic, especially when no speech of the third person confirms such use for the period (to 1350). Even had "*Les Honneurs de la Cour*, of a date slightly later than the period treated," designated *beau* as a word to be used in *composés* of relationship, we see no relevancy to the period treated. The citations, besides being in direct address, are from the aristocratic language of chivalry, which, as Bréal shows, is conservative, slow to adopt neologisms.¹¹ Unfortunately, the citation from the *Honn. d. l. Cour*, cited by Sainte-Palaye from ms., contains no such command. The sentence "Quant les roys et roynes, ducqs, duchesses, princesses, ont des parents, les doivent appeler beaux" merely designates the *formula of respect* which the author has elsewhere made plain: *parents* may signify "cousin, aunt, uncle," as well as "mother, father, brother."

Froissart and his contemporaries of the last years of the fourteenth century cling to the O.Fr. forms. *Beau* is still used in titles of respect between relatives, friends, and nobles, while the O.Fr. *serourge*, for example, designates the brother-in-law in every case where he has occasion to use the word—in sum, sixteen times in the first three volumes.¹²

It suffices to cite only two other examples

¹⁰ Stowell, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹¹ Bréal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹² *Chroniques*, p. p. Siméon Luce, Paris, 1874. *Biaux oncles* II, 127; *biaus nies* II, 16; *biau frere* II, 234 (to own brother); *biau seigneur* V, 33; etc.

⁸ *Essai de Sémantique*, 4e éd., p. 99.

⁹ Joinville, ed. Fr. Michel, p. 236.

from the scores we have assembled for this period. The *Chronique de J. de Stavelot* (p. 529) also makes use of the O.Fr. *soir* (*socerus*, father-in-law): "son soir, pere de sa femme." As late as 1417 we find the same word in legal use: "Le suppliant gendre de Pierre Fontan dist et depose pour et a l'intention dudit Pierre Fontan son seigneur ou sogre."¹³ The O.Fr. words of step-relationship alone are used at this date. We cite but a single case from popular record: "De la filatre saint Blaise une cote fourree d'escureux."¹⁴

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, a certain hesitation is becoming evident in the use of these words. The usual doubt with respect to neologisms is apparent, and many authors adopted paraphrases to avoid the difficulty.¹⁵

In the first quarter of the century, the Mod. Fr. words of relationship compounded with *beau*, *belle*, are recorded, still hesitatingly, as is shown by the frequent use of the O.Fr. forms. The earliest cases we have been able to find are from the *Chroniques* of Enguerrand de Monstrelet.¹⁶ Illustrating in one and the same work the use of both O.Fr. and Mod. Fr. forms, are the following citations: p. 125, "ou il eut aucun parlement avec le duc Guillaume son *serourge* . . . lequel *serourge* retourna en la ville d'Arras."—p. 127, "et tantost apres ladicte festes accomplies, la duchesse de Hollande, avec son *beau-frere*. . . ."—p. 170, "et adonques ladicte duchesse Jehan son filz et la royne d'Angleterre, sa *belle-fille*. . . ." ¹⁷

¹³ J. J., 170, p. 33.

¹⁴ *Inv. du Juif Joseph*, ann. 1394.

¹⁵ Eust. Deschamps, *Œuv. compl. (SATF.)*, IX, p. 183: "monseigneur Descalles, frere de la femme dudit Edouard." This circumlocution occurs several times in the same volume: pp. 104, 114, 123, 190.—Boucicaut, *Le livre des faicts*, II, 217: "et aussi Mauvinet leur frere de mère."—Commynes, *Mém.*, p. 230, etc.

¹⁶ Douët-D'Arcq, v. I, *Soc. de l'Hist. de Fr.*, Paris, 1857. The composition of the *Chroniques* stretched over the third and fourth decades of the century.

¹⁷ In the same work are other examples of the modern forms, the relationship being historically authenticated: *belle-fille*, p. 168; *beau-filz*, pp. 172, 176; *beau-frere*, pp. 259, 350, 352, 353. The O. Fr. form *serourge* again occurs on page 353, in place of *beau-frere*.

The history of these words of relationship in France shows clearly enough at what period they were accepted into good currency, sufficiently to put themselves indubitably in the written records of the language. Two means still remain to check up the results obtained,—the records of the passage of these Mod. Fr. words of quasi-relationship into the Celtic and the Dutch.

It has been said in a passing notice of the matter, that these words of legal relationship were borrowed from the Celtic.¹⁸ The opposite is true; the Breton and Welsh translated these words from the French. The borrowing has been mentioned briefly by Tappolet.¹⁹

Among the modern Welsh words of step-relationship are compounds of the words of immediate family relationship with the adjective *gwyn* (m.), *wen* (f.), fair, beautiful: *tad-gwyn*, step-father, *mam-wen*, step-mother, etc.²⁰ The Breton has the same relationship expressed in *tâd-kaer*, *mamm-kaer*, *c'hoar-gaer*, *merc'h-kaer*, etc., in which *kaer* is an adjective with the meaning *beautiful*. With the material at my disposal I have been unable to find any citation of these modern Welsh or Breton forms before the last quarter of the fifteenth century.²¹ Up to that date the usual ancient forms, *mamec*, *tadec*, *mabec*, etc., persist. Ernault, to be sure, places *mamm-gaer*, etc., in the "moyen-breton," but without further date or citation. The Breton terms would indicate, according to him, both law- and step-relationship.²² As he dates his period from the year 1100, the inclusion of our words is of no aid in fixing their date definitely. Unknown to Ernault was the dictionary of Lagadeuc, the oldest extant Breton glossary, written in 1464.²³ In this work no mention

¹⁸ F. G. Mohl, *Les Origines Romanes*, Prague, 1900.

¹⁹ *Romanische Verwandtschaftsnamen*. Strassb., 1895. Tappolet, without question, accepts the dates of the *Dict. Gén.* (p. 125).

²⁰ Spurrell's *Engl.-Welsh Dict.*, 1905; Pughe's *Welsh Dict.*, 1832; et al.

²¹ I have had access to the libraries of Cornell, Chicago, and Columbia.

²² E. Ernault, *Glossaire Moyen-Breton*, Paris, 1895.

²³ *Le Catholicon de Jehan Lagadeuc* . . . imprimé à Tréguier chez Jehan Calvez en MCCCCXCIX.

is made of the forms *tād-kaer*, etc., while all the older forms are given, *lesman*, *lesmap*, etc.

On the side of the Netherlands we have data more positive in character. The Dutch also expresses the legal relationship by *mots composés*, translated from the French: *schoonvader*, *schoon-moeder*, *schoon-zoon*, *schoon-dochter*, *schoon-broeder*, *schoon-suster*.²⁴

After a search of all the available material, my own results had convinced me that up to the middle of the fifteenth century the Old Dutch forms alone were used—or at least appear—in Dutch literature and records. Shortly after that date the forms compounded with *schoon* make their appearance. These results were confirmed by the learned Dutch scholar, Prof. J. Verdam of Leyden, to whose kindness I owe the following citations, the earliest known:

Onser harde liever vrouwe ende schonemoeder, *Priv. v. Brielle*, 2, 79 (a. 1477); Gelijcke wedden als plachten te hebben ende te nemen bylevenden tijden ons voorsz. wylen heere ende schoonvadere de raedsluyden, *Handv. en Priv. v. Holl.* II, 27 (a. 1477); Sijn scoonsuster . . . soogde Alexander, *Alex. V.*, 135.

Prof. Verdam further writes me that his search has convinced him that "les termes sont entrés en Néer. vers le milieu du 15^e siècle, et vraisemblablement en imitant les termes français avec beau."²⁵

The Celtic and Dutch translations of the French terms, about the middle of the fifteenth century, alone would fix their usage in France to a period antedating the earliest foreign citations. The period in which French historical and literary records—in speech of the

third person—show a hesitancy in using the new forms, together with the earliest attested use of these words, would seem to place their acceptance into idiomatic currency at about the year 1400. Doubtless there was, in popular speech, considerable use of these words, before they found their hesitating way into writing, but at this we can only guess; the written records alone can concern us.

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THE MODEL OF THE LEATHER-STOCKING TALES

Several years ago the present writer, re-reading the Leather Stocking Tales, prepared two tables to show the interrelations between them in plot and in characters, and was much surprised to observe that all five tales are practically the same, when stripped to bare outlines. At the same time the tables seemed so simple, so obvious, that no further attention was paid to them, until the writer was twice assured in chance conversation that the facts were unknown, or at least not generally known. A careful examination of most of the current Cooper criticism proves this to be correct. The observations upon Cooper, when not dealing with sources, have turned mostly to matters of atmosphere and character drawing in general, —to "Americanism," "the pioneer spirit," and the like. In technique certain resemblances to Walter Scott are observed; but beyond that nothing.

In the five tales, taken as a whole, the principal characters number twelve, though in every novel one or more of these—in two novels as many as three—are missing. Leather Stocking, or Bumpo, appears under his own name in all five; the Indian Chingachgook in four, being replaced in the other, *The Prairie*, by a western Indian, Hard Heart. The other personages change their names, but not their characters. First, there is the father or guardian of the heroine, a somewhat commonplace type, though touched, in the cases of Ishmael

²⁴The borrowing has been universally recognized by the Dutch scholars: *Den Nieuwen Dictionaris ofr Schadt der Duytse en Spanesche Talen*, Antwerp, 1659; J. Frank, *Etymolog. Woordenb.*, "navolging van fr. beau." See also, Saalverda De Grave, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der uit het fransch overgenomen woorden in het nederlandsch*.

²⁵It is rather remarkable that for German *schön* Grimm sees an etymon analogous to that discussed for *beau*, in a primitive meaning *good*: "näher scheint lit. *szaunus* 'trefflich, gut,' zu stehen." (*Wörterb.*)

[*Prairie*] and Hutter [*Deerslayer*] with a sinister coloring absent in the other novels. That every novel has a lover and a heroine is scarcely matter for surprise, but it is hardly a mere conventionality to introduce the girls in pairs. Every novel, but one, has two heroines. In every one, except *Deerslayer*, there is also a comic character; in *Pioneers* a fakir, in *Mohicans* the cracked David, in *Prairie* the scientific enthusiast, in *Pathfinder* the grotesque seaman. In *Deerslayer*, Hetty, the second girl, plays a not dissimilar part. Like David she is granted immunity from attack by the Indians because she is half-witted.

Among the hostile characters are three types, a villain, a traitor, and a man who is merely an enemy. In *Pioneers*, where there is no warfare apart from village squabbles, these parts are played by minor characters. In *Mohicans*

the types are combined in that splendid, if corrupt, character, Magua. In *Pathfinder* the parts are interlocked: White is both villain and traitor; Arrowhead is a traitorous enemy.

In the first two novels of the series—in point of date—is another very strong type, the venerable and mysterious old man, who appears at the end as a sort of cue for the final resolution of the plot. In *Pioneers* it is Effingham; in *Mohicans* Tamenund, better known to us to-day under his less venerable name of Tammany. This character seems to have been abandoned after the second novel, possibly because it was too strong, too theatrical, to be subjected to formularization for routine work. In the last two novels is added the Indian woman.

The principal characters by name may be grouped as below:

TABLE I.

	Pioneers [1823]	Mohicans [1826]	Prairie [1827]	Pathfinder [1840]	Deerslayer [1841]
	Bumppo	Bumppo	Bumppo	Bumppo	Bumppo
	Chingachgook	Chin.	Hard Heart	Chin.	Chin.
Father or Guardian	Temple	Munro	Ishmael	Dunham	Hutter
Lover	Edwards	Heyward	Middleton	Eau Douce	March
1st girl	Eliz. Temple	Cora	Inez	Mabel	Judith
2nd girl	Louisa Grant	Alice	Ellen	* * *	Hetty
Comic Character	Quack doctor	David	The Naturalist	Cap.	Hetty [?]
Villain	Minor persons	Magua	Abiram White	Muir	* * *
Traitor	Minor persons	Magua	* * *	Muir & Arrowhead	* * *
Simple enemy	Minor persons	Magua	Mahtoree	Arrowhead	Rivenoak
Venerable old man	Effingham	Tamenund.	* * *	* * *	* * *
Young Indian woman	* * *	* * *	* * *	Dew-of-June	Wah-ta-wah

Equally striking is the parallelism in plot. *Pioneers*, having no Indian warfare, stands a little apart; but an examination of the following table will show that the plot formula was beginning to take shape in this, the first of the novels.

All the novels open with a chance meeting between two groups of the principal characters, by which means their acquaintance is begun. In *Pioneers* this is brought about by a shooting episode. *Mohicans*, the second novel, substitutes the journey in the wilderness as the preliminary of the meeting; and the three later

novels retain this journey. In the four later novels this meeting is immediately followed by a brush with the Indians. In three novels there are exciting escapes. In two, *Mohicans* and *Pathfinder*, the treacherous Indian shows his true character at this stage. In *Pioneers* the next episode is the arrest and flight of Bumppo. In the other novels it is replaced by a somewhat prolonged warfare, except in *Pathfinder*, where the cruise on the lake intervenes to break up the continuity of the fighting. Fourth [third in *Pioneers*] comes the final resolution of the plot, which resolution is al-

ways of an exciting character, and in every case accompanied by the death of at least one of the principal characters. In *Pioneers* the excitement arises from the pursuit of the fugitives, and is intensified by the forest fire. Reconciliations follow. Chingachgook dies. *Mohicans* changes the element of excitement to that of warfare. Uncas makes known his identity to the Delawares, an act which has an effect similar to that of a reconciliation. Uncas, Cora, and Magua die. *Prairie* reverts to the type of *Pioneers*, and ends with flight, a prairie fire, reconciliation, and the death of Bumpo; but the element of warfare intro-

duced in *Mohicans*, is retained in *Prairie*, combined with the earlier elements. *Pathfinder* and *Deerslayer*, at this stage, closely resemble *Mohicans*. Both end with fighting, victory over the enemy, and the death of a principal character.

In connection with the slaying of principal characters, it may be noted that Cooper does not permit this except at the end of the novel, no matter how thrilling the escape necessary to avoid it. In none of the novels does love play any considerable part.

The events may be tabulated as follows:

TABLE II.

Pioneers	Mohicans	Prairie	Pathfinder	Deerslayer
Opening scene.				
Shooting of Edwards and introduction to Temple family.	Expedition of Hayward and meeting with Bumpo and Chin.	Bumpo comes upon Ishmael's camp, and meets various persons.	Cap. and Mabel journey to Ontario, and meet Bumpo and Chin.	March and Bumpo journey to Otsego, and meet Hutter and two girls.
Second episode.				
* * * *	Ambush at Glenn's Falls. Narrow escape. Magua's treachery.	Brush with Sioux, and escape.	Brush with Indians. Arrow-head's treachery.	Brush with Indians. Escape of party on the "Ark."
Third episode.				
Bumpo's arrest and flight.	War with French and Indians.	War with Ishmael and with Sioux.	* * *	Series of skirmishes, captures, and escapes.
Final scene.				
Forest-fire. Death of Chin. Reconciliations, and explanations. Appearance of Effingham.	War of Hurons and Delawares. Death of Uncas, Cora, and Magua. Appearance of Tamenund. Defeat of Hurons.	Prairie fire. Reconciliation of Ishmael and Ellen. Death of Bumpo.	Fight at the Block house. Exposure of Muir's treachery. Defeat of French and Indians. Death of Dunham.	Fight at the Huron camp. Defeat of the Indians, and hairbreadth escape. Death of Hetty.

To these scenes *Pathfinder* and *Deerslayer* add a sort of corollary, in one case the marriage of Mabel and Eau Douce, and in the other the seduction of Judith.

It is perhaps not strange that Cooper, writing the first three of these novels in quick succession, should use the same technique throughout. But the reappearance of it thir-

teen years later in *Pathfinder*, and the subsequent use in *Deerslayer* indicates that the usage was something more than a temporary fashion, and was rather of the nature of a fixed, or nearly fixed, formula.

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THE SOURCE OF THE IMMEDIATE PLOT OF *FAIRE EM*

The numerous references and suggestions, that the plot of the *Faire Em* story was founded upon a ballad, seemed to me plausible enough to warrant an investigation. The first intimation I received that such a theory was current as an explanation, I found in C. F. T. Brooke's *The Tudor Drama*, p. 272. This hint led to a closer search, with the result that I present the following discussion of a ballad, which critical study convinces me will solve the difficulty and explain away all allegorical suppositions. The simple means of borrowing, so general among the dramatists of the time, will shake the elaborate theories formerly presented (see Brooke, *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, Introduction). I shall confine myself to the presentation of statements in harmony with my own views. Mr. J. C. Collins, in his *Plays and Poems of Greene*, Vol. II, 4, has this to say,—“Now, part of the plot of *Faire Em* is probably founded on a ballad licensed to Henry Carré. March 2, 1580–1, under the title of ‘The Miller’s Daughter of Manchester.’” Here Collins hit the right note, but the wrong ballad. Greene, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, ridicules our author—“but if they come to write or publish anything in print, it is either distilled out of ballets, or borrowed of Theological poets,” etc., adding, that the dramatist is ashamed of his source and thus gives his play a new color and a very new title (R. Simpson's *School of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, p. 377). From this it must be inferred that the source was a ballad, but not “The Miller’s Daughter of Manchester” as Mr. Collins recently suggested. The exact copy of the title would rather suggest that this particular ballad was drawn from the play and not *vice versa*. That it was customary so to retell the story of drama is proven by the ballad upon Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. If this could be proved, it would place the date of *Faire Em*, first acted, in 1580–1.

The correct ballad source, however, is *Bessie off Bednall*, printed in the *Percy Folio Ms.*,

Vol. II, p. 279. Later versions are entitled *The Blind Beggar's Daughter of Bednal-Green*. The exact date of this ballad is not known, we can do nothing more than state the evidence of scholars. There is little doubt but that it was very popular in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Internal evidence of the Percy ballad would show that date, besides, the following quotations are sufficient proof to sustain the early composition. W. Chappell, in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, Vol. I, writes—“The earliest extant copy is perhaps that in the Percy folio, the printed broad sides being chiefly of the date of Charles the 2nd, or later.” In his *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, pp. 159–60, we find this ballad listed among those of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Again, to quote Hall—“The ballad was certainly not written later than Queen Elizabeth's reign; for, as Percy points out, Mary Ambree was sung to the tune of it” (*Percy Folio Ms.*, Vol. II, p. 279). This is evidence enough to show the ballad was current at a time in which it could serve as a source; if we do not possess the particular version, at least we know the oldest version will conform closely to the Percy, inasmuch as little deviation is apparent in the broadside copies.

This story is the account which will serve as a digest of any one of the ballad versions. Bessye, supposedly of poor parentage, leaves home to dwell at the Queen's Arms, Rumford. Her virtues and great beauty win her many lovers. Among them we find four suitors, in reality three, each representative of a class in English society, seeking her love. They are a rich London merchant; a gentleman of good degree; a Knight; a landlady's son. The first three lovers ask her to become a bride, enumerating what each has to offer in keeping with her beauty. The landlady's son does not seem to be taken seriously, as no mention is made of a direct proposal. Our pretty Bessye seeks a faithful lover. She accordingly refers their suit to her father, the Blind Beggar of Bednall Greene. This announcement causes dismay and desertion on the part of the suitors, excepting the loyal knight. He will have her “hap better or worsse.” Consequently, Bessye and her lover set out to visit the blind old man.

Pursued but rescued, they meet the old father, who blessed the young people and ultimately gave them gold "thousands 3." The second part of the ballad opens with a wedding feast among the nobles of the country. During this mirth the blind beggar arrives in the guise of a minstrel, who, after singing a few songs, suddenly glorifies the name of the bride. He tells of her beauty, the kindness of her heart and finally the story of her birth. She is of noble blood, the daughter of "young Mountford of a highe degree;" a knight forced by war to live in retirement and in secret.

In the play the incidents are of necessity entirely changed, as that was the object of the dramatist; still, even a superficial reading will hardly fail to impress upon the reader the exact similarity of structure. This is due to the fact that the outline, the framework of the ballad, was incorporated intact. Read the modernized version of the ballad, printed in the Oxford ballad book and any edition of the play and you will find the following basis. Father and daughter disguised and poor, in reality noble and wealthy. The maid a celebrated beauty attracting many lovers and in particular three earnest suitors, with a fourth of little consideration. Each man is the representative of a class. The real quality of the lovers is shown by a test involving blindness, which does not weaken the ardor of the noble knight who wins the lady. When it is known the conditions were only a test the other suitors are always disappointed and angry. The final scene before royalty disclosed the identity of father and daughter.

The only suggestion of similarity of incident which I could discover is found in the episode where the knight fights for his lady love, just as they arrive before the Blind Beggar's hovel. This seems to suggest the short scene of conflict between Valingford and Manville. The real test of my assertions is found in comparison of the principal characters. Though the dramatist is condemned as a character-portrayer, we must admire him for the ability he displayed in developing his men as the ballad suggests. Working from a single line of the song he presents character contrasts of inner

nature. It is true, we find only in a general way a likeness between the Beggar and the Miller. A change of condition and surroundings would answer for all differences in two men who are valiant knights that live only for their pretty daughter. As for the two girls, it is hardly worth while to enter a detailed comparison. Let it suffice that they are "dainty, neuer to coye," blithe bonny lasses who seek faithfulness in love and are devoted to their father. In the ballad the landlady's son swears fidelity, yet is not represented among the three suitors who make a formal offer of marriage. An excellent youth "who swore he wold dye ffor pretty Bessye!" (l. 48). The consideration shown him, besides this sentence, seem to indicate the fool and braggart. Evidently he imagines himself another Sir Tophas, whom the dramatist so depicts in the person of Trotter. The gentleman exclaims thus—"My hart lyes distressed; O helpe me" (l. 56), which is again re-echoed in Mountney's asking Em to find "such kinde remorse as naturally you are enclyned to" for my affection. The greater unknown Lord Valingford expresses hope and good faith throughout the play in accord with the ballad reading, "And if thou wilt wedd with me—" (l. 49), the words of the disguised knight. On the other hand, "Let me bee thy husband! the Merchant cold say" (l. 57) sums up the attitude of the wavering merchant's son Manville. This shows a lack of feeling so evident in Em's lover, for he has no difficulty in turning to another girl. Throughout the play his actions prove he thinks he is making a very great sacrifice to marry the lovely maid. He is in reality indifferent, that is to say, cold, for he can "so finely shift his matters off." In connection with this character, we notice a manifest copying of words in the expression used to indicate his change of feeling. In the ballad he retracts with this exclamation, "Nay then, thou art not for mee!" (l. 77), in the play—"Both blind and deafe! Then is she no wife for me."

Such actions and expressions are not the work of chance. When you read a man's character at this critical period of life you have his nature exposed. If he dissembles, you may be

sure he will do so many times; if he commands a proposal, he has an abundance of vanity to protect him from really loving a woman; if his words are couched in terms of consideration and feeling, a woman will find in him a man worthy of her regard. Our dramatist was fortunate in finding the ballad touching this weighty question, for he received his characters sharply defined.

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THE METAMORPHOSES IN *MUIOPOTMOS*

Most of the discussion concerning *Muiopotmos* has centered around the question of whether or not it is an allegory. The prevailing opinion is that it is a mock-heroic, and contains no hidden meaning. In the light of all obtainable evidence this view seems to be correct. Even with this problem dismissed or regarded as settled, however, the question of sources arises. Allegorical or mock-heroic, the framework of *Muiopotmos* remains to be accounted for. Dr. Nadal has established the strong presumption that Spenser was here writing under the influence of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*.¹ This influence seems rather pervasive than particular, a reminiscence of spirit rather than of plot. Granting this influence, I wish further to point out Spenser's use of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Upon analysis *Muiopotmos* divides itself into the six following parts:

1. Introduction ("I sing of deadly dolorous debate") and Invocation ("Vouchsafe, O thou the mournfulst Muse of nyne"), 1-16.

2. Description of Clarion as the ideal young knight and his arming, 17-112.

3. Metamorphosis of Venus' nymph, Astery, into a butterfly, 113-144.

4. Clarion's journey and arrival at the 'gay gardins,' 145-256.

5. Metamorphosis of Arachne into a spider, 257-352.

6. Clarion's capture in Aragnoll's web and death at his hands, 353-440.

It is with the two metamorphoses, numbers three and five, that we shall be chiefly concerned. The action of the rest of the poem can be told in a sentence: Clarion, son of Muscaroll and descendant of the butterfly nymph Astery, arms himself and journeys to a beautiful garden, where he is caught and slain by his hereditary foe, Aragnoll, descendant of the spider-changed Arachne. That is the entire plot, if so slight a narrative nucleus may be called a plot. Spenser takes 312 lines to relate it, proceeding by his favorite method of stringing a succession of stanza pictures on his narrative thread.

The most interesting part of the poem is the use made of the two incidental metamorphoses to give a motive to the hatred of Aragnoll, the spider, for Clarion, the butterfly.

The starting point of the whole seems to be the Arachne Metamorphosis² of Ovid, VI, i. This is the account of Arachne's being transformed by Minerva into a spider as punishment for presuming to pit her skill against that of the goddess in a weaving contest.³ Spenser takes the story as told by Ovid, shortens it greatly, and alters it freely to serve his purpose of linking the fortunes of spider and butterfly. This is accomplished as follows: In Ovid, it will be recalled, after Minerva has displayed her skill by embroidering her contest with Neptune over Athens, Arachne fills her web with subjects designedly chosen to exhibit the failings and errors of the gods. Twenty-one amours in the lives of Jupiter, Neptune,

² Arachne is also referred to in *The Faerie Queene*, II, xii, 77.

³ Palgrave (Grosart's *Spenser*, IV-LXXI) is seemingly unaware of this obvious source. He doubtfully refers the poem to the Ariadne picture in *The Nuptials of Thetis and Peleus* of Catullus. He is, however, not satisfied with their connection, and speaks of it as "fantastically slight." Careful examination fails to reveal any trace of Catullus in *Muiopotmos*.

¹ T. W. Nadal, "Spenser's *Muiopotmos* in Relation to Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xxv, 640 f.

Phœbus, and Saturn are depicted. Minerva can not forbear to admire her skill, yet feels indignant at the insult. She strikes the web with her shuttle and rends it in pieces. She also strikes the forehead of Arachne three or four times. The unhappy creature can not endure it and goes and hangs herself. Minerva pities her as she sees her suspended by the rope, sprinkles her with aconite and transforms her into a spider.

In Spenser's account, Arachne tries her hand before Minerva. Out of the twenty-one amours mentioned by Ovid, Spenser chooses only one, the picturesque episode of Europa and the Bull, and describes it at some length, omitting all mention of the other twenty. From the fact of this choice and from the space devoted to the description (twelve lines) it would seem that Spenser drew here on the original Europa episode as related in full by Ovid, Book II, xiv, and by Moschus in his Second Idyl.⁴ Minerva's turn comes next. Spenser, like Ovid, represents her as depicting her creation of the olive tree to overmatch Neptune's gift of the horse. Then Spenser (329-352) introduces the butterfly, which is entirely original with him:

"Emongst those leaves she made a butterflie,
With excellent device and wondrous slight,
Fluttring among the olives wantonly,
That seem'd to live, so like it was in sight:
The velvet nap which on his wings doth lie,
The silken downe with which his backe is dight,
His broad outstretched hornes, his hayrie thies,
His glorious colours, and his glistening eies.

Which when Arachne saw, as overlaid
And mastered with workmanship so rare,
She stood astonied long, ne ought gainesaid,
And with fast fixed eyes on her did stare,
And by her silence, signe of one dismaid,
The victorie did yeeld her as her share:
Yet did she inly fret, and felly burne,
And all her blood to poysonous rancor turne:

'The Europa story was a favorite of Spenser's. He refers to it twice in *The Faerie Queene*: (1) In III, xi, 30, where it is mentioned as one of the amours of the gods which were woven in arras on the walls of the House of Busyrane, 'where Loves spoyles are exprest.' Spenser's list there, by the way, seems suggested by Ovid's list in the Arachne metamorphosis. (2) In the Prologue to Book V, 5.

That shortly from the shape of womanhed,
Such as she was, when Pallas she attempted,
She grew to hideous shape of dryrihed,
Pined with grieve of follie late repented;
Eftsoones her white streight legs were altered
To crooked crawling shankes, of marrowe emptied,
And her faire face to fowle and loathsome hewe,
And her fine corpes to a bag of venim grewe."

This addition of the butterfly is the happy invention of Spenser. Ovid represents Arachne and Minerva as displaying equal skill, and attributes Arachne's transformation to Minerva's pity, to save Arachne from suicide. Spenser introduces the butterfly as the crowning touch of Minerva's art, which proves her superiority to her mortal rival and which causes Arachne to swell up from rage and envy into a spider. In view of this it is of course to be expected that all spiders should thenceforward hate all butterflies. Natural, therefore, is the emotion of Arachne's son, Aragnoll, when he sees Clarion fly into his garden:

"This cursed creature, mindfull of that olde
Enfested grudge, the which his mother felt,
So soone as Clarion he did beholde,
His heart with vengefull malice inly swelt."

To account for Clarion, his hero, Spenser relates earlier in the poem (lines 113-144) another short metamorphosis. The story runs as follows: Astery, a nymph of Venus, surpasses her companions in gathering flowers for their queen and is falsely and enviously accused by them to Venus of receiving secret aid from Cupid. Venus remembers her son's intrigue with Psyche and is led to believe the slander. In her anger she changes the unfortunate Astery into a butterfly, placing in her wings the flowers gathered by her in memory of her pretended crime. Clarion, through his father Muscaroll, is the descendant of this Astery.

No source for this little metamorphosis can be discovered. It is presumably the invention of Spenser, suggested seemingly by the Arachne metamorphosis and composed in direct contrast

with it, with a natural reminiscence of other metamorphoses.⁵

It does not seem unlikely that the spider as villain suggested the fly as victim, and that the butterfly was chosen as the most beautiful of flies. Certainly it is more poetic than, for example, is the gnat, which Spenser borrowed earlier from the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex* and applied allegorically to an incident in his relations with Lord Leicester! The Cupid and Psyche legend may have offered the suggestion. It was in Spenser's mind at the time for there is a detailed reference to it in the Astery metamorphosis, lines 130-133, where Venus is described as

"Not yet unmindefull how not long agoe
Her sonne to Psyche secret love did beare,
And long it close conceal'd, till mickle woe
Thereof arose, and manie a rueful teare."

Again in *The Faerie Queene*, III, vi, 50 a stanza is devoted to summarizing the incident. It will be recalled that Psyche in Greek means

*Spenser's making over of the Arachne metamorphosis and invention of the Astery metamorphosis are quite in keeping with his method elsewhere. He frequently takes a myth, legend, or metamorphosis and adapts it or imitates it to serve his turn. Five other instances may be pointed out: (1) In *Astrophel* he applies the Adonis myth in slightly changed form to the death of Sidney. The original Venus and Adonis story is related at length in *The Faerie Queene*, III, i, 34-38. (2) In *The Shepheardes Calendar*, July, lines 219-228, he parallels the famous legend of the death of Æschylus 'that was brayned with a shell-fishe' (Spenser's Gloss, *Algrin*) to describe the punishment of Algrind (Archbishop Grindal). (3) In *The Faerie Queene*, III, vi, 1-29, he invents the beautiful legend of the birth of Belphebe and Amorett, daughters of Chrysogone by the beams of the sun. (4) In *The Faerie Queene*, VI, vii, 33 ff., the story of Mirabella's alleged revolt against Cupid and her punishment is a mixture of classic legend and medieval romance motive. (5) In *The Faerie Queene*, VII, vi, 40-55, the legend of Faunus and Molanna is imitated from the Acteon metamorphosis. The foolish god Faunus desires to look upon Diana bathing. He gets his wish by bribing the nymph Molanna, but betrays his presence. The indignant goddess clothes him in a deerskin and chases him cruelly with her hunting dogs, though he is not torn in pieces as Acteon was. Molanna is stoned to death and turned into a river. Diana and her band forsake that vicinity forever.

butterfly,⁶ and that Psyche is represented in art with the wings of the butterfly.

Whatever may have suggested to Spenser his little metamorphosis on the origin of the butterfly, he has skilfully linked it with his butterfly addition to Ovid's Arachne. Taken together the two butterfly incidents play an important part in the plot. They not only afford to the two chief characters an altogether satisfactory ancestry and lend them almost epic dignity,⁷ but at the same time they also account for Aragnoll's 'enfested grudge' toward Clarion and give it sufficient historical motive.

To sum up our conclusions:

1. In view of the lack of positive evidence, *Muiopotmos* does not seem to be an allegory; that is, it contains no hidden meaning or outside reference.
2. It seems, on the other hand, to be a mock-heroic, Spenser's unique and successful experiment in that direction.
3. Upon the evidence adduced by Dr. Nadal, it appears probable that *Muiopotmos* was written under the influence (conscious or unconscious) of Chaucer's *Sir Thopas* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*.
4. Ovid's metamorphoses of Arachne and of Europa and the Bull were directly drawn upon as sources.
5. To the Arachne metamorphosis Spenser added the incident of Minerva's weaving the

*The proper names in *Muiopotmos* are interesting. They are five in number: Astery, Muscaroll, and Clarion on one side, and Arachne and Aragnoll on the other. *Astery* and *Clarion* seem conventional names and neither can be traced, unless Dr. Nadal's conjecture as to the latter is correct: "Where did Spenser get the name *Clarion*? In the light of the foregoing collateral testimony I think we may safely say that Clarion is Chaunticleer's namesake. The obvious etymological kinship of the two names supports this supposition." (*Spenser's Muiopotmos*, l. c., p. 654.) *Arachne* comes straight from Ovid. *Muscaroll* looks like the Romance diminutive of the Latin *musca*, fly. *Aragnoll* is the Romance spelling of the Latin *araneolus*, *araneola*, the diminutive of *aranea*, a spider or cobweb. The word *araneoli*, by the way, occurs in the second line of the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex*, rendered as *cob-web* by Spenser in line three of his *Virgils Gnat*.

⁷This fact also seems to strengthen the view that *Muiopotmos* is in mock heroic vein.

butterfly, in order to account for Arachne's defeat and the consequent enmity of spiders toward flies.

6. In imitation (by contrast) of the Arachne episode, with the probability of a suggestion from the Cupid and Psyche legend, Spenser invented the Astery metamorphosis to explain the origin of the butterfly.

7. Structurally the most skilful thing in *Muipotmos* is the linking of the Astery and Arachne metamorphoses to account for the hatred Aragnoll bears Clarion and the resulting death of Clarion in Aragnoll's web.

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A NEW LIFE OF BYRON

Byron. By ETHEL COLBURN MAYNE. In two volumes with eighteen illustrations. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912.

"It is no part of my present office," said Swinburne in the preface to his volume of selections from Byron, "to rewrite the history of a life in which every date and event that could be given would now seem trite and stale to all possible readers. If, after so many promises and hints, something at once new and true shall at length be unearthed or extricated, which may affect for the better or the worse our judgment of the man, it will be possible and necessary to rewrite it." The time for this rewriting has, perhaps, arrived. With the exception of Nichol's brilliant sketch, and in spite of many attempts, English and foreign, there has never been a satisfactory life of Byron. Moore's is a notorious failure; Elze's conscientious and heavy; Jeaffreson's hard, prejudiced, and superficial. Moreover Byron is beginning to assume the place which a final and impartial estimate will accord him in literature. The reaction from the prejudiced and ungenerous depreciation of Carlyle, Macaulay, Taylor, and Thackeray, typical of the attitude of early Victorian criticism in general, may be

said to begin in the brilliant little essay by Swinburne from which a passage is quoted above. Arnold echoed this praise in the preface to a similar anthology. The influence of Ruskin, especially in the third chapter of *Fiction, Fair and Foul* (1880), must be taken into account, as must so powerful and searching a study as Lord Morley's essay. This reaction received full expression in John Murray's edition of Byron's Poetry and Prose, completed under the editorship of Mr. Coleridge and Mr. Prothero some ten years ago. German research, especially that of Brandl, Koeppl, Kölbing, and Eimer, has contributed to this revival. The new Life by E. C. Mayne is the logical outcome of this renewed interest and appreciation.

From the purely biographical side the work is for the most part satisfactory. The author accepts without question the "fragment of truth" contained in Lord Lovelace's *Astarte*, and, largely in the light of those revelations, has undertaken a new history of his career and estimate of his character. Though it must be reluctantly admitted that the balance of probability favors *Astarte*, the attempt at a refutation of that book put forth by Mr. Richard Edgcumbe has been too contemptuously dismissed. *Byron, the last Phase*, however fantastic in the extremes to which it goes, serves to show the contradictions in the evidence offered by Lord Lovelace, and to illustrate how entirely at variance external and internal testimony may be. In a new German edition of Byron (*Byron's Werke. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Brie*, Leipzig, 1912), Mr. Edgcumbe's version is accepted and is used as light in obscure passages. Miss Mayne, on the other hand, has implicit confidence in Lord Lovelace, and cites as testimony the so-called "confession" written by Mrs. Leigh in 1816, a document which Lord Lovelace failed to publish and the suppression of which is a suspicious circumstance, since as evidence it would have been of more value than anything else. The other *crux* in the biography of Byron, the identity of Thyrza, Miss Mayne ignores, save for an unimportant note. It is worth remarking that Mr. E. H. Coleridge, contradicting

his earlier and eminently sensible view of the subject (note to *Childe Harold* II, 9), has, in his latest article on Byron (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, vol. IV, p. 898), revived the utterly untenable theory that the Thyrza poems refer to the death of the Cambridge choir-boy Eddlestone.

Miss Mayne depicts Byron's character with great fairness and some insight. He is neither the wronged angel of Moore and the Guiccioli, nor the incarnate fiend of anti-Byronism. In spite of her rebuke addressed to Mr. Francis Gribble, with the remark "I regard his love-affairs as things of little importance to any one but their victims. Worthily to write of Byron, indeed, is to write of all but them" (I, 297), there is a tendency to devote too much space to the love-episodes, notably to that with Caroline Lamb. The real greatness of the final phase in Greece is appreciated and adequately presented, but there should have been acknowledgment of the debt to Mr. Richard Edgcumbe's investigations into the last days of Byron's life.

On the critical side the work is wholly unsatisfactory, though the author may plead that she is writing biography, not criticism. Remarks like "Our ludicrous familiarity with the opening lines of *The Prisoner of Chillon* is fatal to serious consideration of the poem" are too frequent. Nor can the plea *De gustibus* account for some of the capricious estimates, such as the exaltation of *Marino Faliero* above *Sardanapalus*. Miss Mayne has apparently no conception of the value of Byron's dramas, not in themselves, but as an aid to the understanding of his entire achievement.

There are a few minute errors of fact that may be noted.

Vol. I, p. 145, text and note 2. Miss Mayne says that the prose explanation of the attack on Lord Carlisle "appeared in the first edition" of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* and was "an unmistakable clue to the authorship." This "further allusion" did not appear in the first, anonymous edition (see page 50 of that issue), but was added with much else in the second edition. This error Miss Mayne owes to the neglect of Mr. E. H.

Coleridge to call attention to the date of the insertion of this note. That there *was* some attempt at anonymity, even if unsuccessful, is further shown by the original reading of line 726 of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (line 490 of the first edition), whereas Miss Mayne quotes the passage from later editions of the poem.

Vol. II, p. 73. Byron's "laconic" denial of indebtedness to Goethe's *Faust* in the composition of *Manfred* is quoted as his authoritative utterance on the subject. But elsewhere (*Letters and Journals*, V, 37), he admits such indebtedness, at least by implication.

Vol. II, p. 109, note 3. The recasting of the third act of *Manfred* is said to be "the only example of a second attempt in all Byron's work." But compare the first and second versions of the first act of *Werner*.

Vol. II, p. 110. Miss Mayne curiously identifies Nemesis and Astarte in the second act of *Manfred*.

Vol. II, p. 182, note. Mr. Coleridge's Bibliography (Poetry VII, 275), has no record of any copies of the first edition of *Marino Faliero* with a portrait of Margarita Cogni as frontispiece, nor does such a portrait appear in the copy owned by the present reviewer. The passage from his letters quoted by Miss Mayne makes it possible that Byron had seen such a copy, but it is much more likely that he had been misinformed, as was frequently the case, by one of his English correspondents. Otherwise this item in Byron-bibliography stands in need of some explanation.

There are a few misprints and incorrect references in the volumes, as follows:

I, 92, note 1, line 4;—I, 143, line 5;—II, 84, line 2 (a word has dropt out);—II, 92, line 7 (add "vol. I" to reference);—II, 127, line 14 from bottom (for "the" read "these");—II, 159, note 1 (an incorrect reference);—II, 170, note 2 (add "vol. V." to reference);—II, 210, note 2 (an incorrect reference).

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KENNETH MCKENZIE, *Il Ventaglio (The Fan)*,
a Comedy in Three Acts, by CARLO GOLDONI.
Translated for the Yale University Dramatic
Association with an Introduction. New
Haven, Conn.: A. S. Hubbard, 1911.

If Goldoni's comedies still remain upon the stage, it is because they each contain an effective outline of essentially dramatic force; if he is still an imposing literary figure, it is because behind his drama lurks a richness of humanity elaborated with consummate skill and exquisite delicacy. The former is obvious enough to captivate an audience of any degree of culture; the second is deep enough to interest even today a wide circle of enthusiastic investigators, whose discoveries seem as remote from exhaustion as at the beginning. So cogent is the dramatic element in Goldoni, that it is relatively easy for the translator to make of his works actable plays. To preserve their literary charm is quite another matter, and as Goldoni becomes most distinctively Goldoni the task increases in difficulty.

Professor McKenzie has been keenly alive to this problem, and is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has freed himself from Goldoni's text in order to remain the more faithful to Goldoni's thought. If anything has been lost in the translation it is not the vitality of the original. We have an idiomatic version, that approaches the maximum of exactness; and it often happens that we have excellent English replacing some fairly bad Italian. After all, Goldoni is of another age, and archaism affects his humor as well as his diction. Professor McKenzie has successfully rendered the effect of the latter by ignoring it as far as possible; the former is handled in such a way as not to diminish sensibly the evenness, the freshness of tone that characterize the simpler parts of the translation, which is worthy of the original and deserving of the warm reception it has received on the stage and from foreign criticism.

Possibly an occasional refinement, here and there a shade of meaning, could be more closely approximated without difficulty from English

idiom. The exposition of character in Sc. I, Act I of the *Ventaglio* seems to me one of the most delicate of Goldoni. Especially for Geltruda, not a word is lost, not a sentence is without its cumulative effect. This fact needs to be borne in mind in the translation; for there are one or two passages that would permit alternative renderings, were it not for the closely knit character of the context. The intelligibility of these parts in the spoken dialogue depends upon the insight of the acting. Geltruda appears on the scene first as the protector of Limoncino. The baron remarks "Sentite, la buona vedova lo protegge:" "Listen: the widow protects him." The inflection of the voice would show "sentite" as indicative, to emphasize the continuity of previous gossip relative to Geltruda; her opening speech confirms the Baron's point of view toward her. And his malice is further hinted in the epithet "buona vedova," which should have a more ample translation than "widow." The import of the slur is made clear by Evaristo's characterization of her as "saggia e onesta." Presently the Baron criticizes her for "troppo dottrina," rendered as "affectation"; but this word is of some importance in the following scene; bound with "dottoramenti" in the Baron's rejoinder to her second speech, it gives the key to the ambiguous "Gran cosa! Non si fa che criticare le azioni altrui, e non si prende guardia alle proprie:" "Nonsense! He does nothing but criticize other people, etc." This is in reply to Candida's praise of Evaristo's kindheartedness. Professor McKenzie abandons the natural implication of the syntax, and, I think, erroneously. First of all, there is nothing to show that Evaristo is a censorious character; so Goldoni is made to throw out a hint which is not to be followed up. The real situation is this: at the mention of Evaristo's name, Geltruda, solicitous for her niece's peace of mind, tries to turn the conversation away from him, by assaulting gossip in general; she comes out with a general statement, correctly named by the Baron as a "dottoramento," which shows her affectation of general superiority over those who are not, like her, addicted to reading such elevated solid books

as the fables of La Fontaine. With similar "dottoramenti," Geltruda concludes the next two following scenes. The rendering of "*dottorina*" by "affectation" and of "*dottoramenti*" by "speeches" fails to preserve the liaison of the dialogue established, and I believe intentionally, by Goldoni in these words. Goldoni's use of the impersonal "si" in "Non si fa etc." is likewise a delicate touch. Her reserve toward Evaristo is here shown indirectly, as a preparation for her direct insinuations later.

Evaristo's word play on Limoncino's name Limoncino-Arancio-Bergamotto is only ordinary at best (Act I, sc. 1). American slang could easily help us out; but it is clear that the rendering of "bergamotto" by "little pear" is pointless, in spite of numerous Italian commentators, as Menghini, in favor of it. It is a question certainly of three kinds of citrons, of which "bergamotto" is the *citrus medica* (see Contarini), the 'sweet lime' (see Foster).

Further on the Count is objecting to the noise in the piazza: CRESPINO. Ehi, Coronato! COR. Cosa volete, mastro Crespino? CRE. Il signor Conte non vuole che si batta! "The Count wants everybody to keep quiet!" The humor consists in the fact that Coronato, busy with his accounts, is actually as still as a mouse. Crespino's malicious joke is better indicated by "The Count wants *you* to stop pounding."

I would not suppress *finalmente* in Moracchio's "Finalmente è un signore," for the word shows that Moracchio agrees with Scavezzo's estimate of the Count (I, 1).

Act I, 4. EVARISTO. Anzi mi ha ella parlato perchè m'interessi presso di vostro fratello: "In fact, she has asked me to take an interest in your brother." Rather, 'She has asked me to speak to your brother in your behalf.' The following dialogue is splendidly rendered. CRESPINO (to Coronato). Che pretensione avete voi sopra questa ragazza: "What intentions have you in regard to this girl?" Rather, 'authority over this girl,' 'claim on.' COR. (to Giannina). Or ora! "See here!" Better taken as temporal. The following words of Crespino are also aside, so should be rendered

more literally as a mental query. In the subsequent "baruffa" between Giannina and Susanna, Giannina threatens to strike Susanna; Susanna retreats in fear but excuses her retreat with "Vado via, perchè ci perdo del mio;" Giannina clearly is insulted, "Ci perde del suo?" The translation, "I may lose my temper, etc.," is inexact; better, 'She's beneath my dignity,' or the like. For this locution, cf. Goldoni again in the *Contessina*, I, 8: Pantalone. Io so che al fine Vi perderei del mio dando un figliuolo Sì ricco e sì ben fatto Ad una figlia d'un villan rifatto.

I, 5. CONTE. Il mio vino quest'anno è riuscito male. CORONATO (aside). Son due anni che l'ha venduto: "My wine turned out badly this year. He has sold his own wine for three years." Better, 'He sold it (this year's crop) two years ago,' i. e., to get money in advance.

Act II, 1. Che ti venga del bene: "Much good may it do her." Rather as an ejaculation, 'God bless you.'—II, 4. BARONE. So che siete amico della signora Geltruda. CONTE. Oh, amico, vi dirò. Ella è una donna che ha qualche talento. . . . A neat point is missed in the translation of the Count's reply by "Yes, my dear fellow, I will tell you." *Amico* is not vocative, but is explanatory of the *amico* used by the Baron. The count resents the implication that he is very intimate with a mere "cittadina." Incidentally, editors should adopt the punctuation "Oh, amico . . . vi dirò."—*Ibid.* BARONE. . . . anderò a trattenermi dallo speciale. CONTE. Perchè dallo speciale? BAR. Ho bisogno di un poco di rabarbaro per la digestione. CON. Del rabarbaro? Vi darà della radica del sambuco. BAR. No, no, lo conosco. Se non sarà buono non lo prenderò: ". . . BAR. I have need of some medicine. COUNT. I will give you some of my elderberry cordial, Baron." This cannot stand. Better, 'I need some medicine. Count. He'll be sure to give you the wrong dose.'—*Ibid.* SUSANNA. Favorisca, se comanda, si serva qui; è padrone: "Speak to her here, if you please, will you, sir." Add, 'Make yourself at home.'—II, 5. GELTRUDA. E un poco franco di lingua, ma non c'è male; "A little free with his tongue, but after all

that doesn't matter." Better, 'A little sharp in his talk, but after all he will do.' That is, *non c'è male* modifies *Barone*.—II, 6. CONTE. Dove eravate indirizzata? GIANNINA. A fare i fatti miei, signore: . . . "To do what I have to do sir." Better, 'To mind my own business, sir.'—II, 8. Ella lo farà quando le condizioni . . . : "When the conditions . . ." *Quando* is probably conditional.—II, 10, BARONE. Non ne vo saper altro: "I do not care to hear any more." Better, 'I wash my hands of the whole business.' Mi son servito di voi mal a proposito: "I made a great mistake in speaking to you at all." Better, 'I should not have spoken about it to a man like you.'—II, 14 (13). GIANNINA. Matto stramatto e di là da matto: "Crazy, extra crazy, once more crazy." Better, 'More than crazy.' For *e poi matto* above, 'ten times crazy,' or the like.—II, 17 (16). CORONATO. Intanto glie l'ho fatta (*variant*, fatto) vedere, l'ho avuto io: "Well, he saw it, and I have it." Rather: 'Anyhow, I've shown him what! I was the one who got it.'

III, 2. CONTE. Colui che non beve mai vino: "The one who never drinks wine, etc." *Colui* is specific, referring to the Count's "steward." 'That fellow, who never gets a drink.' SUSANNA. Insulta e poi non vuol che si parli: "and won't let you speak." Better, 'and expects you to keep still.'—III, 3. In the long speech of Crespino, the effect is lost by unnecessary freedom in translation, È capace di dirlo. Oh è così briccone ch'è capace di dirlo: "He is capable of calling me a robber;" and again in Cosa farò? L'abbandonerò? Eh, poco più, poco meno. Le voglio bene: "Give her up? Well, I don't know about that. I am very fond of her."—III, 4. CORONATO. Mi raccomando a voi: "Well, good-day to you." Better, 'Good-day, remember about the fan.'—III, 6. EVARISTO. . . . ho pianto, ho pregato, l'ho sincerata: "I . . . wept, begged, implored. . . ." Better, 'Wept, begged, explained matters to her.'—III, 8. GIANNINA. È in accidente: "He is in a faint." Probably, in view of what follows, 'apoplexy.' Here also, Limoncino enters abruptly with the words "Ed il . . . :"

"Thank you, sir." I believe these words are rather the beginning of a remark about the fan which he sees in Crespino's hands. The difficulty of the subsequent pun on "gola," "throat" and "gluttony," "sweet-tooth," can perhaps be surmounted by the slang 'gullet.'—III, 13. GIANNINA. Così va detto: "That's the way to talk." Better, 'So they say,' but our reading depends on how we view Giannina's reaction to the situation. Is it joy at Coronato's renunciation, or anger at the slur in his last words? I prefer the latter.

In leaving this charming little book, beautifully printed with photographs of the Yale cast, we may express the hope that Prof. McKenzie will give us other similar translations of Goldoni, for whom he has shown a genuine feeling. In future works he could perhaps approach the Goldonian charm a little more closely, only by a more thoroughgoing adoption of colloquial English forms, and above all educate his editors to the point of being able without flinching to look an honest 'didn't' in the face.

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SCHILLER'S *Don Carlos*, Infant von Spanien, Ein Dramatisches Gedicht, Edited with Introduction, Bibliography, Appendices, Notes, and Index, by FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER. Oxford University Press, 1912.

Schiller's *Don Carlos* certainly deserves at least one edition for English college students. It is important as a product of transition from Storm and Stress to Classicism, though in most respects, aside from its mere verse form, it belongs quite distinctly among the earlier works. The unripe artist is still very apparent.

To students advanced enough to study Schiller's works as a whole, as a reflex of his life and times, such an edition should be welcome, though such maturer students are generally able to handle the available German editions. Teachers of German may be pardoned, how-

ever, if they do not share the editor's enthusiasm for *Don Carlos* for class use at an earlier stage of the college course. The briefer and riper plays must continue to be the most available texts for first readings in the classics. As a preparatory school text it is hardly to be recommended, especially at a time when most teachers are beginning to realize that all college preparatory work in German, or two full years of college work (in case of beginners) should deal only with strictly modern prose. The students' feeling for the language should not be confused by a too early acquaintance with the more or less archaic syntax and vocabulary of even the best available classics.

For later courses, where literary interpretation and study of literary movements may with propriety occupy a larger share of attention from teacher and student, this text may prove a welcome variation of *menu*. Its use will prove fruitful. The editor has done his task with great diligence and general accuracy.

The Introduction gives a moderately full account of the genesis of the play, its relation to the poet's life and times, particularly to the Storm and Stress movement and to Lessing. Its *pièce de résistance*, however, is a study in Comparative Literature, "The Don Carlos Theme in Literature" which is already familiar to scholars who noted its appearance in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. ix, No. 4. This is essentially a bibliography of the Don Carlos theme with some brief account of contents and relationships.

To this is added a bibliography of Schiller biographies, *Carlos* editions, Comparative Literature studies of Schiller, Historical studies on the period of Spanish history concerned, etc. The reviewer wishes that in some way the relative values of these works for the student and teacher, as well as for the scholar, might have been indicated, for of the score or more Schiller biographies listed some are antiquated, some popular, some scholarly, etc. Among recent ones, at any rate, Berger and Kühnemann have such different attitudes that they deserve a word of differentiation. A great torso like Minor's fragment needs some sort of distinc-

tion from a complete life, etc. A mere alphabetical list is rather unsatisfactory as a guide to intelligent reference.

The Notes themselves furnish a vast amount of information of a very wide range, and are in general accurate and illuminating, if they do not tempt one too far afield for their real function. They give ample historical, biographical, and geographical information. They make an unusually generous use of the sources, St. Real's and Brantôme's stories, and Watson's History. Schiller's own "*Briefe über Don Carlos*" are given in generous excerpts. Citations from the prose version of the play, and additions from the *Thalia* version, provide materials for a first-hand study of the genesis of the play. Most of the real difficulties are illuminated, though one could wish greater independence of judgment in regard to points still in controversy.

For those who wish to make use of interesting parallels a generous space has been allotted to such apparatus. Schiller's own earlier works, Lessing's, Goethe's, Shakespeare's works have been ransacked for them, and the results are put here at the reader's disposal.

Here and there an error has crept into the notes, and sometimes they are confusing, but such cases are not numerous enough to detract seriously from the usefulness of the work as a whole.

For l. 174 some information is given in regard to Schiller's use of foreign names, but it is confusing. The editor says: "Alcala, accented on the third syllable." The text shows that Schiller accents the second. The editor must therefore be giving us the correct Moorish accent which Schiller mistook. Then follows: "Cf. the accentuation of Marquis (first syllable) in l. 485, etc.," through a list of sixteen more foreign names. After the first note the reader expects to find the correct foreign pronunciation, but he discovers ere long that the list gives merely Schiller's actual usage. Since each of these examples is repeated under its own line caption it would have been wiser to omit the list here. But still worse it involves actual errors. The editor should be reminded that one need not assume that Schiller fol-

lowed an absolutely strict scheme of meter. His iambs are rather free. They were intended for dramatic declamation, not pedantic scansion. Therefore conclusions as to pronunciation are not always valid when resting on scansion alone. *Inquisitor*, in l. 5143, with accent on the third syllable is correct (*v. Muret-Sanders*). *Rebellion*, l. 3468, is correct with four syllables (*v. ibid.*). In l. 498 *Spanier* may have but two syllables, and it was probably so spoken. It is hard to believe that *Pavillon* was deliberately rendered with four syllables, for l. 1279 could be rendered *xx'xx'xxx'xx'* with an approximation to the French pronunciation, or *xx'xx'xx'xxx'*, with a slight accent on the second syllable. Its use in l. 2485 rather favors this latter view. *Medaillon*, in l. 3689, is probably a trisyllable with accent on the second. *Billet*, in l. 1514, was certainly not rendered with three syllables. The dash divides the line in such a way as to permit its correct pronunciation, first with a slight stress on the first syllable, and then with a slight stress on the second, as was quite natural with a Germanized French word.

To l. 1595, 'Der schönste Text,' the note is misleading. The editor remarks: "In the prose version Eboli is reading a book, instead of playing the lute, when Carlos enters." This seems to imply that 'der schönste Text' was appropriate to the scene in the prose, but becomes inappropriate when lute-playing is substituted for the book. Of course this is not at all the case, for 'text' is perfectly correct for the words of the song. The editor probably meant it as a mere insignificant variant.

The note to l. 343 is not correct. 'Scheitelrecht' is 'at right angles,' but not 'therefore particularly destructive.' Two heavenly bodies meeting in exactly opposite directions would be most destructive. What Schiller means is that two bodies moving in orbits that intersect at right angles would meet at the point of intersection with the greatest infrequency; this explains *einzigmal* and *auf immer und ewig auseinanderfliehn*.

In l. 1762, *Heiligen* has no reference to the divine right of kings. It means simply 'This letter can unmask this saint.'

Here and there we see a tendency to introduce matters of no real relevancy, or such as have no other interest for the student of *Don Carlos* than any other gratuitous scrap of literary information. One might call attention to examples in the notes to lines 103, 158, 277, 483, 862, 937.

The publishers' part has been done with their usual excellence.

JOHN WILLIAM SCHOLL.

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Las Treinta de Juan Boscán.—An edition printed before his death. By HAYWARD KENISTON, Ph.D. New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1911. 23 pp.

This is a reprint of a version of *Las Treinta* of Boscán, consisting of thirty *coplas* (hence the title) beginning: *A tanto disimular, from a pliego suelto* in gothic letter, s. l. n. a., now in the library of the Hispanic Society. Dr. Keniston shows that, in all probability, this version is earlier than the one which was printed in the first collected edition of Boscán, which appeared in Valencia, in 1543, the year after the poet's death. Beside the *Coplas* of Boscán, the *pliego suelto* contains a stanza of nine lines, inserted between *coplas* 29 and 30, entitled: "*Trouas a duas jrmaãs muyto fermosas*," beginning: *Jamas mis ojos no vierã: cayeran*, which is probably by Gomez Manrique, as it is ascribed to him in the first edition of the *Cancionero General* of Valencia, 1511. The verses also appear in the *Cancionero del Castillo* (ed. de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1882, Vol. I, p. 169), only here the first verse reads: *Jamas mis ojos no vieron: cayeron*. The *pliego suelto* concludes with the *coplas* of the Marques d'Astorga: *Esperança mia, por quien*. These *coplas*, the editor states, were also printed in the first edition of the *Cancionero General*, and they are, of course, included in the edition of 1882, where they occur on p. 453 (Vol. I, No. 249), with the caption:

"Coplas del Marques d'Astorga á ssu amiga." Dr. Keniston seems to have overlooked the fact that these *coplas* are also contained in the *Cancionero* of the British Museum, edited by me years ago: "Der Spanische Cancionero des Brit. Mus. (Ms. add. 10431)," Erlangen, 1895, No. 284, p. 121. Besides the many variants which this edition furnishes, as I there stated: "Das Cabo ist ganz verschieden in der Hs." It follows here:

Dios, en cuyo mano puesta
está toda nuestra vida
mucha ó poca,
aparte toda rrespuesta
cruda, fuerte, desabrida,
de tu boca.

It is imperfect, as it should contain twelve verses.

The editor says (p. 7, note), that the author of these *coplas* may be "any one of the first three Marquises." If Gayangos be correct (*Catalogue of Ms. in the Brit. Mus.*, I, 421), that the Marquisate was not created till 1465 (July 16), then the author would most likely be Don Pedro Alvarez Osorio, Conde de Trastámara. See my ed. of the *Cancionero des Brit. Mus.*, p. 13. Lopez de Haro, *Nobilario*, I, 283, gives the date as July 6, 1475.

Dr. Keniston's publication is an excellent one, and we hope that he may soon republish some of the other rarities contained in the Library of the Hispanic Society.

H. A. RENNERT.

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CORRESPONDENCE

COSMO MANUCHE, DRAMATIST

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Probably few students of the drama ever read one of the three dramas (one tragedy, two comedies) of Cosmo Manuche, and fewer still know anything of the man himself. This is not to be wondered at, because his plays are not to be found in every library, and, besides, they are comparatively unimportant when

brought into contrast with the real dramatists of the period in which he lived. Historically, however, his pieces, though never acted, contain a significance beyond their literary or dramatic worth. For Manuche belongs with some scores of other minor dramatists who were the real harbingers of the Restoration Drama, continuing as they did the decadent elements in Jonson, Fletcher, Middleton, Massinger, Webster, etc., and thus forming a rather closely connected bridge between the later Jacobean dramatists and Wycherley, Vanbrugh, Congreve, etc.

This brief statement may be sufficient excuse for the publication of the following document found among the Egerton MSS. (No. 2623, fol. 34) in the British Museum,—especially as Manuche's two comedies (pr. 1652) belong to the class indicated. The signers of this curiously composed certificate are too well known to historians to require comment here. Berkeley and Talbot were favourites with the Merry Monarch, with whose restoration they were much concerned. (See Carte's *Original Letters*, etc., *passim*.)

The document referred to is self-explanatory, so far as it is coherent, and runs as follows:

"These are to Certifie, that Maior Cosmo Manuche: hath Dutifully, And soberly serued his late Maies.^{ties} (of blessed memory) As Cap.^{tn} And Maior: of ffoote from the beginning of the late Warrs in England, to their Ending. And after which, Contrived himselfe (with much paines and hazard) into his Maies.^{ties} seruice in Ireland, And the Islands of Sorlings: Tell they were deserted by his Maies.^{ties} armies And hath since Endured seuerall greeuious imprisonments in London by the Tyranicall wills of his Now Maies.^{ties} Enemies. To the ruine of himselfe, his wife, and two Children. Himselfe, being disabled by sicknesse (caused by those sufferings) to giue a Personall accompt of of [*sic*] his former sufferings, And Present deplorable Condition [G]iuen vnder our hands at whitehall this 12th of Decem.^{br} 1661

Jo. Berkeley
G. Talbot
Lewis Dyne."

WATSON NICHOLSON.

London, England.

MORE CONDITIONS OF A GOOD HORSE

ALGEBRA

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Professor Carleton Brown (*MLN.*, xxvii, 125) pointed out several catalogues of the properties of a good horse similar to two such lists noted in Professor Hulme's edition of the *Harrowing of Hell*. May I call attention to two more analogues, which confirm the impression that these proverbial witticisms had a wide circulation?

In Robert Greene's play, *James the Fourth* (circa 1592), Ateukin, who desires to procure a servant, is conversing with Slipper, who wishes the position:

"Ateu. Art thou so good in keeping a horse? I pray thee tell me how many good qualities hath a horse?"

"Slip. Why, so, sir: a horse hath two properties of a man, that is, a proude heart, and a hardie stomacke; foure properties of a Lyon, a broad brest, a stiffe docket,—hold your nose, master,—a wild countenance, and 4 good legs; nine properties of a Foxe, nine of a Hare, nine of an Asse, and ten of a woman.

"Ateu. A woman! why, what properties of a woman hath a Horse?"

"Slip. O, maister, know you not that? Draw your tables, and write what wise I speake. First, a merry countenance; second, a soft pace; third, a broad forehead; fourth, broad buttockes; fift, hard of warde; sixt, easie to leape vpon; seuenth, good at long iourney; eight, mouing vnder a man; ninth, always busie with the mouth; tenth, euer chewing on the bridle." (Collins, *Plays and Poems of Greene*, Vol. II, p. 102.)

In a note on this passage, suggested, it seems, by Mr. W. J. Craig, Collins cites its undoubted source, a similar passage in "Fitzherbert's *Book of Husbandry*, first printed in 1523," and reprinted by Dr. Skeat for the English Dialect Society. Unfortunately even Skeat's reprint is not available to me for comparison just now, but it seems to be an entirely different work from the *Foure Bookes of Husbandry*, quoted by Professor Brown. Greene has borrowed almost literally, though Fitzherbert lists fifty-four properties to Greene's forty-three.

ROBERT ADGER LAW.

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To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The *NED.* makes certain errors of omission and commission in the discussion of the words *algebra* and *almachabel*. The omission is in neglecting to ascribe both of these terms, which are transliterations from an Arabic title, to the first systematic treatise on algebra, *alājebr w'al-muq-balah*, written by Al-Khowarizmi (c. 825 A. D.). Further the *NED.* states incorrectly that *algebra* was taken into Italian in 1202, which is the date of the first draft of the *Liber abaci* by Leonardo Pisano. This work was published as *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano*, Vol. I, *Il liber abbaci*, Rome, 1857, by Prince Boncompagni, but notwithstanding the title the text is in Latin. Nor would it be correct to state that Leonard introduced the word *algebra* into Latin, for Gherard of Cremona (1114–1187) used the term in his translation of Al-Khowarizmi's algebra and in at least two other translations from the Arabic. As a title Leonard always couples *algebra* with *almuchābala* as in the Arabic original but he does use the expression, *Age secundum algebra*. In this latter, however, he but follows Abu Kamil (c. 950 A. D.), the second great Arabic writer in this field, from whom, as I have recently shown (*Bibliotheca mathematica*, Vol. XII, 1912, pp. 40–55), Leonard drew many of his problems. In the absence of any evidence that Leonard knew Arabic we must suppose that he used a Latin translation of Abu Kamil's work. The *NED.* gives *almachabel* as "obs.= algebra." The citation from John Dee couples the two terms as we have mentioned, and it is this phrase which is equivalent to our word 'algebra'; this was the universal custom wherever *al-muqābala* was used at all. It may be well to state that *al-jebr* refers to the change of negative terms from one side of an equation to positive terms upon the other, while *al-muqābala* refers to balancing or canceling like terms which occur on both sides of an equation against each other.

LOUIS C. KARPINSKI.

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"DAS WÄRE NOCH SCHÖNER"

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Wilhelmi in his amusing one-act comedy, *Einer muss heiraten*, twice introduces the expression: "Das wäre ja noch schöner." In his annotations to the play an American editor, strange to say, fails to make any reference to the passage, a fact which seems to show that he has missed the author's meaning. The phrase is by no means to be taken literally, hence, occurring as it does in a text selected for elementary reading, it surely, in each case, calls for a comment.

When faint-hearted Jacob exclaims to his aunt: "Aber Sie werden sehen, Tante, dass sie [*i. e.*, Louise] mich ausschlägt," his brother William at once reassuringly replies: "Das wäre ja noch schöner!"—here, as often, a purely ironical remark which might be rendered by one of the expressions: *Impossible*, *Why*, *the idea*, or *That would beat everything*. It is scarcely necessary to add that the second occurrence of the phrase later in the comedy has quite the same meaning; in other words, the well-known expression has somewhat the force of the likewise ironical French phrase: *Ah, par exemple*.

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ANOTHER TRANSLATION FROM CAMUS

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Modern Language Notes* for November, 1912, in a review of Miss Morgan's *Rise of the Novel of Manners*, I included a list of six books translated into English from the writings of Jean-Pierre Camus. About the same time there came into possession of the Library of Bryn Mawr College a small quarto which should be added to that list, being unmistakably a translation of Camus's *Elise, ou l'innocence coupable*, Paris, 1621. It bears the

title: "Elise, or Innocencie Guilty. A new Romance, translated into English by Jo: Jennings, Gent. London, Printed by T. Newcomb for Humphrey Moseley, . . . 1655." The Epistle Dedicatory, to "the Right Honourable, and truly Noble and most Vertuous Lady, Frances Countess of Dorset," notes merely that the translator has "by a strange fortune lighted on this Book;" while the prefatory address to the reader explains:—"The little time I lived in France, and the small skill I attained in the language, should have diverted me from the undertaking of a Translation: but the content I took in the reading of this Tragick History of Eliza, made me rather venture the censure of Detractors, then not to publish a Story of so much pitty and example." No reference is made to the original author, but the document is no less valuable in support of the contention that the works of Camus found conditions in England particularly favorable to their reception, and encouraged there a fondness for the quasi-tragic and highly moralized novel, approximately a century before Richardson.

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ONE OF W. B. YEATS'S SOURCES

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The method of treating Old Irish legends by the writers of the modern Celtic revival is very well illustrated by comparing W. B. Yeats's short-story, *The Crucifixion of the Outcast*, in his volume, *The Secret Rose* (1897), with what seems to be its source, *The Vision of Mac Conglinne* (Edited and translated by Kuno Meyer, 1892). The Old Irish tale is an absurd and formless story quite lacking in motive or probability, but filled with the naïve charm and crude humor of Old Celtic narrative. The story opens with an explanation of the presence of the demon of gluttony in the throat of Cathal Mac Finguine, King of

Munster. After this, the author briefly sings the names of the eight bards, including himself, at the school of Armagh at the time. Then, after praising himself, he describes his preparations for his first poetical journey to visit Cathal, who is on a royal progress. Mac Conglinne travels in one day from Roscommon to Cork and arrives a short time before vespers at the guest-house of the monastery, where he intends to pass the night. Then follows the description of the guest-house, with its filthy blanket and bath-tub still filled with the water of the night before. As he is unable to sleep for the fleas and lice, he takes out his psalter and sings psalms. He sings "dia-psalms and syn-psalms and sets of ten with paters and canticles and hymns at the conclusion of each fifty." Finally, the abbot sends a servant to take him his oaten ration, whey-water, and two sods of peat. As Mac Conglinne does not think much of the entertainment he sings four satiric quatrains about it and sends it back to the abbot. The abbot, fearing lest little boys take up the quatrains and sing them to the scandal of the monastery, orders the gleeman to be stripped, beaten, ducked, and on the morrow to be crucified. The next morning after the monks all confirm the abbot's judgment, Mac Conglinne is led out to a green south of Cork. On the way he asks a boon. This being granted, he takes food from his wallet, and after a discussion about tithes, eats his bacon and two cakes. Later he does some strange juggling trick, which the monks tire of, but they ask the abbot to grant him respite till the morrow. This is reluctantly conceded, and Mac Conglinne is tied to a pillar all night. This much occupies a quarter of the story, the only part that Yeats has used. The rest of the tale relates the vision of the gleeman; a curse on the abbot, whose genealogy he traces from a long line of luxurious viands; the permission to go to Cathal to cure him of the demon of gluttony, as the vision has directed; his success in this enterprise; and, finally, his pardon and reward.

Yeats's story is based on the portion of the old tale which occupies eleven pages out of the total of fifty-six. The rest he rejects wholly.

He has told his portion of the story in about the same space as the original, but with the omission of much that is not essential, and the expansion of the rest with graphic detail. Yeats has reduced the story to the narrative of a wandering bard who, insulted by the hospitality of the monks, sings a curse on them and their abbot, and is crucified as a punishment.

A study of the two stories shows three things quite characteristic of the difference between Old Irish literature and that of the Celtic revival. They are a loss of naïveté, and a gain in motivation and unity of structure and tone. The naïveté is lost by the improvement in structure and the omission of such passages as that attributing the whole adventure to "original sin, and MacConglinne's hereditary sin, and his own plain-working bad luck." The gain in motivation is illustrated by a slight change in order, which Yeats has introduced to give a reason for the action of the monks. In the original, the severe punishment is meted out merely for the rather harmless quatrain on the bread and sods; the curse which might have provoked the action comes afterwards. In Yeats's version the gleeman is so angry at the hospitality offered that he raises a great clamor, and beats against the door with the tub. When a lay brother comes to silence him he curses the "cowardly and tyrannous race of friars, persecutors of the bard and gleeman, haters of life and joy!" Then he sings "a bard's curse upon the Coarb," standing on the tub under the window. He curses "in rime and with two assonances in every line of his curse."

The addition of unity of structure and tone is the most striking change Yeats has introduced. All mention of the demon of gluttony, of the vision, and of the curing of Cathal is omitted. The story is changed from a crudely comic, crazy series of events, arranged without any sense of proportion, to a perfectly unified short-story with a sombre atmosphere and tragic conclusion.

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BRIEF MENTION

The editors of the *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande* have, since 1902, been reporting the state of progress of the enterprise through their *Rapports annuels* and their valuable *Bulletin* (cf. Morf, *Aus Dichtung und Sprache der Romanen*, zweite Reihe, pp. 288-330, and *Romania*, xxxviii, pp. 626-627). They have now issued Volume I of their first extensive publication, the title of which is in itself an indication of the importance of the book (*Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande* par Louis Gauchat et Jules Jeanjaquet. Tome Ier. Neuchâtel, Attinger, 1912. x + 291 pp.). The volume now in our hands is composed of two chapters: "Extension du français et question des langues en Suisse," which in 1910 already had a limited circulation as a *tirage à part*, and "Littérature patoise," embracing a general bibliography of Romance Swiss texts and a bibliography of texts classed by cantons. The individual articles under each sub-heading are arranged chronologically, and the 1039 titles are accompanied by critical analyses, many of them rather detailed. These analyses lend special life to the treatment (pp. 30-70) of the present stage of the dialects. Copious alphabetic and systematic indexes add materially to the utility of the book.

We shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the more specifically linguistic studies which will constitute the second part of a book prepared with such conscientious and loving care. This volume of preliminary studies fully justifies our anticipating a high standard of excellence in the *Glossaire*.

A. T.

Italian Short Stories selected and edited by E. H. Wilkins and R. Altrocchi (Boston, Heath and Co.) is the title of a reader for elementary classes, prepared with unusual care, which fulfils the unusual purpose of benefiting the student as much as possible. It contains six stories: Serao, *Idillio di Pulcinella*; Deledda, *L'Assassino degli Alberi*; Fogazzaro, *Eden Anto*; Fucini, *La Visita del Prefetto*; Verga, *Cavalleria Rusticana*; D'Annunzio, *Gli Idolatri*, and three short poems by Fogazzaro, Fucini, D'Annunzio. The stories, which thus represent, in authorship and contents, six different races of Italians, are arranged in the above order according to their difficulty. The last four are masterpieces; the first two readable

enough, but the first (one of the author's earliest writings) does not do her justice. Each is preceded by a concise and well-informed introduction, though nothing is said of the late neochristian and aristocratic tendencies of Serao, of the Romantic beginnings of Verga, of the progress from naturalism to idealism of D'Annunzio. Sufficient bibliography is given at the end of the introductions and in the preface: one misses Muret's *Littérature Italienne d'Aujourd'hui*, Paris, 1906. The notes are admirable for the most part: full of useful information not easy to obtain. A few more on the linguistic peculiarities of the authors would have been welcome. The cleverly condensed rules of grammar, in notes on the first two stories, are of doubtful advantage, since they need attentive study, and very little grammar can be given in the available space. *per esempio* (p. 28, n. 2) should be translated literally. *la* (p. 90, n. 2) is an object pronoun. *Mamma mia!* (p. 92, n. 3) means 'Ain't you awful!' The vocabulary is good, and the proof-reading has been excellent: the only misprint noticed is (p. 28, n. 1) "26" for 27.

J. E. S.

The most authoritative recent contributions to our knowledge of Menéndez y Pelayo, are the two *discursos* delivered in the Ateneo of Madrid on Nov. 9, 1912: D. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *La Representación de Menéndez y Pelayo en la vida histórica nacional*,¹ and D. Gonzalo Cedrún de la Pedraja, *La Niñez de Menéndez y Pelayo*.¹ Bonilla (pupil, colleague, and close friend of the *maestro* during his last years) gives an interesting personal appreciation which emphasizes the genius of Menéndez as rising above his scholarship. This genius has been a primary factor in the resurrection of the past of Spanish literature and the rehabilitation of the present. Cedrún de la Pedraja, on the other hand, was the boyhood friend of Menéndez and his fellow-student in Santander. Consequently, the second *discurso* furnishes an historical outline of Menéndez' early life, with special reference to his contributions to *La Abeja Montañesa*, to the influence of Pereda, school teachers and family friends, and to the interesting part played by the bookseller Fabián Hernández. The account closes with the departure of Menéndez for Barcelona, where he received the lasting impress of Luanco and Milá.

¹ *Madrid*, Victoriano Suárez, 1912. 16mo.

THE PROPER SUBJECT OF A PASSIV VERB

When the writer was a little boy in high-school, struggling with the elements of German and Latin grammar, no English construction seemed quite so mysterious to him as the subject of the passiv in such sentences as "I have been given a book." He could not understand why English should differ from the German and Latin rules which prescribe that only an accusativ of the activ can become nominativ in the passiv and that in case of a simple dativ or genitiv object in the activ these case forms are retained in the passiv and the verbal construction is always impersonal: "Er dankte mir;" "Mir wurde" or "es wurde mir gedankt." In case of a double object—a dativ and an accusativ—the accusativ becomes nominativ, while here as elsewhere the dativ is retained: "*Mir ist ein Buch gegeben worden.*" Many times later the writer struggled with the English construction and in spite of the fact that it sounded perfectly natural, he could not help feeling that it was grammatically a monstrosity. Dr. Gustav Krüger in his *Syntax der Englischen Sprache*, p. 20, says of this English construction: "Konstruieren lässt sich der Satz nicht mehr, er ist vom logischen Standpunkt ein Ungeheuer." As the writer is now in possession of the facts that explain the origin and growth of this construction, it no longer seems to him a monstrosity. To the English-speaking people in general who follow their natural feeling, it has never been a monstrosity. They have long had a growing fondness for its directness and terseness which often stand out in marked contrast to the clumsiness of the German and Latin forms. From small beginnings it has become a powerful construction. As its origin has been incorrectly explained by scholars, the writer now desires to enter into a study of its history from a comparative point of view, for the development in other

languages throws a bright light upon the unfolding of English usage.

There is nothing inherently correct as a principle in the Latin and German rule that the dativ and genitiv of the activ are retained when the statement becomes passiv. The Greek does not follow this rule at all, for instead of the impersonal passiv with the dativ or genitiv we often find the personal passiv with an expressed or implied nominativ subject: *πιστεύεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων*, *he is trusted by his subjects*, but in the activ, *πιστεύουσιν αὐτῷ*. It seems quite probable that such usage was common in primitive Indo-Germanic, for it is still common in oldest Latin and is found still later in poetry: "Cur invidetur?" (Horace's *A. P.*, 56), for "Cur invidetur mihi?" "*Why am I envied?*" Thus both constructions were originally found in Latin, but in course of time the rule as we find it in the grammars became fixed. We also find both constructions in Gothic, the oldest Germanic language: "*ei gaumjaindau mannam*" (Matth., 6:5), *that they may be seen of men*, but with the dativ and the impersonal construction in Matth. 9:17: "*bajopum gabairgada*," *both are preserved*. Both of these verbs govern the dativ in the activ, but in the passiv we find the two constructions found in Latin. As we know nothing of the earlier history of Gothic and as the language soon disappeared, we cannot determine which of the two passive constructions was gaining on the other.

It is very difficult to ascertain the exact state of development in Old Norse, as there are very few examples of this construction that have come down to us. Later both constructions are found as in Latin and Gothic, and this usage still survives in modern Icelandic: "*og mun þá hvert það tre, sem ekki ber góðan ávöxt, upphöggið verða, og í eld kastað*" (Matth., 3:10, *endurskoðuð utgáve, London, 1866*), *and every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire*; but with the dativ and the impersonal construction in Matth., 5:25: "*og verði þær síðan í*

dýflissu kastað," and thou be cast into prison. This Icelandic edition favors decidedly the impersonal construction. The personal passiv with the nominativ is usually employd as in the first of the above two exampls when there are two verbs with the same subject and the nominativ is required with the first verb as it governs the accusativ in the activ. The personal passiv is employd with both verbs to avoid an awkward repetition of the noun in the dativ for the second verb. The convenience of the personal passiv is undoubtedly a mighty factor in the spread of the personal passiv with verbs that govern the dativ. In the much older translation of Odd (1540), we find the personal insted of the impersonal passiv given in the second of the last two exampls: "og verðir þú í dýplizu kastaðr." This does not mean that the personal passiv was more common here in the older period of Old Norse, for the meager exampls that hav come down to us in the oldest documents seem to indicate that the impersonal construction is the older. Odd simply preferd the personal form. On account of the great convenience of the personal construction and on account of the natural inclination to the personal form of statement in preference to the elsewhere uncommon impersonal form, the personal passiv came to be used also with verbs that governd the dativ.

That this tendency to use the personal passiv with verbs that govern the dativ is quite natural is clearly seen in modern German by the very common use of a personal passiv with *folgen*: "Durch die Strassen der Städte, vom Jammer gefolget, schreitet das Unglück" (Schiller). Likewise in case of *gehorschen*, *schmeicheln*, etc.: "Gehorcht zu sein wie er, konnte kein Feldherr . . . sich rühmen" (Schiller). "Der Graf Thorane war geschmeichelt von der Mühe, welche die Hausfrau sich gab" (Goethe). In the last decades many German scholars hav vigorously fought this new usage. Seeing a relation to the French constructions, "j'obéis à mon père" and "mon père veut être obéi," they decried the new usage as a disgusting gallicism. They did not manifest any interest in the naturalness and tersness of the construction. That this same tendency had

appeard in the greatest languages of ancient and modern times and had influenced even the greatest German writers did not in any way appeal to these severe critics. They felt cald to preserv German speech in all its purity and natural awkwardness. It is refreshing to us foreners to find at least one German scholar who is willing to make some concession to convenience and tersness. Dr. Theodor Matthias in his *Sprachleben und Sprachschäden* says on klagt oder geholfen zu werden (Möser)."

"Nur dann darf von solchen Verben mit einem Dativobjekt ausnahmsweise eine beliebige Form des persönlichen Passivums gebildet werden, wenn diese Verletzung der Regel durch die dadurch gewonnenen Vorteile mehr als aufgewogen wird; das können sein: grössere Kürze, Ebenmass, d. h. gleiche Fügung mit einem beigeordneten zielenden Zeitworte, und wirksamere Hervorhebung des Gegensatzes. So rechtfertigen sich die Sätze: Nicht die sind schuld, die schmeicheln, sondern die, die geschmeichelt sein wollen (v. Baudissin); wie Gott verehrt und gehorcht sein wolle (Kant) und: Da sitze ich nun mit meinem Kornvorrath, ohne von einem sterblichen Menschen beklagt oder geholfen zu werden (Möser)."

Let us now return to the Old Norse and Icelandic exampls. The use of the personal passiv with verbs that govern the dativ has been represented above as a natural tendency. Nygaard in his *Norrøn Syntax*, p. 102, explains it as resulting from the tendency to treat these verbs (*hjálpa*, etc.) in the activ as transitive governing an accusativ after the analogy of the corresponding Latin verbs (*juvare*, etc.). This theory is disproved by the fact that an author who uses the dativ regularly in the activ may hav a strong fondness for the personal passiv: "og þeir munu svo kasta þeim í elldzins ofn" (Odd, Matth., 13, 42), and shall cast them into a furnace of fire, but in the passiv with a personal form: "heldr en allr þinn líkami kastist í helvítzkan eld" (id. Matth., 5, 29), rather than that thy whole body should be cast into hell. "Hjálpa þú mér" (Matth., 15, 25, modern vers.), help me, but in passiv with a personal form: "og eg em hólpinn" (ib. Psalms, 28, 7), "I am helped" (King James version), "Mir ist geholfen" (Luther). Modern Danish "jeg blev budt en Stol," I

was offered a chair, developd immediatly out of such personal passivs. Likewise in Swedish: "Hon vägrades tillträde," *She was refused entrance*. As can be seen by the English translations of these two sentences the English construction originated in exactly the same way. Below we shal giv the absolute proof of it for the English.

In the oldest English, verbs governing the dativ took uniformly the impersonal passiv: "þa wæs eft swa ær ellen-rofum, / flet-sittendum fægere gereorded" (*Beowulf*, 1787-8), *There was again prepared for those in the hall a sumptuous repast*. This usage remaind in general very firm thruout the entire Old English period. As we hav almost nothing from this period that represents the simplest colloquial usage, we are not able to determine definitely whether this old usage represents the final triumf of the impersonal construction over the personal or whether it is merely literary usage that was influenced by Latin models. An occasional use of the personal passiv with verbs that govern the dativ suggests the possibility that the personal passiv was also employd in colloquial speech: "swa þæt hi sume mid þam fyre gederede wæron" (*Bede*, 202, 13, MS. O), *so that a number were injured by the fire*, altho elsewhere this verb governs the dativ regularly in the activ: "Ne nan mon ne mæg ðæm gesceadwisan mode gederian" (*Boethius*, 36, 14-15, Sedgfield), *No one can injure an intelligent mind*. This theory is confirmd by the fact that after 1200, when the old literary language had been overthrown, the personal passiv becomes more common: "ful wel he beoð iborgen" (Layamon's *Brut*, 22041-2, about A.D. 1200), *full well he shal be saved*, but in the activ uniformly with the dativ: "Childric . . . beh him ouer Auene to burgen him seoluen" (ib. 21265-8), *Childric went over the Avon to save himself*. "þæt heo weren iborgen" (ib. 4265), *that they should be saved*, but in the activ: "to burgen his liue" (ib. 8715), *to save his life*. "þa iwarðe þe king wræð for he nes þeo noht iquemed" (ib. 3061-2), *Then the king became wroth for he was not pleased*, and "þæt we beon iquemed" (ib. 938), *that we might be pleased*, but in the activ: "hiis dogter

him icwemde" (ib. 3018), *his daughter pleased him*. "Weoren þa bernas iscængte mid beore" (ib. 8123), *the men were given (literally poured out) beer*, but in the activ: "þenne me him win scenccheð" (ib. 20374), *when men pour him out wine*. "Heo wes a boken wel itaht" (6298), *she was well taught in book-lore*, but in the activ: "al swa Brutus him hefde itaiht" (758). In one case in the second version of this work, which appeard about fifty years after the first, the impersonal passiv has been replaced by the personal form: "þer him wes swa wel idiht" (9898), but in the second version: "þar he was so wel idiht," *there he was so well taught*. Thus altho there was a doublness of type here—personal and impersonal passiv—there was a tendency to prefer the personal form.

The markt feature of these and similar ex-
ampls in this book is the frequency of the personal passiv in connection with the uniform use of the dativ in the activ. This is the first and the last time in English that this feature can be clearly seen. As the case forms are in general well preservd the two constructions can be clearly distinguisht. If the work were not so large and the exampls so abundant one would be inclined to assume clerical blundering. Fortunatly by reason of the volume of the book and the uniformity of usage the evidence is quite clear. Natural spoken English has asserted itself in contrast to the literary usage of the older period. Later this feature of a nominativ in the personal passiv in connection with the use of the dativ in the activ almost disappeard as the nouns lost their proper endings. Only in case of pronouns can the personal and impersonal constructions be clearly distinguisht in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From a close study of the pronouns, however, it becomes evident that the personal construction had continued to grow so stedily in public favor that the impersonal construction with the dativ entirely disappeard with most verbs. As these verbs usually formd a personal passiv with the nominativ and their dativ object in the activ could no longer be distinguisht from an accusativ, they were soon felt as transitivs. Only in case of the one verb

teach was the impersonal passiv with the dativ preservd.

This stands in markt contrast to the development in German where the impersonal passiv has gained very much wider boundaries than it had in the oldest period. In Middle High German the impersonal passiv began to spread even to pure intransitives that are incapable of taking an object of any kind: "hie sol niht mer geswigen sin" (*Parzival*, 189.5). It seems probable that this construction has followed the analogy of transitives that take a cognate accusative and hence often appear in the active and passive without an object or subject as it is implied in the verb: "bald singt man," and in the passive "bald wird gesungen." This impersonal passive is found in Old High German. In comparison with the wealth of the German impersonal passive the English with its one lone impersonal passive seems very poor, but this one passive form was destined to facilitate the development of a new passive form in the large group of transitives that in the active take a dative in connection with an accusative object: "he gave *the girl* (dative) a gold watch," but in the passive: "*the girl* (nominative) was given a gold watch."

Scholars have heretofore explained this development by the theory that the loss of inflectional forms had led to the confounding of the dative and accusative in nouns, and to the exclusive use of the nominative here in the passive as the dative of the noun was construed as a nominative. Professor Jespersen says in his *Progress in Language*, p. 232, of the origin of *the girl was given a gold watch*: "But this position immediately before the verb is generally reserved for the subject; so *the girl*, though originally a dative, comes to be looked upon as a nominative." This theory is in direct conflict with all the facts of the language. The writer has made a weary search through the leading works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and cannot find a single simple dative of a noun here in the initial place in the sentence. It had disappeared *entirely* from the language for it would have been ambiguous and ambiguity is intolerable in English speech. It was replaced by a prepositional construction: "*To* king Alla was told all this meschaunce"

(Chaucer's *Tale of the Man of Lawe*, 512). The form *king Alla was told this* was entirely unknown at this time either in the construction of *king* as nominative or dative. Thus it is evident that the nominative in the personal passive did not arise from the dative of nouns, that stood in the initial position in the sentence.

The true explanation lies in quite a different direction, namely in the imitation of the double passive construction which in the one word *teach* had by almost a miracle escaped the destruction which had befallen this double type in every other word of this group: "*me* was taught" and "*i* was taught." From this one verb the double construction slowly spread, but it was limited at first strictly to pronouns, as the dative could not be distinguished from the nominative in nouns. Thus after the analogy of "*me* was taught" and "*i* was taught" arose "*me* was told" and "*i* was told." In "*me* was told *this*," the *me* is a dative and *this* is the subject. In early Middle English this is the only passive form here, but as "*me* was taught" could be replaced by "*i* was taught" there arose later the new analogical form "*i* was told." This double passive construction as we have seen above was originally found only with intransitives, but *teach* followed this group as it was often used intransitively with only a dative object in the active. Hence in the passive it naturally followed the analogy of these intransitives in taking both the personal and impersonal construction: "thus *i* or *me* was taught." This verb was peculiarly fitted to exert a powerful influence over transitives, for it could not only be used intransitively with a dative as in case of the old list of intransitives, but it was also employed transitively with an accusative object: "*me* or *i* was taught *this*." In the former construction *this* is the subject of the sentence; in the latter, *this* has been brought over from the active, where it was the object of the verb. In changing the active form *he taught me this* to the passive, *me* became *i* and *taught this* was treated as a loose compound in which alone the verbal element is inflected. That which marks these two words as a compound is the fact that *this* retains the syntactic

cal function that it had in the activ, i. e. is an objectiv accusativ. Here in the passiv *this* cannot possibly be the object of the verb, but it is nevertheless an accusativ, for like the dependent component of every loose compound it retains its original syntactical function.

After the two patterns "*me* or *i* was taught *this*" arose "*me* or *i* was told *this*." As in case of the original group of verbs governing the dativ, the nominativ type gradually supplanted the dativ type. The entire development, however, is very slow. In the course of the fifteenth century it began to gain a little ground. In all the early examples the subject is a pronoun. Gradually, however, *I was told this* and *I was given a watch* led to *the king was told this* and *the girl was given a watch*. This development was not possible until after the nominativ type had gained the ascendancy. A noun could not be used here as long as there was a double construction, for it could not distinguish between nominativ and dativ.

The boundaries of this construction in present usage are marked by the *simple* dativ form, i. e. the form without the preposition *to*: "he gave *me* a book" and "*I* was given a book," but not "*I* was suggested *this*," for in the activ we say, "He suggested *this to me*." The description of this usage by English grammarians leads us to think that the boundaries of this construction are much wider in America than in England. In Mr. Onion's *Advanced English Syntax*, p. 41, we read with surprise: "such sentences as 'The boy was given the money,' 'He was written a long letter,' are either awkward or quite impossible." English writers criticise Irish examples that sound perfectly natural to us Americans.

From small beginnings this new personal passiv has become a mighty construction in English. Hence it surprises us all the more to find in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a few examples of this passiv which have since gone out of use. Although it has extended its boundaries in a wonderful way it has at one point lost ground. In Middle English the "dativ of interest" might in the passiv become the nominativ subject: "And some were brend

and *some* were cut the hals" (Chaucer's *L. G. W.*, 292). The dativ of the activ form still exists in German: "Er bricht *ihm* den Hals." It is no longer a living construction in English, but survives in a large number of set expressions: "it occasions *me* much unrest," "he caused *me* much pain," "he has saved *me* all this trouble," "he has left *me* only this one book," etc. Wherever this old dativ has survived it usually becomes nominativ in the passiv: "*I* have been caused much pain," etc. With the dativ of interest the verb was peculiarly prone to enter into a compound with a following noun and thus form a set expression. We find the personal passiv here early in the thirteenth century, as the construction of a personal passiv in connection with a dativ in the activ was widely used at this time: "he was þus ileten blod" (*The Ancren Riwele*, 112). As the dativ of interest was much more widely used in the older period it cannot always be employed today. The passiv here has in fact become very much more common, but it is necessarily much limited because the activ dativ form upon which it is based has lost its former wide boundaries.

The domain of the personal passiv has been greatly enlarged in modern English by extending this construction to verbs that in the activ take a prepositional object: "he spoke *to me* sharply" and "*I* was spoken *to* sharply," "he imposed *upon me*" and "*I* was imposed *upon*," etc. Here verb and preposition enter into a compound just as the verb and object in the constructions described above. Both of these constructions may be combined so that the verb forms a compound with its object and a following preposition: "*I* was *taken no notice of*." The prepositional construction began to gain ground in the fourteenth century and has become one of the marked characteristics of English speech, enriching our already terse and forceful language with new possibilities of directness and vigor.

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A NOTE ON *THE SQUYR OF LOWE DEGRE*

The fifteenth century romance, *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*,¹ has a situation wherein the heroine, a princess, finds outside her door a mutilated body, which she wrongfully supposes to be that of her lover, the squire. In the intensity of her love and grief, she embalms it by a most elaborate process and preserves it in her bedchamber for seven years.² Mr. Mead, in his excellent introduction to the romance, styles this a "decidedly unusual motive,"³ and leaves the reader with the inference that it is either entirely original with the author of the romance or that the source remains yet undiscovered. It would seem in this connection that Mr. Mead has not fully availed himself of all the material which he has brought together in such abundance, and that he has also passed by some bits of information which other romances of the period afford. We can most certainly find proof that this ghastly custom of preserving the dead in such intimate fashion as a relic of love or hatred was by no means unknown to other romancers of the fifteenth century. It is true that the idea elsewhere is limited to the preservation of various parts of the body, such as a heart or a hand. But the instance in *The Squyr of Lowe Degre* seems only a completer application of the same idea and not a decided innovation.

Mr. Mead points out⁴ the striking parallels offered by *The Squyr of Lowe Degre* and *The Knight of Curtesy and the Fair Lady of Faguell*.⁵ Each is motivated by a secret love affair. In each the lovers meet covertly in a garden and make their avowals of affection. In each there is a spy who overhears and who reports their secret to those from whom the lovers are concealing their intrigue. The hero in each

romance is thus forced to go away in search of adventures. Beyond this, except for the somewhat superficial resemblance between the mourning of the lady of Faguell and the princess for the loss of their lovers, Mr. Mead can see no further similarities in the two tales. But he stops a bit short. He passes by one of the most striking of the parallels. In the last half of *The Knight of Curtesy*, there is an incident which is closely akin to that of the embalming in *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*.

The Knight of Curtesy is mortally wounded in battle. He calls his page to his side and says⁶:

"Of one thinge i thee praie:
Out of mi body to cut my herte,
And wrappe it in this yelow here,
And, whan thou doest from hence departe,
Unto my lady thou do it bere."

The remainder of the tale is expanded so as to form a perfect specimen of the legend of the eaten heart.⁷ But have we not in the above lines the elemental principle which is the basis of the incident in *The Squyre of Lowe Degre*, the preservation of the dead as a keepsake? There is uncertainty as to the exact dates of the two romances in question, which makes positive statements in regard to their dependence one on the other impossible. But if there is any relation whatever between them, as Mr. Mead shows to be very possible, ought this particularly suggestive likeness to be ignored?⁸ Occurring, as the two incidents do, in romances which have many other points in common, their similarity is all the more significant. Certainly the motive under discussion in *The Squyr of Lowe Degre* is not altogether unique.

In *Eger and Grim*,⁹ another fifteenth century

¹ ll. 380-4.

² See the article by John E. Matzke on this subject, *Modern Language Notes*, xxvi, 1-8, Jan., 1911.

³ See Mead's footnotes, pp. xxviii and xxxii. Here he points out similarities to the heart episode of *The Knight of Curtesy* in two stories of Boccaccio. He fails, however, except by implication, to bring his deductions to a head and to show the parallelism at this point between *The Knight of Curtesy* and *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*.

⁴ Hales and Furnivall, *Percy Folio Ms.* I, 354, ll. 1171-1188.

¹ Ed. W. E. Mead, 1904.

² Text C, ll. 669-706; 930.

³ P. xxxii.

⁴ Pp. xxxiv-vi.

⁵ See *Ancient English Metrical Romances*, III, 193, ed. Ritson, 1802; also *Early Popular Poetry*, II, 65, ed. Carew Hazlitt, 1866.

romance, the same idea again finds a place. Here the hand of an enemy is preserved. Grim, after slaying Graysteel, cuts off his hand and later presents it to the Lady Loosepaine, whose kinsmen have been slain by Graysteel. Loosepaine locks the hand for safe keeping in a coffer.

Boccaccio's story of Isabella and the Pot of Basil¹⁰ offers a close parallel.¹¹ Here the heroine herself, like the princess, is actively engaged in the operation of preserving the dead. Isabella, advised in a dream, searches for and finds the grave of her lover who has been killed by her three brothers on account of his low origin. She finds the weight of the whole body too much to lift, so she severs the head from the body with a razor. This she conceals in a pot of basil and waters daily with her tears until within a few days of her own death.

In view of these instances does the motive in question seem so unusual? True, no complete parallel has been discovered. The embalming of the body of the squire by the princess is indeed a step beyond the less elaborate modes of preservation just mentioned. The Knight of Curtesy orders the heart simply to be wrapped in the "yelowe here."¹² Loosepaine locks the hand of Graysteel in a coffer. Isabella, in the story of Boccaccio, keeps the head of her lover in a flower pot. But in each case two facts are conspicuous. First, it is always a lady who preserves the relic; and, secondly, the method of preservation is carefully stated. The episode in *The Squyre of Lowe Degre* contains no departures from these essentials. The author differs from other authors only in the method by which he has the lady preserve the relic.

Instances of the mere act of embalming, if not to be found in tales of love, were ready at hand in other branches of mediæval literature.¹³ Our resourceful romancer has applied

this method in his weaving of the old theme of the preservation of the dead by a bereaved lady. Even the mediæval romancers, conventional though they were, must avoid exact imitations and give their own variations of stock episodes. The author of *The Squyre of Lowe Degre* has spun a tale of the same kind as his fellows, but he has made it bigger and less restrained. With no little adroitness he has assembled and magnified details, so as to outdo all other attempts at this particular variety of episode. No doubt he must have regarded his efforts with considerable satisfaction as one of the surprises of his story. But by no means was he introducing a decidedly new motive into the romance.

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A PARALLEL FOR RICHARDSON'S CLARISSA

In the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1912,¹ Mr. H. G. Ward revives the question of relationship between *Clarissa Harlowe* and Rowe's tragedy, *The Fair Penitent*. His detailed comparison, however, serves only to confirm Richardson's own admission of similarity in the characters of Lovelace and Lothario, and throws no light on the original of *Clarissa* herself. In her case also Richardson offers testimony, indicating in a general way that she was drawn from actual middle-class life, of the sort he knew at first hand. "We know there are some," he declares in the Postscript, "and we hope there are many, in the British dominions . . . who, as far as occasion has called upon them to exert the like humble and modest, yet steady and useful virtues, have reached the perfections of a *Clarissa*."

Of one notable embodiment of steady and

¹⁰ Decam., iv, 5.

¹¹ See Mead's introduction, p. xxxii.

¹² See the lines of the poem quoted above.

¹³ Mr. Mead in his notes (pp. 77-8) offers interesting references from Lyndesay and Chaucer. The al-

literative fourteenth century romance *Morte Arthure* has a noteworthy example. Ed. Brock. E. E. T. S. 8, 1865. See ll. 2298-2305.

¹ "Richardson's Character of Lovelace," pp. 494-498.

useful virtues Richardson should certainly have known, in the person of Mary Astell, who, after a residence of over twenty years in and about London, died there in 1731, the same year as the first Mrs. Richardson. George Ballard, in his *Memoirs of British Ladies* (1752), relates of her an incident which may well have come as current gossip to Richardson's ears about the time of his bereavement. At any rate it appears a few years later in one of the most striking portions of *Clarissa*. Ballard's version is as follows:

"At length, by a gradual decay of nature, being confined to her bed, and finding the time of her dissolution draw nigh, she ordered her coffin and shroud to be made, and brought to her bed-side; and there to remain in her view, as a constant memento to her of her approaching fate, and that her mind might not deviate or stray one moment from God, its most proper object."²

It may not be amiss to consider briefly what further suggestions for his heroine Richardson may have found combined in the character of this somewhat mysterious advocate for women. He shared probably with most of London the knowledge that Mrs. Astell was modest even to prudery; that she endured disappointment and suffering with calm resignation; that she abjured rich social opportunities for a life of retirement and meditation. In books known or suspected to be hers he could find fairly consistent theories on woman's education and interests, on love and marriage, and on questions of morality and religion. She had a friend, the Lady Elizabeth Hastings, with whom she was on terms as intimate as those of *Clarissa* and Anna Howe. She practiced an abstinence in food, drink, and daily rest equalled only by the celebrated daily regimen Miss Howe describes. Even the persistent attendance at morning prayers characteristic of *Clarissa*'s decline finds example in a well-known custom of Mrs. Astell's later life. "I have been told," says Ballard, "that for several years before her death, she constantly walked from Chelsey to St. Martin's church every

Sunday, never regarding the inclemency or unseasonableness of the weather, purely to hear a celebrated preacher, whom she much admired for his excellent practical divinity."³

A public accepting *An Essay in Defense of the Female Sex* (1696) as the work of Mary Astell may have found some difficulty in squaring its theory of woman's education with that laid down in others of her works, or for that matter with her own experience. *Clarissa*, who confesses herself "book-learned and a scribbler," follows the plan of the *Essay* in depending largely on translations for her Latin literature and in scorning mere pedantry, stresses with it the peculiar possibilities of women in literary activity, and like its author is not averse to social accomplishments, if they are useful ones. In general, however, her standards are the more severe ones of the real Mrs. Astell and her *Serious Proposal to the Ladies*. "She had begun," according to Miss Howe, "to apply herself to Latin; and having such a critical knowledge of her own tongue, and such a foundation from the two others, would soon have made herself an adept in it."⁴ Mrs. Astell was known to have extended her Latin studies considerably in middle life. *Clarissa*, in condemning pedants, made exceptions "in favour of men of sound learning, true taste, and extensive abilities," particularly certain "learned divines with whom she held an early correspondence."⁵ Mrs. Astell's clerical friends and correspondents are well-known, in particular Dr. Atterbury and John Norris of Bemerton. The range of reading approved by both these ladies was limited to strict morality and solid learning, notwithstanding the kindly attitude of the *Essay* toward Mrs. Behn and other playwrights. The proper scheme of education was that of the proposed "Protestant Nunnery,"⁶ affording a man's equipment of learning, tempered with a woman's pious modesty. The other function of the Nunnery, in

² *Memoirs*, p. 315.

⁴ *Works*, VIII, 464.

⁵ *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* . . . By a Lover of her Sex [Mary Astell] 1694; and the Second Part, 1697.

² *Memoirs*, ed. 1775, p. 317. Cf. Richardson's *Works*, ed. London, 1883, VIII, 208 ff.

affording religious seclusion from the world, appeals strongly to Clarissa amid the persecutions of her relatives. "Were ours a Roman Catholic family," she exclaims, "how much happier for me that they thought a nunnery would answer their views!"⁷

On the relation of the sexes, Anna Howe, as foil to Clarissa, is made to say impetuous and extravagant things, but Miss Harlowe herself remains judicious and unembittered—more so, perhaps, than Mary Astell in her *Reflections upon Marriage*, though the theories are practically identical. As that work advises, Clarissa keeps clearly in mind the immense odds against conjugal happiness, and has always considered that the safety of single life is preferable. The matrimonial motives the book most deplores—wealth and personal attractiveness—are spurned by her in the two great decisions of her career. There is the same parallelism on the positive side. Clarissa's ideal marriage is the familiar 'union of kindred souls'; and in her estimate of Lovelace, weighing the wit and understanding he has against the virtuous mind he has not, she keeps insisting against her will that he is not "*the man*." Further, the right of a husband to dominate the household seems in both theories to rest on the same two points, his qualifications to govern and his methods of administration. The ideal husband, to which Mr. Hickman approximates, is respected by his wife for his obvious abilities, and in turn justifies all his decisions by the confirmation of her reason. Of the woman:—"let reason be the principal guide of her actions—she will then never fail of that true respect, of that sincere veneration, which she wishes to meet with, and which will make her judgment . . . consulted, sometimes with a *preference* to a man's own; at other times as a delightful *confirmation* of his."⁸

Romantic love, which Anna Howe would dispose of as "cupidity" or a "Paphian stimulus," finds no place in the ideals of either of these ladies. Clarissa never confessed to more than a "conditional kind of liking" for Love-

lace, while the writings of Mary Astell breathe a Platonism far too exalted to invite the broad jests of the *Tatler*.⁹ Both have much to say of the love of God as the supreme type of affection. This was the subject of Mrs. Astell's published correspondence with John Norris of Bemerton, in which she was emphasizing and elucidating his views.¹⁰ Clarissa's exalted friendship with Miss Howe looks forward to its perfection hereafter, when they, "divested of the shades of body, shall be all light and all mind." But it always yields place in her heart to this supreme love of God, who "will have no rivals in the hearts of those he sanctifies."

Similarities like these, most of them involving Richardson's favorite theories of feminine excellence, might of course have arisen quite independent of any knowledge, on his part, of Mrs. Astell's personality or opinions. No direct external evidence of acquaintance seems available. Yet the general interest and rather awed respect this good lady aroused in her fellow-townsmen, coupled with Richardson's habitual concern in everything that looked to the welfare of "the sex," makes it difficult to believe that he could or would have overlooked Mary Astell among those who prominently displayed Clarissa's perfections, 'as far as occasion had called upon them.' It may be objected that, being thus admired, she should have found her way into John Duncombe's *Feminead*, written in connection with Richardson's immediate coterie in 1751.¹¹ But Duncombe was celebrating only such "female genius" as expressed itself in imaginative literature.

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⁷ Nos. 32 and 63.

¹⁰ Richardson's acquaintance with the writings of Norris is indicated by a quotation from his verse in a letter of Belford, where the author is described as "a poetical divine, who was an excellent Christian." (*Works*, VIII, 95-96.)

¹¹ Printed in *A Collection of Poems in Four Volumes*, London, 1770, IV, 186 ff.

⁸ *Works*, IV, 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 149.

CONTEMPORARY GERMAN FICTION AND NARRATIVE POETRY¹

As an appendix to the list of contemporary German fiction and narrative poetry published in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1909, the following titles may be of interest:

1. NOVELS.—*Bartsch*: Zwölf aus der Steiermark, Vom sterbenden Rokoko, Das deutsche Leid, Schwammerl; *Böhlau*: Isebies; *Ernst* (Paul): Der schmale Weg zum Glück; *Ertl*: Freiheit, die ich meine; *Falke*: Der Mann im Nebel, Die Stadt mit den goldenen Türmen; *Louise von François*: Die letzte Reckenburgerin, Die Stufenjahre eines Glücklichen; *Frensen*: Klaus Hinrich Baas; *Greinz*: Aller-seelen; *Halbe*: Die Tat des Dietrich Stobäus; *Handel-Mazzetti*: Meinrad Helmpersgers denkwürdiges Jahr, Die arme Margaret, Stephana Schwertner; *Hauptmann* (Carl): Ismael Friedmann; *Hauptmann* (Gerhart): Der Narr in Christo—Emanuel Quint; *Hegeler*: Frohe Botschaft; *Heilborn*: Josua Kersten; *Hesse*: Gertrud; *Holzamer*: Der Entgleiste; *Huch* (Friedrich): Peter Michel; *Huch* (Ricarda): Die Geschichten von Garibaldi, Der grosse Krieg in Deutschland; *Lauff*: Kärrekiek, Pittje Pittjewitt; *Lienhard*: Oberlin; *Meysenburg*: Die Memoiren einer Idealistin; *Presber*: Von Leutchen die ich lieb gewann; *Schmitthenner*: Das deutsche Herz; *Schnitzler*: Der Weg ins Freie; *Schulte von Brühl*: Die Revolutzer; *Stegemann*: Kreisende Becher; *Stern* (Adolf): Die Ausgestossenen; *Sudermann*: Das hohe Lied; *Vischer*: Auch einer; *Voigt-Diederichs*: Nur ein Gleichnis; *Wille*: Die Abendburg; *von Wolzogen*: Der Erzketzer; *Zahn*: Einsamkeit.

II. NOVELETTES AND SHORT STORIES.—*Böhlau*: Ratsmädelgeschichten; *David*: Vier Geschichten; *Fischer* (in Graz): Murwellen; *Hartleben*: Erzählungen; *Hauptmann* (Carl): Nächte; *Hauptmann* (Gerhart): Bahnwärter Thiel, Der Apostel; *Herzog*: Es gibt ein Glück; *Kröger*: Um den Wegzoll; *Löns*: Da draussen vor dem Tore; *Mann* (Thomas): Tristan; *Voss*: Römische Dorfgeschichten.

¹ A list of important German dramas that have appeared since 1871 was published in the *New York Times Review of Books*, February 16, 1913.

III. NARRATIVE POETRY.—*Däubler*: Das Nordlicht; *Liliencron*: Poggfred.

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UBI SUNT HEROES?

Professors Bright and Tupper long ago (*MLN.*, VIII, 94, 253 f.) called attention to the use of the *ubi sunt* formula in classical and medieval literature. Before their notes appeared, M. F. Batjushkov (*Romania*, xx, 13, 545) had already pointed out the use of this thought in Ephraim the Syrian, Cyril of Alexandria, and various medieval poets and homilists. More recently (*MLN.*, xxiv, 257) the writer added Lydgate's *Like a Midsummer Rose* to the list. It is of course found in several versions of the Debate of the Body and the Soul.

It may be well to note that the idea of the all-compelling force of Death has not ceased to be a favorite, especially in Irish literature. In the *Comhagall idir an mbás agus an othar* (Dialogue between Death and the Sick Man, a modern poem of 566 lines), vv. 85–136, we have an interesting instance of its use. The author of the poem is unknown; it has been attributed to various persons: among others to Thomas Roche and to John Collins. It was edited with a translation by Patrick O'Brien in his *Cnuasacht Chomhagall* (Dialogues in Irish), *Baile-átha-cliaith* (Dublin), 1901, pp. 4–43. As O'Brien's small volume is rarely met with outside of Ireland, I quote Mr. O'Brien's translation of the thirteen stanzas with which we are here concerned:

Ah, Death! whose words are truth without disguise,
Disclose where Sampson or great Cæsar lies,
Olympia's son, the Macedonian heir,
Or Hannibal who may with them compare.

The faithful Jonathan where can we find,
Or Solomon, the wisest of mankind;
Jason, whose valour gained the golden fleece,
Or Hercules, the pride of ancient Greece?

Or fierce Achilles, who made armies yield,
Or Ajax, master of the seven-fold shield;
Nestor the mellifluent Pylian sage,
Or fierce Tydides¹ who did Mars engage?

Where's Hector brave, that daring prince of Troy,
His country's champion, bulwark, hope and joy;
Priam whose sceptre did all Asia sway,
Or Paris, who fair Helen bore away?

¹ Diomedes.

Where's Cræsus with his heaps of shining gold,
Cadmus the first Bæotian King of old,
Cyrus, accustomed to fierce wars' alarms,
And mighty Xerxes with the world in arms?

Where now is Herod base or Nimrod vain,
Or Pharaoh, drowned in the Erythræan main?
Where Nero, tyrant of the Roman state,
Or fell Antiochus, the reprobate?

Where's Bajazet with all his boast and might?
Where's Tamerlane who conquered him in fight?
Where's Arthur, who doth in our annals shine,
Or Charlemagne with all his sceptered line?

Where's Venus, Pallas, or the wife of Jove,
The three fair candidates of Ida's grove?
Where the gay nymphs of the Hesperian Plain?
Where chaste Diana and her virgin train?

The sweet-tongued Ovid for his wit expelled,
Or Virgil who in tuneful verse excelled,
Horace, who human errors could describe,
Or Homer, prince of all the epic tribe?

Our Irish chiefs to whom each power gave way,
Lughaidh Mac Con, who loved superior sway,
Lughaidh Lagha, who stretched Arthur on the plain,
And brave Curaoi Mór, treacherously slain;

Conall the grand, who fame in battle won,
Cuchullain, or his more intrepid son;
Naisi, who with Deirdre sought a distant land,
Mac Lughaidh or Osgar of the Fenian band?

Where are these kings, or men of high renown,
These lords, these earls, and great ones of the gown,
That they do not return and let us know
The secret systems of the shades below?

Are they there honoured, feasted and caressed,
In ermine robes and shining tissue dressed,
Sparkling in all the pageantry of pride
They here on earth enjoyed before they died?

To the above may be added a passage in *Die Jobsiade*, By Dr. Karl Arnold Kortum (part i, chap. 37), Münster, 1784, 2d ed. Dortmund, 1799, reprinted by Bobertag in *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, vol. 140, Berlin, 1883. Charles T. Brooks, in his translation of *Die Jobsiade*, Philadelphia, 1863, pp. 180 f., also quotes a passage from "Father Mulvaney's Sarmon," in Mrs. Hall's *Lights and Shadows of Irish Life*, which was published in 1838, and the parts of which originally appeared in *The New Monthly Magazine*.

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How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad, edited by A. E. H. SWAEN (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, xxxv). Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1912.

Beyond a doubt, Professor Wilhelm Bang, in issuing his admirable series of *Materialien*, is doing much to facilitate the study of the Tudor-Stuart drama. The series contains not only accurate reprints of rare and often otherwise inaccessible plays, but also such invaluable works as the facsimile of the first folio of Ben Jonson, Crawford's *Concordance to the Works of Thomas Kyd*, Feuillerat's *Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels*, and Mrs. Stopes's *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal*. Moreover, the series is vigorous, and is sturdily marching forward, with many new volumes promised for the immediate future. From among these may be singled out for particular notice the Loseley MSS., and the concordances to Marlowe and to Jonson.

The latest volume of the series, *How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad*, will be heartily welcome to students of the early drama. Professor A. E. H. Swaen, of the University of Groningen, has reproduced the play from the first quarto, and has furnished the volume with a scholarly introduction and a mass of erudite notes. The play fully deserves this honor, for it is one of the best of the anonymous dramas of Elizabeth's reign. Its steady popularity in the first half of the seventeenth century is attested by editions in 1602, 1605, 1608, 1614, 1621, 1630, and 1634. In modern times it has been reprinted by Baldwin in his *Old English Drama*, 1824-5, and by Hazlitt in his issue of Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, 1874; but in these editions the text is far from satisfactory, and the critical apparatus negligible. Simultaneously with Professor Swaen's reprint has appeared a photographic reproduction of the play (indeed of the same copy, British Museum C. 34, b. 53) by Mr. John S. Farmer in *The Tudor Facsimile Texts*. The latter, of course, is devoid

of introduction or notes; it serves, however, as a ready means to test the accuracy of Professor Swaen's reprint.

For such a test I have very carefully collated five pages of the reprint with the facsimile, selecting the pages at random. I have found the reprint to vary in no jot or tittle from the original, except on page 83, where the catchword, *Seeke*, should not be followed by a period; and in this case Professor Swaen was misled by a small ink blotch on the paper.

In discussing the bibliography of the early editions, Professor Swaen overlooks Mr. Greg's *List of Plays*, and instead takes as the basis of his discussion Hazlitt's *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays*. This oversight is unfortunate. Thus Professor Swaen might have added to his discussion of the quarto of 1608, the existence of which Hazlitt doubted, the fact that Greg describes a genuine copy of that edition in the Bodleian Library. Regarding the second quarto of 1605, Professor Swaen says: "The copy in the British Museum Library catalogued with date of publication as 1605, is a defective one, the title and leaves up to B being wanting. . . . I have not succeeded in finding a copy bearing 1605 on the title-page, but have no doubt that Hazlitt had seen one; in that case the fragment in the British Museum may belong to that edition." Yet Professor Swaen is apparently not convinced of the existence of this edition, and subsequently refers to it with a query ("1605?"). Mr. Greg, however, describes such an edition in the Bodleian Library, and assigns the imperfect British Museum copy to that edition. The Librarian of the Bodleian informs me that "the date 1605 is given plainly on the title-page."

For his text Professor Swaen has reproduced the British Museum copy of the first quarto, 1602; and in his notes, he has recorded the significant variants in a copy of the third quarto, 1608, preserved in the Royal Library at The Hague. In two places the British Museum copy is slightly defective: "The two passages that cannot be read distinctly in the British Museum copy I have

printed from the B [i.e., 1608] text." Now it is true that the defective passages are short, and the missing words and letters few; it is also true that the edition of 1608 almost undoubtedly gives the correct reading for these passages; yet we cannot help wondering why the Bodleian copy of the 1602 quarto was not consulted to supply the defective text; and still more, why the Bodleian copy was not collated with the British Museum copy for possible variant readings, especially since the text of the play is unusually corrupt. Professor Swaen, furthermore, has not indicated what relations exist between the quartos of 1602 and 1608 and the other quartos printed before the closing of the theatres. It still remains, therefore, for some one to collate two or more copies of the first edition, to collate the first and the second editions, and to point out the relations between the other early quartos.

In dealing with the interesting question of authorship, Professor Swaen rejects the attribution of the play to Joshua Cooke. This attribution, which was made in a manuscript entry on the title-page of the British Museum copy, formerly in the possession of Garrick, is not supported by the slightest evidence. Joshua Cooke is otherwise unheard of, unless he is to be identified with John Cooke, the author of *Green's Tu Quoque*. But, as Professor Swaen remarks: "There is [in *H. M. C.*] absolutely no similarity or point of agreement with John Cooke's *Green's Tu Quoque*."

In discussing the authorship, Professor Swaen does not observe, and no one, I believe, has noted the fact, that the play was attributed by William Winstanley, in *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, 1687, p. 151, to Gervase Markham and William Sampson. This attribution, however, like many statements by Winstanley, is preposterous.¹ Sampson did not begin to write until 1624, and when

¹ Professor Martin Wright Sampson furnishes me with the following note: "Winstanley gets this from Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), p. 194, where this play is attributed to Sampson and Marsham [sic]. To this attribution, Isaac Reed, the former owner of my copy, makes the marginal gloss, 'No.' Phillips calls the play a Tragi-Comedy."

How a Man May Choose was staged, he was only eleven years of age; nor does the play bear the slightest resemblance to the known works of Gervase Markham.

After rejecting the untrustworthy attribution of the play to Joshua Cooke, Professor Swaen attempts to prove that no less an author than Thomas Heywood is responsible for its composition. With this conclusion every careful student of Heywood will, I think, agree. In a recent number of *Englische Studien* (xlv. 30-44), I tried to put the attribution of the play to Heywood on a firm foundation by citing numerous passages which find a more or less exact parallel in thought and in phraseology to passages in the undoubted works of Heywood. Since that paper was written, some two years ago, I have discovered not a few similar striking parallelisms. But more proof than is afforded by that article and by Professor Swaen's introduction is not needed, I believe, to establish beyond a doubt Heywood's authorship of this admirable drama.

In discussing the source of the play, the editor says: "According to Langbain, Hazlitt, and Fleay, the incident of Anselme saving young Arthur's wife by taking her out of the grave, and carrying her to his mother's house is related in the 'Ninth Novel of *The Pleasant Companion* (printed in 8vo in London, 1684) still'd, *Love in the Grave*' (Langbain, *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*, p. 161). No such book is known to the authorities of the British Museum." This is a rather summary treatment of Langbaine. If, indeed, the book is not known to the authorities of the British Museum, it is known to other bibliographers. A detailed description of the work may be found in Hazlitt's *Bibliographical Collections and Notes* (Third Series, 1887), p. 258. Probably the story in *The Pleasant Companion* was based on Cinthio's *Hecatommithi* iii. v; the title-page describes the work as "Being a choice Collection of most excellent Stories, gathered from the Latin, French, Italian and Spanish Authors." However that may be, there can be little doubt that the play was based on Cinthio's novel—probably on Riche's transla-

tion of it in his *Farewell to Military Profession*, 1581, which Professor Swaen reprints in full.

The influence of Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* upon this play, though unnoted by scholars, seems to me to be obvious. Old Master Lusam, who attends at the elbow, and echoes, Old Master Arthur, seems to have been suggested by Verges. The description that Dogberry makes of the latter is quite applicable to Old Lusam: "Goodman Verges, sir, speaks a little off the matter: an old man, sir, and his wits are not so blunt as, God help, I would desire they were; but, in faith, honest as the skin between his brows." And old Master Arthur, at least in his relation to Old Master Lusam, resembles Dogberry. But Dogberry is honored by a much closer imitation in the self-important and verbose Justice Reason. Note, for example, the following (ll. 872-91):

Iust. Nay, stay, my friend, we must examine you.
What can you say concerning this debate
Betwixt young M. Arthur and his wife?

Young Lu. Faith, just as much, I think, as you
can say,

And that's just nothing.

Iust. How, nothing? Come, depose him, take his
oath,

Swear him, I say; take his confession.

Old Ar. What can you say, sir, in this doubtful
case?

Young Lu. Why nothing, sir.

Iust. We cannot take him in contrary tales,
For he says nothing still, and that same nothing
Is that which we have stood on all this while.
He hath confest even all, for all is nothing.
Since nothing, then, so plainly is confest,
And we by cunning answers and by wit
Have wrought him to confess nothing to us,
Write his confession.

Old Ar. Why, what should we write?

Iust. Why, nothing: heard you not as well as I
What he confest? I say write nothing down.

Much Ado was composed in 1599, and was doubtless very popular on the stage in 1600-1601, when *How a Man May Choose* was written.

The Notes supplied by Professor Swaen are numerous and scholarly. I record below the additions and corrections which my reading of the play has suggested.

Title-page. It seems highly unfortunate to have set up *in type* as a part of the regular title-page the untrustworthy manuscript note "written by Ioshua Cooke," which was entered by some unknown person in ink on the title-page of the Garrick copy. At least brackets should have been used to indicate that the line was a manuscript insertion.

L. 4. "*The Exchange. The New Exchange* in the Strand, built in 1609, is meant." But the play was printed in 1602, and was written, probably, in 1601 or earlier. Of course the old, or Royal, Exchange built by Sir Thomas Gresham is referred to.

Ll. 89, 90. "The second quarto has *shrew*." And so frequently throughout the notes the edition of 1608 is referred to as "the second quarto." But in reality this is the third quarto.

L. 109. Professor Swaen's quotation from Ovid reproduces the modern text; it seems worth noting that the Elizabethan version is correctly quoted in the play, *i.e.*, "*medicabilis*" instead of "*sanabilis*." Cf. the same quotation in Middleton's *The Family of Love*, iii. v; in Jones's *Adrasta*, sig. C; in *Sir Gyles Goosecap*, l. 2270; and in *The Wit of a Woman*, sig. D, verso.

L. 162. "*So that indeed my belly wambled.* Wamble, to be disturbed with nausea." But in this sentence the word is obviously used in its equally common meaning "to rumble" (a meaning which Professor Swaen also records). Without this meaning, the obscene jest of l. 164 is lost.

L. 544. "In *The Captives* . . . ascribed to Heywood." Here and elsewhere Professor Swaen regards the attribution of *The Captives* to Heywood as very doubtful. In his Introduction, p. viii, he says: "If *The Captives*; or *The Lost Recovered* is by Heywood, as its editor, A. H. Bullen, thinks"; and in a foot-note he gives some evidence from the peculiar use of certain words to show that Heywood was the author of the play. But the attribution of the play to Heywood does not rest upon the opinion of Mr. Bullen; we have on this point the authority of no less a person than Herbert, the Master of the Revels,

recorded at the time that he licensed the play for performance.

Ll. 633-4:

1. *Boy.* Forsooth my lessons torne out of my booke.

Amin. *Que oaceris chartis deseruisse decet.*

Professor Swaen says: "The meaning of 634 is not quite clear; perhaps *caceris* stands for *laceris*. The sense would then be: which you should have left in your torn books." Beyond a doubt *caceris* is connected with the Latin verb *caco*. The line seems to have been suggested by Catullus 36. 1: *cacata charta*. Possibly *caceris* is a corruption of the contracted form of the perfect subjunctive *cacaris*; or it may be a use of the present passive subjunctive for the active. The jest is too coarse for translation.

L. 647. "*Qui mihi*, no doubt the beginning of a sentence in the grammar." To be specific, this is the beginning of a long poem placed at the end of William Lilly's *Latin Grammar*. The title of the poem is *Carmen Gvilelmi Lilii ad discipulos, de moribus*.

Ll. 668-672. Since the text of the play is in many places corrupt, we may be justified in slightly emending these lines to read as follows:

Pip. *Queso preceptor, queso?* for God's sake do not whip my *Quid est gramatica*.

Ami. Not whip your *Quid est gramatica?* What's that?

Pip. *Gramatica est* that if I untrussed, you must needs whip me upon, the *quid est gramatica*.

Compare this with the following passage in Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsden* (ed. 1873, v. 323):

Sen. Sir Boniface, *quid est grammatica?*

Sir Bon. *Grammatica est ars.*

Sir Harry. Fye, fye, no more of these words, good Sir Boniface.

Ll. 704-5. The schoolmaster says to his pupils:

He that minds trish trash, & will not have care of his *rodia*

He I wil be. lish lash, and haue a fling at his *podia*.

Professor Swaen rightly alters *podix* to *podex*; but he has difficulty with the word *rodix*, or *rodex*: "I suppose *rodix* is meant for a playful latinization of *road* in connection with the preceding *ubi fuistis*." Since the error of *c* for *r* is one of the commonest of Elizabethan misprints, I suggest that for *rodex* we read *codex*, i.e., books, lessons.

L. 1004. "It is difficult to see whether the *e* of *thankes* is broken, or whether it is 'thank's.'" Professor Swaen prints the word as *thank's*; but Farmer's Photographic Facsimile shows very clearly that the word is *thankes*.

L. 1066. "That bare Anatomy, that Iack a Lent." Professor Swaen calls attention to the somewhat unusual use of the phrase Jack a Lent. Cf. Heywood's *The Foure Prentises* (ed. 1874, II. 186): "You olde Anatomy . . . you old Iack a lent."

L. 1071. *That Stockfish, that poore Iohn, that gut of men*. "No doubt Brabo thinks of the dried guts used for violin strings." May not *gut* be here used as a term of opprobrium? The sense would be "that gut of humanity."

L. 1076. "grim Malkin. No doubt an attempt at etymologizing! B has the same spelling." The meaning of this note is not clear. *Grim-malkin* was a very common spelling of the word; cf. Baldwin's *Beware the Cat*, 1561-82; and for other examples see the *N. E. D.* under "Grimalkin." It would be more correct to say that Aminadab selected this spelling of the word for the sake of the pun.

Ll. 1292-5. "Something is wrong here." I suggest that for *being* in l. 1293 we read *buying*.

Ll. 1360-1:

Pater & mater, father and mother
Frater & soror, sister and brother.

Not only for the translation, but also for the metre, we should read "Soror & frater." The lines, perhaps, should be printed thus:

Pater et mater
Father and mother
Soror et frater
Sister and brother.

L. 1367. "Both A and B have 'I haue I got thee.' The metre is correct. Perhaps we should read: I (ay), I have got thee." The original reading seems to me much the better. "Ay, have I got thee?" is addressed joyfully to the vial of poison which Arthur has just snatched from the hand of Aminadab; cf. l. 1409: "O I am glad I haue thee."

L. 1518. "*Pip*. M. Hue, as welcom as heart can tel, or tong can think." Possibly an echo of Bottom's speech: "The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was."—*M. N. D.* IV. i. Heywood often shows the influence of Shakespeare.

L. 1578. Young Arthur, the host, says to his guests, who are ready to seat themselves at the banquet: "Gentles, put ore your legges." Professor Swaen comments: "evidently 'cross your legs, sit down.' I am unable to furnish other examples." I have heard the phrase used in country houses where the guests at meals sat on benches. Expanded, the phrase would be: "Gentles, put your legs over the bench."

L. 1625. Clearly this line is spoken by Pipkin, not by Aminadab.

L. 1639. *The Parson of Pancridge*. A common name, apparently, for the "convenient parson" of Tudor-Stuart days. See Middleton's *The Fair Quarrel*, ed. Bullen, IV. 272; *A Woman is a Weathercock*, ed. Haz.-Dods., XI. 33; and the Vicar of Pancridge in Jonson's *Tale of a Tub*.

L. 1788 *wy loue*: a misprint for *my loue*. Cf. Farmer's facsimile.

Ll. 1956-7:

Mean time vnloose your sachelz & your bookes,
Draw, draw, and take you to your lessons boyes.

"I fail to see the meaning of *draw*, thus used absolutely." Possibly the schoolmaster meant "Draw your books from your satchels." He may have had vaguely in mind the use of the word as applied to the sword.

L. 2050. "*We will be married in a lawless Church*. *N. E. D.* gives no light." Probably the reference is to such a church as that pre-

sided over by the Parson of Pancridge, or the Parson of Fanchurch.

L. 2096. *Tis salfe*: a misprint for *Tis false*. See Farmer's facsimile.

Ll. 2320-1:

To attach the murderer, he once hangd and dead,
His wealth is mine: pursue the slave thats dead.

Apparently the word *dead* at the end of the second line was caught by the typesetter from the line above. I suggest that we substitute for it the word *fled*.

L. 2547, *on my knee I begges*; so the original, but read *on my knees I begge*.

Ll. 2609-12:

Hei mihi, what shuld I say, the poison giuē I deny:
He took it perforce frō my hands, and *domine* why not I

Got it of a gentleman, he most freely gaue it,
Aske he knew me, a means was only to haue it.

This passage seems hopelessly corrupt; ll. 2610 and 2612 seem to have been pied. The meaning of Aminadab's speech, however, is clear from other passages in the play. I have attempted to reconstruct the verse as follows:

Hei mihi what should I say,
The poison given I deny,
He took it perforce from my hand,
And *domine* why I not understand.
I got it of a gentleman,
He most freely gave it
As he knew my meaning was
Only rats to have it.

The change of *hands* to *hand* has some sanction from l. 2614, in which Young Arthur, in corroborating the statement of the schoolmaster, uses in a certain measure the same language: "Tis true, I tooke it from this man perforce, And snatcht it from his hand." The author's mind would naturally repeat the singular form. The construction "I not understand" is common with Heywood. In the last line, the addition of the word *rats* is suggested by ll. 1305-1315, and ll. 2627-8.

L. 2737. *Here liues perpetuall ioy, nere burning woe*. So in the original editions; but for *nere* read *here*.

Students of Heywood, as well as students of the Tudor-Stuart drama in general, will be grateful to Professor Swaen for placing within their reach so accurate a reprint of this fine old play, furnished with so valuable an introduction and body of notes.

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RECENT FRENCH GRAMMARS

A New French Grammar based on the recommendations of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology, by E. A. SONNENSCHN. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912. 211 pp.

Fundamentals of French Grammar with illustrative texts, exercises, and vocabularies, by WILLIAM B. SNOW. New York, Holt, 1912. xi + 267 pp.

Essentials of French, by VICTOR E. FRANÇOIS. New York, American Book Company, 1912. 426 pp.

It is the feeling of many teachers that the really satisfactory French grammar has not yet been written. Perhaps this accounts for the appearance almost simultaneously of three new grammars. The first comes to us from England, and we wish to say at the outset that in many ways it is excellent. Mr. Sonnenschein evidently knows his French thoroughly and, what is more, has the qualities of logic and orderliness, so that he notes for us clearly, and often with real psychological felicity, not only the most important traits, but also the minor peculiarities of French accidence and syntax. It would be pleasant to comment at length upon the results of these qualities; but there is another thing in his book which has a prior right to our attention, since it is of vital importance not merely to the success of this particular grammar but of all French grammars to be written in future. Mr. Sonnenschein was the chairman of an English committee appointed to consider "the

simplification and the unification of the terminologies and classifications employed in the grammars of the different languages."¹ This committee, representing eight different language associations, after twenty-six meetings in 1909, 1910, and 1911, has published a report in which it makes certain specific recommendations.² Will recommendations made upon such general lines prove practical when tested by the grammar of any particular language? Such is the question which must occur to many people—especially at a time when our own American committee is preparing its report. Mr. Sonnenschein's book, sticking close to the recommendations of the English committee, is above all an experiment fitted to help answer this question.

To start with, let us take two minor points. Recommendation XIII, Note 2, of the English report, reads: "The terms Article and Numeral should be used to designate not separate parts of speech but subdivisions of other parts of speech." This has led Mr. Sonnenschein to write, on page 15: "The definite article is a demonstrative adjective;" whereas on page 36 he writes: "The demonstrative adjective is *ce, cet, cette*. . ." The English report makes a distinction between an epithet and a predicate adjective, a distinction which, though of no advantage to French, Mr. Sonnenschein adopts.³ A more important point is involved in the attempt to follow the recommendation "that the terms protasis and apodosis be abandoned, and that the terms *If-clause* be used for the Clause of Condition and *Then-clause* for the Main Clause."⁴ Unfortunately, in French, among all the possible expressions used to introduce a conditional clause, the word *si* ("if") is unique and requires special rules; e. g., *si je suis, si j'avais*, as against *quand même (dans le cas où, au cas où, etc.) je serais*, and *pourvu que (en cas que, etc.) je sois*. The

Committee's term "If-clause" either must mean a clause introduced by *si* (in which case "protasis" would still be needed for other conditional clauses), or it is taken generically to include *all* conditional clauses. This last meaning, which seems to be that of the English Committee, appears illogical and misleading. Indeed it has misled Mr. Sonnenschein himself at least once. "If-clause" as used by him in § 295 can only mean a clause introduced by *si*; whereas such an interpretation in § 314 would deprive his statement of the wider application it deserves. Another recommendation of the Committee has affected the whole first part of this grammar, *viz.*: "That the names of cases" (Nom., Voc., Acc., Gen. and Dat.) "be used, so far as case-names are found to be needful, in French."⁵ Mr. Sonnenschein has found them needful quite a distance! His arrangement of the definite article gives: "Nom. and Acc., *le* or *l'*; Gen., *du* or *de l'*; Dat., *au* or *à l'*," etc., etc.⁶ He also writes out genitive and dative forms for the interrogative adjective *quel* and for the interrogative pronoun *lequel*.⁷ Why does he not continue, and do likewise for the possessive pronoun *le mien*, the demonstrative pronoun *celui*, and the demonstrative adjective *ce, cette*?⁸ And still more, if he is to be thorough, why not at least mention cases for nouns, so that the student may know how to put noun and adjective together on the analogy of *dieses Mannes* and *illius hominis*?⁹

This matter is connected, of course, with the far more important question whether it is advisable in French to teach by cases at all (with the exception, of course, of the dative of the personal pronouns). As a result of the plan

¹ *T. of G.*, Rec. XXXVI.

² § 14.

³ §§ 106, 110.

⁴ §§ 99, 101, 102.

⁵ It is unnecessary to state that we consider all this paraphernalia as hampering as it is unprofitable. That Mr. Sonnenschein himself has found it hard to handle is seen by the following: "Before words beginning with an aspirate *h* the vowel of the nominative (masc. and fem.) of the article is pronounced and written" (§ 16). What about the vowel of the accusative?

⁶ The Committee's report, p. 3; see *infra*, n. 2.

⁷ *On the Terminology of Grammar, being the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology*. London, John Murray, 1911.

⁸ *T. of G.*, Recommendation III; Sonnenschein, § 256.

⁹ *T. of G.*, Rec. XII, note 1.

adopted in this grammar, the prepositions *de* and *à* seem little more than mere case signs, like the *-i* and *-o* of the Latin second declension. And yet even though this cumbersome repetition of the so-called genitive and dative cases were carried out consistently throughout the paradigms, it would fail to cover the ground. Mr. Sonnenschein himself has found it advisable to supplement it. In treating the relatives, instead of writing "Gen., *de qui*; Dat., *à qui*," he has designated this *qui* as a "Special form after a preposition."¹⁰ It might be well to apply this method still further and to replace case-forms by just this designation when explaining the relatives *lequel*¹¹ and *quoi*,¹² and the interrogative pronouns *qui* and *quoi*.¹³ In the first place, they are, before all else, the forms to be used as the objects of *all* prepositions and not merely of *de* and *à*; and, in the second place, we are not sure that, after all, for English speaking pupils, there is a real advantage in identifying the special combinations of *de* and *à* plus a noun with the genitive and dative cases of more highly inflected languages. The uses of such combinations do not coincide with the use of real genitives and real datives with sufficient regularity to warrant a very close association of the two. Not to go beyond the facts brought out by this very grammar, we note that *à*-phrases are often used when, within the French language itself, they could not be replaced by a dative pronoun;¹⁴ and Mr. Sonnenschein himself notes that six out of the thirteen adverbial uses of the *de*-clauses correspond to the Latin uses of the ablative, not of the genitive.¹⁵ This being the case, is it not more practical to call the combinations *de* + noun and *à* + noun what they really are, *i. e.*, "*de*-phrases" and "*à*-phrases,"

and then, if we like, compare the uses of these phrases with the genitives and the datives of Latin, rather than to put upon a French construction a Latin name which does not fit it exactly? In the end, if we wish to understand the real subtleties of French we shall have to study *de* and *à*, like *en*, *sans*, etc., as prepositions having uses all their own.¹⁶

The English Committee's desire to unify and harmonize has led to the abolition of certain form-groups and their names, among them some which are of great assistance in teaching French grammar. One of these is the partitive article. In connection with the declension of the indefinite article, the pupil is told that 'boys' is *des garçons* (Nom. and Acc.), *de garçons* (Gen.), and *à des garçons* (Dat.).¹⁷ Beyond this, he gets no explanation of partitive forms until he meets them again under "genitive phrases" in the Syntax (Part II of the book).¹⁸ Similarly, no recognition was given by the English Committee to the distinction between such forms as *me* and *moi*.¹⁹ Such characteristic features of French grammar must be emphasized if we are to present the peculiarities of the language with the definiteness necessary for successful teaching.

In treating the verbs, certain changes were made in the nomenclature of the tenses. The most important of these changes is the adoption of the names "Future in the Past" and "Future Perfect in the Past," for the Conditional and the Conditional Past respectively.²⁰ Perhaps the most interesting section of Mr. Sonnenschein's book is that in which he picks out modern usages showing traces of the original meanings of these tenses.²¹ It seems to us, however, that neither Mr. Sonnenschein nor the English Committee has taken sufficiently into account the change that the meaning of the

¹⁰ § 117. The reason for this was, we suppose, the existence of the form *dont*. Strictly speaking, however, this *dont* is no more a real genitive than is the phrase *de qui*.

¹¹ § 118; referring to things, as distinguished from *qui* referring to persons.

¹² § 119.

¹³ § 108.

¹⁴ §§ 394-403.

¹⁵ Page 153, note 3.

¹⁶ We cannot find any mention of *de* + adjective, as used in expressions like *quelque chose de bon*.

¹⁷ § 19.

¹⁸ § 414.

¹⁹ Six out of twenty-four members of the Committee, however, expressed their formal regret at this omission; see *T. of G.*, Addendum, p. 40.

²⁰ *T. of G.* Rec. XL, XLIII, note 2.

²¹ § 310.

Conditional has undergone in reaching its most modern signification.²² "It denotes what is likely to happen, subject to certain conditions of the present or future," says Mr. Sonnenschein and he calls this modern meaning "conditioned futurity."²³ Does this cover entirely such a sentence as "If he were here, I should be glad, *S'il était ici, je serais content*"? Is this not rather a conditioned *present*?²⁴

As may readily be seen from the above, the criticism which we would make of the grammar is this: it distorts the modern language. It encumbers French with barren distinctions (the cases; "epithet" versus "predicate adjective," etc.), and by stressing historical grammar and using Latin as more or less of a guide, it does not lay sufficient emphasis upon the essential and characteristic traits of the language as it stands to-day (no methodical recognition of pronoun forms to be used after prepositions other than *de* and *à*; the "present" value of the conditional; the distinction between the disjunctive and the conjunctive pronouns; the partitive article). Yet in spite of this, *A New French Grammar* leaves with us the impression of being a good book.²⁵ Whether its merits are due to the influence of the English Committee or, as we believe, to Mr. Sonnenschein's own personal knowledge of French and French grammar, it is certainly to be recommended. Unfortunately, being divided sharply into Accidence and Syntax, having no exercises, and aiming rather to record facts than to present its material in a form readily learned by young pupils, it can be of little use in our schools.

²² "A remote possibility as to what may happen in the future regarded from the present standpoint" says the *T. of G.*, § XLIII, note 2.

²³ § 312.

²⁴ Compare "conditional possibility," the term used by Clédat; see *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*, Vol. I, pp. 77-86.

²⁵ We have noted a few surprising omissions; e. g., that of *ce* in the diagram of the demonstrative pronoun (§ 102). Even § 104 has only *ceci* and *cela*, with no example of *ce* alone, as in *c'est, ce qui*, etc. After § 350, there should come another paragraph giving such uses of the subjunctive as *Voilà un plaisir que peu de personnes eussent goûté*; cf. § 317.

The *Fundamentals of French Grammar* is primarily destined for school use. Any book by so experienced and successful a teacher as Mr. Snow must compel the attention of his brother teachers. The volume before us is particularly interesting in that it attacks its subject from an original standpoint. Mr. Snow believes that "one should never do for the pupil what the latter can profitably do for himself."¹ Accordingly, throughout the first part of the book, each new topic is headed by a set of illustrative sentences which it is the purpose of the subsequent remarks to clarify and explain. Care is at all times taken not to explain more than is absolutely necessary, the student being required to do some of the work himself. In the section dealing with the feminine of adjectives, for instance, no feminine forms are given (except in the illustrative sentences); the student is merely supplied with masculine forms which he is asked to put into the feminine according to a given rule. The complete tenses of verbs are never written out; the student is taught the necessary rules and writes out the tense himself from the principal parts of the verb in question. Mr. Snow further believes that "irregular forms should be attacked early . . . while one form is as easy to memorize as another."² Thus, for instance, the very first lesson on verbs includes a striking variety (*donner, prendre, savoir, dire*, etc.³) and, as it is part of his system to teach by tenses and not by conjugations, the pupil is immediately told how to form the singular of the present indicative of all these verbs.

It is pleasing to note throughout this book the author's evident desire to present each subject in a form suggested by his own class-room experience. Nevertheless, considering the book as a whole, we must mention certain unfortunate features which are, in a measure, the defects of its merits. The effort to stimulate the pupil's observation and at the same time to explain what he may have noticed, is apt to lead to roundabout processes of either state-

¹ P. iv.

² P. iv.

³ P. 23, § 38.

ment or reasoning.⁴ At times, too, Mr. Snow seems to give the pupil hardly enough guidance;⁵ while at others—especially when no example is given—it is hard even for the experienced teacher to understand the application of an explanation.⁶ The originality of the method of presentation is responsible also, no doubt, for a certain lack of arrangement. The fullest treatment of the adjectives, for instance, is found under nouns,⁷ where, as a result of this association, the unwary student might easily infer that he had a right to coin a feminine noun from any masculine noun according to the rules applying to adjectives; e. g., *servitrice* from *serviteur* and *canarde* from *canard*! Intending to be brief,⁸ why should Mr. Snow introduce the accident used by seventeenth century writers?⁹ And why, especially, introduce into the text itself the name of Paul Passy, accompanied by a footnote at the bottom of the page?¹⁰ Equally disconcerting is the way in which the most elementary explanations¹¹ rub elbows with technical terms such as “uvular,” “atonic,” “substantive concept,” and “periphrastic form.”¹²

Turning now to matters of detail, we mention a few of the points that have arrested our attention. It seems to us a mistake, when speaking of the omission of the article in partitives, to discard the usual division devoted to negatives; Mr. Snow includes *je ne mange jamais de grenouilles* under the heading “Partitives introduced by the prepositions *sans* or *de*.”¹³ But how is the unaided student to associate the *de* with the negative? Under the heading “*Ce* and *Il* as Subject,”¹⁴ we would suggest that such sentences as *ce sera à faire*

demain and *ce n'est pas plus difficile que ça* be connected with *c'est un étai* and *savoir, c'est pouvoir*, and not, as they are by Mr. Snow, with *il est facile de faire cela*. The fact seems to be that the French *ce*, being not so vigorously demonstrative as the English ‘this’ or ‘that,’ has a wider application and is used to designate whatever one cannot or does not care to identify with a noun having a definite gender and number. Having once established this idea of the demonstrative, our rules are easily given: (1) If English ‘it’ is such a demonstrative, always use *ce*¹⁵, and (2) If the pronoun is not demonstrative, use the inflected *il* whenever *être* is followed by a predicate adjective, otherwise use *ce*.¹⁶ In the treatment of the verbs there is a very unfortunate juxtaposition. “Dropping the vowel of the infinitive ending,” says Mr. Snow, “sometimes brings together consonants that do not blend well, such as two liquids (l, n, r) and this requires further changes in the stem,” a statement followed almost immediately by such forms as *aller, irai; être, serai; and faire, ferai*!¹⁷ The appearance now of *y*, now of *i*, in the various forms of *croire, employer, asseoir*, etc., Mr. Snow explains under the heading of “Orthographic Conventions,” and he says: “Certain verbs use the letter *y* before a pronounced vowel and *i* before mute *e* or a consonant.”¹⁸ This can hardly be an “orthographic” convention, since Mr. Snow’s own phonetic transcription shows a different pronunciation for *y* and *i* in *employons* and *emploient*. More than this, it is well to remember that where two spellings are allowed, e. g., *paye* and *paie*, two pronunciations certainly exist in modern speech.¹⁹

⁴ *E. g.*, p. 28, § 46; p. 96, § 136.

⁵ *E. g.*, p. 131, § 200; the first sentence set for the pupil to change.

⁶ *E. g.*, p. 46, § 68; the first sentence of the explanation.

⁷ P. 91, § 128.

⁸ See p. iii, second sentence.

⁹ P. 119, § 170.

¹⁰ P. 65, § 97.

¹¹ *E. g.*, p. 13, § 20.

¹² Pp. 28, 96, 56.

¹³ P. 21, § 36, 2.

¹⁴ P. 107, § 147.

¹⁵ It would be well to note that the rules here given apply solely to *il* and *ce* as subjects of *être* and even then only provided *être* has its ordinary meaning. When *être* indicates time or position, for instance, they do not obtain.

¹⁶ The exceptions are the same as those given by Mr. Snow.

¹⁷ P. 69, § 99. These forms cannot of course be considered as examples of the preceding statement.

¹⁸ P. 29, § 47.

¹⁹ However close the connection, if any, may be between the written and the spoken forms.

In summing up, we would say that this book is an interesting experiment. It evidently has as a foundation a collection of helpful notes prepared for class-room use. Whether or not the author has been able to construct upon this foundation a new system of grammar which teachers in general will find satisfactory, we are unable to say. The only fair test for a volume written along these lines is a year's use in the class-room.²⁰

Our third grammar, *Essentials of French*, is also fitted primarily for school-room use rather than for reference. In general Mr. François's manner of exposition is this: he heads each paragraph with a number of illustrative sentences, stating immediately below these the point he wishes to make; thereupon follows a vocabulary (with ample repetition from one lesson to the next); and finally come exercises in translation from French into English and from English into French with the occasional addition of an interesting reading lesson. The novelty of the book—as far as it is a novelty—lies in the application of the principle that “on n'apprend bien une langue qu'en la comparant à une autre déjà connue.”¹ This leads at times to an interesting way of putting things, such as, for instance, on p. 248: “He

²⁰ For the benefit of those desiring to make this test, we add the following suggestions and corrections:

Page 10, “petiole” is in English pronounced as written, not with *ti=s* or *sh*, as the statement would perhaps suggest.—Page 7, cross out the sentence about the tilde; otherwise the student will take it for a regular sign of French orthography.—P. 12, the phonetic alphabet should be so placed as to be helped by the French sounds explained on p. 30.—Page 41, the answers to the exercises appear by mistake at the foot of the page in the transcription.—Page 126, *hier, là, tôt* should receive special mention; to the beginner they seem quite as “short, common and unstressed” as *trop* and to be entitled to occupy the same position.—In general, though perhaps contrary to the general plan of the work, the insertion of cross references and the translation of French sentences quoted as examples would, in our estimation, greatly add to the usefulness of this book.

¹ See the title page; also the preface, p. 3.

is, she is, . . . are translated by *il est, elle est*, when answering the questions . . . *What is his, her, profession, business, nationality, etc.,*” whereas “*He is, she is* . . . are translated by *c'est* . . . when answering the question . . . *Who is he or she?*”² or such as the statement on p. 165: “Notice . . . that *plusieurs* is not followed by *de* except when *of* is expressed in English.”

Taken as a whole, this *Essentials of French* is a careful and accurate piece of work. It will not do at all for those who believe in mastering the various divisions of elementary grammar one at a time. This is not its aim. By those, on the other hand, who wish to give their pupils parts of various subjects in each lesson and to keep many threads going simultaneously, it will no doubt be found very satisfactory. Indeed it is remarkably free from the obscurities and slips which this somewhat scrappy method of treatment encourages. We have, however, noted a few. Given without further explanation,³ it is hard to get the meaning of two such statements as: “*Pas* is usually omitted in subjunctive clauses when the main clause is negative or impliedly so”⁴ (What about *vous n'êtes pas content que nous ne soyons pas en retard?*), and: “The preposition *à* is expressed in French and followed by the stressed or disjunctive personal pronoun object . . . whenever the personal pronouns *me, te, nous, vous, se* are direct objects.”⁵ In § 672, there appears not obscurity, but what we are tempted to call an error. Mr. François states that “if the noun is represented by *en*” (as in the second part of *Ces fleurs sont jolies: il y en a de blanches, de rouges, et de jaunes*), “*de* alone and not *des* is used.” This rule is not, we think, generally followed in France. In the treatment of

² Mr. François adds here “or when the predicate is modified by an adjective of quality.”

³ The pupil can hardly be expected to use the illustrative sentences for anything more than confirmation of the statements made below them.

⁴ § 620.

⁵ § 584. We need some indication that this rule refers to the use of *two* pronouns with the same verb, otherwise the pupil might write *Il voit à nous*—He sees us.

verbs, we should suggest, as a help in teaching the irregularities of verbs like *acquéirir*, *mourir*, *valoir*, etc., the use of seven principal parts, i. e., the addition of the Future and the Pres. Subjunctive. In general, throughout the book, we should suggest that when giving the first simple rules which are to be modified in later lessons, Mr. François should more frequently prepare the pupil for such subsequent modifications. With the average pupil a first impression is very tenacious. Having learned in § 501 that a repeated conjunction is replaced by *que* "followed by the tense and the mood required by the first conjunction," he may find it difficult to remember the rule given in § 520 to the effect that "*que* replacing the conjunction *si*, is followed by the subjunctive."

No notice of this trustworthy grammar would be complete without mention of the appendix, where may be found tabulated in fairly convenient form those paradigms of which the *disjecta membra* are to be found in the preceding pages.

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Consuelo, comedia en tres actos y en verso, por ADELARDO LÓPEZ DE AYALA. Edited with introduction and notes by AURELIO M. ESPINOSA. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911. 16mo., x + 212 pp.

No other of Ayala's plays has, to my knowledge, received editing for the use of American students. In his preface, Professor Espinosa indicates that the present volume is destined "for use in the advanced Spanish classes of the colleges and universities of the United States." Ayala's position in the last century is that of a dramatic poet whose work aided largely the reestablishment of correct theatrical taste in Spain, who defined and established rules of dramatic art in conformity with the modern spirit, and who reconciled warring schools and tendencies. While the difficulties of the author's style are not unusually great, the general excellence of his work, and of the present play

in particular, from the view-point of artistic literary workmanship, and the remarkable adaptability of its plot to logical analysis, make the text chosen a singularly happy one for classes whose members may be supposed to be, at least to some extent, students of literature as such. Pupils of this grade will have the added advantage of being able to study the play in the light of the author's own analysis of its plot and characters,—a fact worthy of more attention than the mere mention in the editor's preface. Finally, the introductory material includes a list of the principal sources of biographical and critical material.

The introduction, which aims at suggestiveness rather than completeness, acquaints the student with the essential facts in the author's life and with his position in literary history. I note, however, a few errors of detail. There is no play of Ayala's entitled *La Primita y el luto*; *La primita y el tutor* is no doubt intended. The author's university career at Seville was limited to a year or so and he could hardly have finished the course. It is not made clear that *Los dos Guzmanes* and the play of the same name mentioned on the following page are the same early effort, written in 1843 at the age of sixteen and played for the first time March 20, 1851. *Castigo y perdón* (the definite articles do not appear on the title page) was first produced November 21, 1851. Ayala was president of the lower house of the Spanish Cortes, the Congreso de los Diputados, not of the Cortes itself.

The editor follows Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. s. v. Ayala) and Blanco García (p. 175) in giving the date of Ayala's death as January 30, 1879. P. A. de Alarcón (Preface to vol. VII of the *Obras*, p. 8), and J. O. Picón (*Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, vol. II, p. 398), as well as the writer of the article in Montaner y Simón's *Diccionario enciclopédico*, give December 30 of the same year (1879). Alarcón and Picón were writing but a few years after the death of the dramatist and must have known him well. Conclusive evidence is furnished, however, by the Madrid dispatch to the London *Times* of December 31, 1879. This dispatch, dated De-

cember 30, 1879, puts his death "at 3 o'clock this afternoon, after a short illness," and adds that "he was universally respected both for his personal merits and his conscientious conduct during a long political career."

Finally, some account of the principles of Spanish versification would add to the convenience of the book for those students who may not have at hand either of the two excellent articles mentioned in the preface.

The text followed is that of the *Colección de escritores castellanos dramáticos, Obras completas de D. Adelardo López de Ayala*, v. III (1882), the accentuation being slightly altered in some cases to conform to present day rules. Galician words appear in italics.¹

The notes are very full and cover practically all of the points which should present difficulty to advanced students. The frequent grammatical references to Ramsey and to Bello-Cuervo are of great utility. The translations are rather numerous (some teachers might perhaps find them too much so), but they refer, for the most part, to somewhat odd Spanish idioms or colloquialisms. One is especially grateful for the note which directs the student to bear in mind the psychology of the situation in translating such expressions as ¡Dios!, ¡Jesus!, and the like. The following suggestions, though each of small importance in itself, may as a whole add slightly to the completeness of the notes:

Page 6, line 7, *se me antoja*. The translation suggested, "I have a mind to", does not fit well into the context. Rita has an explanation of her own for Consuelo's unusually careful toilet, and her words seem to mean, 'I fancy', or 'It occurs to me . . . '.

P. 20, l. 30. *De que* should be translated 'that'.

P. 28, l. 13. *¿De qué?* refers to *Sea enhorabuena*.

P. 35, l. 4 should have a note explaining that *para* is from *parar* and that its subject is *él* (understood) referring to *mozo* (l. 3).

¹ In this connection the following corrections should be made: P. 76, l. 16, *muñeira*; p. 146, l. 13, *faga*; p. 149, l. 20, *pallares*; p. 150, l. 4, *non*; p. 151, l. 21, *populares*.

P. 40, l. 11, *Para, si logra parar*. *Para* is again the present indicative of *parar*, and not *para* is from *parar* and that its subject is *él* 134, l. 18.)

P. 45, l. 9, *los civiles*. It would be well perhaps to indicate the nature of this fine body of men.

P. 51, l. 25. The Royal Academy of Fine Arts does not now, I believe, contain any paintings by Velazquez, these having been removed with others to the Prado about ten years ago. The most notable pictures remaining are those by Goya, Murillo, Ribera and Zubarán.

P. 57, l. 6, *Lo de Fernando*. 'The affair with Fernando', meaning their tacit engagement.

P. 71, l. 7 *¿Vuelve ya?*. The translation given, "Is she coming too?", has little meaning, even if "too" is a misprint for "to". The question is addressed to Lorenzo and concerns Ricardo, whose return Consuelo has been dreading. (Cf. p. 70, l. 7 and p. 71, l. 10.)

P. 74, l. 5. *Engatusar* means 'to inveigle'.

P. 74, l. 6, *paisana*. Translate 'country-woman'.

P. 80, l. 6 should perhaps have a note calling attention to the somewhat feeble witticism of *ancha* and *estrecha*.

P. 97, l. 4. The *Goupil* of the text is evidently the well known Maison Goupil, founded in Paris in 1827 and still engaged in the business of publishing artistic reproductions and *éditions de luxe*. It is apparently one of the publications of this house that is mentioned as *Bella edición* (p. 96, ll. 15 and 16).

P. 97, l. 11. Translate 'And what if he should marry her!'

P. 100, ll. 4-6. In his note to this passage, the editor seems to have lost track momentarily of the circumstances of the action already set forth. The meaning is something like this: 'who will get out of his head the third errand (the doing of) which he imputes to me?' or 'which he blames me for?' (Cf. p. 80, l. 23 and p. 81, l. 15). Rita is as much puzzled about the mysterious third errand as Lorenzo.

P. 100, ll. 6-7. *Que lo indague ó que reviente*. These lines are slightly ambiguous. I am inclined to supply *él* instead of *yo* and translate

'Let him find out (the truth) or die in the attempt'.

P. 105, l. 6. *Mar de fondo* is on p. 106, l. 3. The translation suggested, "An ocean in truth = a great mystery" does not seem very happy, and in fact there was no mystery in the matter for Fulgencio. The expression is to be taken figuratively in the sense of a domestic upheaval.

P. 117, l. 1. *A prevención*, not "to make sure of it" but 'to be in readiness' (nearly equivalent to *por si acaso*).

P. 140, l. 2, *gentes*. It is not necessary to supply *honradas*.

P. 143, l. 5, *de trapillo*, 'in house-dress' or 'negligée'.

P. 149, l. 15, *teño sufridas*. Although originally a Portuguese construction (Cf. Bello-Cuervo, note 97), the use of *tener* as an auxiliary with the past participle of a transitive verb may now be said to be sufficiently Spanish (*Id.* 441 and 708).

P. 174, ll. 1-2. *Y eres tú, tú quien afrenta la casa en que vivo yo*. Here it is a question of the agreement of a verb which has for its subject one of the relatives *el que* or *quien*, the antecedent being of the 1st or 2nd person. The editor quotes Bello-Cuervo (849) to the effect that in such cases it is better to put the verb in the 3rd person, as the author has here done. He adds that both agreements are found in actual usage, and cites several examples to illustrate each. Those showing the verb in the 3rd person are unexceptionable except that the second contains only the simple relative *que*. The examples which are intended to show the agreement of the verb with an antecedent of the 1st or 2nd person are as follows:

- (b) "Esa persona soy yo." (Juan Valera)
 "Quien la cuida soy yo." (José Echegaray)
 "El que desatina eras tú." (*Ibid.*)
 "Aquí el ignorante soy yo." (Pérez Galdós)
 "Soy yo quien se traslada." (Pérez Escribá)

Curiously enough none of these examples illustrates the agreement in question. The first and fourth contain no relatives. In the second, the subject of *soy* is *yo*; in the third, that of *eras* is *tú* and similarly in the fifth *yo* is the subject of *soy*. Examples of this construction

after *quien* or *el que* are comparatively rare and seem to be appropriate to emphatic or emotional style (Cf. Bello-Cuervo, note 110). Examples are:

Yo soy, señor, el que vivo
 en vuestro reino olvidado.

(Núñez de Arce, *El haz de leña*, Act I, Scene IX).

¡Parece que vos
 sois ahora el que teméis,
 y mala cara ponéis
 á los muertos?

(Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, segunda parte, Act. I, Scene VI).

After *que*, the verb preferably agrees with the antecedent, as in the following:

Y tú, insensato,
 que me llamas vil ladrón, . . .

(*Id.*, primera parte, Act IV, Scene X).

" . . . yo, que hasta hoy consentí en vuestro enlace con Isabel,
 he visto por último que de él iba á resultar su desgracia y la vuestra."

(Hartzenbusch, *Los amantes de Teruel*, Act II, Scene VIII).

P. 187, l. 2. No verb is to be understood with *que se va*. *Que* is the relative, not the conjunction (Cf. p. 71, l. 10).

Following the notes is a complete list of the Portuguese and Galician words which appear in the text, with their Spanish equivalents, and the Latin etyma in those cases where the words in question are phonetic equivalents considered in their historical development. In the case of *carrapucheiriña*, where the student is referred to the note, page and line should be given (p. 148, l. 24), to facilitate future reference. At the close, the inquiring or ambitious student is referred to Menéndez Pidal, Cornu and Bourciez.

I have noticed the following misprints: P. x, foot-notes 1 and 2, read *Revue Hispanique*;—p. 6, l. 3, read *éa*;—p. 24, ll. 15-16 should be given to Fernando instead of to Antonia;—p. 50, l. 17, read *éa*;—p. 56, l. 15, read *circunstancias*;—p. 107, l. 13, read *regaló*;—p. 114, l. 9, read *construimos*;—p. 125, l. 4, read *esa*;—p. 131, l. 14, read *del*;—p. 180, l. 12, read *este*;—note to p. 100, ll. 6-7, read *reviente*;—note

to p. 105, l. 6, before *Mar de fondo* read p. 106, l. 3;—note to p. 106, ll. 5–6, read *lackey*;—note to p. 137, l. 2, read See p. 33, l. 12.

Withal the book is compact, well bound and printed, and convenient to use. It is a welcome addition to the small number of nineteenth century plays at present available for class use in this country. For students beyond the third semester of college work, it will be found to present admirable material for study, both along linguistic and literary lines, together with a Spanish atmosphere unusual in an American edition.

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A History of French Literature, by C. H. CONRAD WRIGHT. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1912. xiv + 964 pp. 8vo.

M. Wright publie, après bien d'autres, une histoire de la littérature française des origines à nos jours. Il s'est proposé, dit-il en sa *Préface* (p. vii), d'écrire pour les lecteurs ou étudiants de langue anglaise un livre qui fût autre chose qu'une esquisse par trop sèche et qu'un simple répertoire de faits. Ne prétendant point connaître de première main tous les auteurs et toutes les œuvres, il s'en est souvent rapporté aux spécialistes dont il mentionne les travaux dans une copieuse bibliographie.

Voilà donc un manuel "scientifique" qui vise à être moins aride que les manuels ordinaires. But légitime et louable, assurément, mais but qu'on ne saurait atteindre, ce semble, qu'en sacrifiant l'analyse esthétique et les idées générales à la partie matérielle de l'histoire littéraire, ou inversement. J'ai l'impression que M. Wright n'a voulu faire aucun sacrifice: de là résulte, sauf erreur, le caractère le plus marqué de son livre, d'être incontestablement nécessaire . . . à un public presque impossible à définir. Les simples curieux d'histoire littéraire ne sauraient trouver qu'un plaisir médi-

ocre¹ en cet ouvrage trop copieusement nourri de faits et de dates. Les étudiants des *colleges* seront peut-être rebutés par l'ampleur du volume (880 pages d'un texte très compact), l'uniformité typographique, l'absence de sommaires, résumés ou manchettes indiquant les divisions de chaque chapitre ou le passage d'un auteur à un autre: le manuel dont ils ont besoin existe bien dans le livre de M. Wright, mais il faut commencer par l'en extraire. Quant aux étudiants avancés, ils ne pourront que se féliciter des efforts de M. Wright.²

Tout d'abord, la bibliographie (pp. 883–937) leur sera, sans aucun doute, fort utile. Elle comprend une partie générale (énumération des principaux instruments de travail — imprimés) et une partie "systématique" renvoyant aux différents chapitres du texte. Ces deux parties sont, à tout prendre, copieuses et solides. Il semble toutefois que M. Wright n'ait pas voulu nettement choisir entre une bibliographie critique et une bibliographie "pédagogique", d'où certaines bizarreries. Ainsi, dans la partie générale, on rencontre sans surprise (p. 893) la *Revue critique des livres nouveaux*, mais on est surpris de ne rencontrer ni la *Revue de philologie française et de littérature*, ni la *Revue de la Renaissance*, ni les *Annales romantiques*; pourquoi omettre, parmi les périodiques qui tiennent au courant de la science (p. 892), le *Kritischer Jahresbericht* de Vollmöller? Si l'on admet le dictionnaire de Richelet, pourquoi écarter celui de Furetière

¹ Je suis mauvais juge du style. Il m'a paru, à Pordinaire, neutre, froid et quelque peu hautain; de plus compétents affirment qu'il n'évite pas toujours la trivialité (cf. *The New York Post*, 3 août 1912).

² L'impression ne laisse presque rien à désirer. Pourtant il serait souhaitable que beaucoup de vers français fussent plus correctement cités; aux exemples relevés par M. Roustau (*Revue critique*, 7 décembre 1912, pp. 455–456, n.) on peut ajouter: pp. 20, 43, 75, 176, 507, 660, 668, 793, 809. Pour d'autres fautes d'impression dans des mots français, v. pp. 33, 73, 186, 723, 896; dans la *Bibliographie*, *passim*, l. Darmesteter au lieu de Darmsteter; p. 147, la *Concorde des deux langues* est à la page suivante la *Concorde des deux languais* (qui est le vrai titre); p. 606, l. *Le lépreux de la cité d'Aoste*; p. 776, l. *Madame Gervaisaie*; p. 771, l. *Fromont jeune* . . .; p. 875, l. *La Chanson des gueux*.

et les éditions du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* antérieures à 1878 (p. 896)? Il suffisait, à la rigueur, de mentionner le *History of French Versification* de Kastner où sont énumérés tous les travaux cités par M. Wright (p. 897), et il ne fallait pas oublier le *Petit traité de versification française* ni *Le vers français* de M. Grammont. —La bibliographie systématique est inégale et pêche tout ensemble par défaut et par excès. Elle est inégale, en ce sens qu'à partir du début du 18^e siècle M. Wright cesse d'indiquer (sauf pour Voltaire) les éditions des auteurs et néglige des études souvent plus importantes que celles qu'il accumule pour les 16^e et 17^e siècles. —Elle pêche par défaut: certes, M. Wright ne prétend point à être complet (p. 898); mais fallait-il exclure de la liste des ouvrages qu'il retient comme particulièrement utiles *l'Histoire de la Gaule* de Jullian, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* de Roger, le *d'Aubigné* de Rocheblave, *Le Drame des Poisons* de Funck-Brentano, le *Fénelon* et *Madame Guyon* de Masson, les études de Farinelli et de Counson sur *Dante en France*, l'article de Baldensperger sur *Shakespeare en France*. (les autres mémoires des *Etudes d'histoire littéraire* sont presque tous enregistrés en leur lieu), les livres de Romain Rolland sur *Lulli* et les origines de *l'Opéra*, de Martino sur *L'Orient dans la littérature française* . . ., de Pellissier sur *Voltaire philosophe*, de Maigrone sur *Le roman historique à l'époque romantique*, de Gaschet sur *La jeunesse de Paul-Louis Courier*, d'Herriot sur *Madame Récamier*, etc.? Pour les grandes œuvres du moyen âge il y a souvent des éditions plus récentes ou plus utiles que celles que signale M. Wright: on a publié *Aliscans* depuis Guessard et la *Chanson de Roland* de Léon Gautier peut rendre aux étudiants plus de services que les éditions de Müller et de Stengel. —Cette bibliographie pêche enfin par excès: un même ouvrage est cité deux fois pour le même chapitre (p. 921, Rigault et Brunetière; p. 932, Séché); pour quelques auteurs (p. ex., Gerson, p. 903; Pascal, p. 919), l'indication de deux ou trois des monographies les plus récentes eût suffi; il arrive encore qu'un article de revue et le volume où il a été réimprimé—sans dif-

férence de texte—soient mis bout à bout (cf. pp. 904, 910, 911, 917, 921, 922, 930).

Le tableau de la littérature est divisé en six périodes: moyen âge, 16^e siècle, 17^e siècle, 18^e siècle, 19^e siècle, 20^e siècle.—C'est la division traditionnelle, d'ailleurs pratique et défendable. Toutefois il y eût eu intérêt à distinguer tout au moins les 14^e et 15^e siècles du moyen âge proprement dit: on aurait mieux vu ainsi la préparation de la Renaissance et le développement de l'humanisme sur lesquels M. Wright a justement insisté.

L'étude du 20^e siècle—assez développée (plus de 50 pages)—est piquante, du moins en son premier chapitre (les tendances): on pourrait discuter—et l'on discute—de l'affaire Dreyfus, du bergsonisme, du modernisme et de la crise de la Sorbonne,³ etc.: en traitant avec détail de ces questions, M. Wright montre—et la chose vaut qu'on la signale—qu'il connaît et comprend les plus graves problèmes de la France actuelle.—Le deuxième chapitre (les auteurs) n'est à peu près qu'un catalogue alphabétique des écrivains avec dates et titres de leurs principaux ouvrages. Catalogue assurément commode: mais il faut renoncer à savoir comment les auteurs ont été choisis et quelles raisons littéraires ont mesuré la place à chacun d'eux; devait-on rejeter Péguy ou les frères Tharaud, si l'on adopte Jean Viollis ou Marius-Ary Leblond? Que près de deux pages. (64 lignes) soient consacrées à Rostand (Edmond), rien de mieux; mais que Brieux, de Curel, Paul Hervieu, Porto-Riche, Henri de Régnier et Richepin n'occupent à eux tous que 64 lignes, voilà qui est d'une extrême parcimonie.

³ M. Tilley a déjà protesté (*Modern Language Review*, VIII, 125) contre le prétendu "germanisme" des thèses françaises de littérature.—L'interprétation de l'attitude nouvelle de M. Lanson (p. 839)—qui estime aujourd'hui plus qu'il ne le fit naguère les écrivains "qui n'attachent de prix aux idées qu'en raison des faits qu'elles expriment et de la prise qu'elles donnent sur les faits"—n'est peut-être pas très exacte. Est-ce "germanisme", comme le pense M. Wright? Et l'esprit germanique est-il donc si "réaliste"? N'est-ce pas plutôt que M. Lanson inclinerait maintenant à croire qu'il est, selon le mot d'Anatole France, "plus facile de créer le monde que de le comprendre"?

Dans la partie qui va des origines à la fin du 19^e siècle, M. Wright a entassé une foule prodigieuse de faits, de dates, de titres et d'analyses d'œuvres. Il arrive trop souvent que le désir d'être complet⁴ lui fasse juxtaposer sans aucune appréciation littéraire des auteurs, d'ordinaire obscurs, mais qui parfois méritaient mieux: v. pp. 78-79, 172-173, 214, 298, 681. Ces faits et ces dates témoignent clairement d'une très grande étendue et d'une très réelle solidité de connaissances et l'on peut en général se fier aux *data* enregistrés par M. Wright.⁵— Dans chaque siècle la matière est distribuée par grands auteurs et par genres. En quelques cas —plus nombreux, à ce qu'il m'a semblé, dans l'*Histoire* de M. Wright qu'en d'autres ouvrages du même genre—, le conflit entre ces deux systèmes est regrettable: ainsi, le chapitre V du moyen âge traite de l'histoire; Commines y figure à la page 61 et n'a même pas un rappel au chapitre du XV^e siècle qui ne vient qu'à la page 111.—Au 17^e siècle, la querelle des anciens et des modernes est racontée dans le chapitre consacré surtout à Boileau. C'est l'histoire de la critique, dira-t-on. Sans doute, et cela se pourrait défendre si ce chapitre terminait le 17^e

siècle; mais il est suivi de cinq chapitres sur Bossuet, Fénelon, les femmes du grand siècle, les moralistes, La Fontaine. Ne perd-on pas de vue l'importance de cette querelle et le rôle de La Bruyère et de Fénelon dans le passage du 17^e siècle au 18^e?—Au 19^e siècle, l'histoire du mélodrame, qui a influencé le drame romantique, vient après celle des poètes romantiques.—Ces quelques exemples montrent aussi que l'ordre des chapitres est souvent illogique: pourquoi intercaler Rabelais entre les platonistes et la Pléiade? Pourquoi placer Rousseau avant Diderot et Buffon, et les poètes du 18^e siècle après les philosophes, alors que la tragédie et le roman figurent en tête de la section consacrée à ce siècle?

Ce classement mécanique et qui semble fait un peu au hasard risque de nuire à l'intelligence des mouvements d'idées et des rapports entre la littérature et la vie sociale. Le danger est d'autant plus grave que ces rapports—sur lesquels M. Wright se propose pourtant d'insister (p. vii)—ne sont pas toujours dégagés avec l'ampleur désirable: il y a bien des tableaux du milieu social et intellectuel au début du moyen âge (quoiqu'il n'y soit point fait état de la féodalité) et au début des autres grandes périodes, mais ces tableaux restent *extérieurs* aux mouvements littéraires: pour le 18^e siècle, par exemple, ce n'est pas assez de quelques lignes (pp. 465-466) sur le développement du journalisme, d'autant plus que nous n'apprenons presque rien des relations entre la France et l'étranger et rien de la condition des gens de lettres.—C'est qu'à cet égard M. Wright s'intéresse beaucoup plus aux idées abstraites et à la philosophie spéculative qu'aux milieux et aux mœurs littéraires: il a écrit—c'est la nouveauté de son manuel—de longs et importants chapitres sur la scolastique, sur Ramus, sur Descartes, etc., mais il ne ressort même pas de ces chapitres ce qui, seul, a un intérêt pour la littérature; est-il bien nécessaire d'analyser la *Dialectique* de Ramus (p. 203) et de donner les trois preuves de l'existence de Dieu selon Descartes (p. 325)?

L'accumulation des notions précises et techniques, le désir de ne rien omettre, le goût des idées philosophiques ont pour résultat éminent

⁴ Je n'ai pas rencontré Adenet le Roi, Collé, Vadé, Antoine de la Salle (le *Petit Jehan de Saintré* est glissé en note à la p. 144 et le livre de Söderjhelm, mais non celui de Nève, est mentionné à la p. 904).

⁵ Aux quelques erreurs relevées par MM. Roustan et Tilley, on pourrait ajouter: p. 13: parmi les abbayes les plus importantes du moyen âge figurent *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* et *Fleury-sur-Loire*; ces deux abbayes n'en font qu'une: v. U. Chevalier, *Topobibliographie*, p. 1117;—p. 14, n. 1: la théorie de M. Bédier sur la formation des chansons de geste est qualifiée de "pilgrimage theory"; c'est une légende qu'il faut empêcher de naître (cf. *Romania*, xli, p. 29;—p. 72: "southern" est trop vague pour caractériser le dialecte du *Sponsus* (cf. *Romania*, xxii, p. 920);—p. 254: il y a eu des "libertins" en pleine période classique et "libertin" ne signifie pas "débauché" dans la première moitié du 17^e siècle;—p. 507: Voltaire était revenu à Paris avant la mort de Mme du Châtelet;—p. 671: on croira malaisément que la poésie de Lamartine, quand elle est excellente, soit "claire et limpide", à preuve le *Crucifix*;—p. 677: Musset, Pagello et George Sand n'ont pas "essayé de l'amour à trois" dès le début de leur rencontre à Venise;—p. 762: pour écrire *Salammbo*, Flaubert s'est documenté autrement que par un "court voyage" en Afrique.

que le côté proprement littéraire est le plus négligé et, pour tout dire, le plus médiocre. Chose grave en tout livre de cette étendue; chose plus grave, à mon sens, en un livre destiné essentiellement aux étudiants avancés d'Amérique. Pour les œuvres secondaires, obscures ou même inconnues, qui n'ont d'autre intérêt que l'intérêt historique, M. Wright est copieux, clair et excellent : il a de fort bons chapitres sur l'origine et les débuts des genres et il est peu de manuels où l'on ait fait une aussi large part à ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler les "sources". S'agit-il, au contraire, de faire revivre la personnalité d'un grand auteur et d'essayer d'atteindre le fond même de son œuvre, M. Wright disparaît, ou juge d'un ton cavalier et tranchant, ou—ce qui est pis—s'abrite derrière autrui : nulle part—qu'il soit question d'un mouvement général ou d'une œuvre individuelle—il n'y a trace d'une organisation intime des faits autour des idées centrales, organisation qui exige autant de sympathie que d'intelligence. M. Wright ne tente pas de dominer sa matière; il ne compose que par juxtaposition, et rien n'est plus monotone que le défilé de ces paragraphes dont on sait mal pourquoi celui-ci vient le premier et cet autre le dernier.—Voici, par exemple, le chapitre II du moyen âge, l'épopée : après l'exposé des théories relatives aux origines, on passe aux transformations du genre en France et à son influence à l'étranger; ce n'est qu'ensuite qu'il est question des cycles et des caractères généraux des poèmes et ce chapitre se termine—j'allais écrire ose se terminer—par les analyses juxtaposées de la *Chanson de Roland*, d'*Aliscans* et de *Huon de Bordeaux*.—Prenons Corneille : après sa biographie, on trouve une caractéristique générale de son théâtre . . . qui revient, abrégée, à la suite de l'examen de ses principales tragédies. Pourquoi, si l'on analyse les pièces, apprécier avant d'avoir fait cette analyse?—De même, l'influence de Rousseau est étudiée avant que son œuvre soit connue du lecteur et, lorsqu'elle est connue, il est à nouveau question de cette influence.—Encore les chapitres sur Corneille et Rousseau ont-ils un semblant de conclusion; mais il n'en va pas de même pour bien d'autres (Voltaire, Hugo, etc.).

C'est visiblement à contre-cœur que M. Wright fait de la critique littéraire. Soit Regnier (pp. 257 sqq.) : le livre de Vianey fournit la biographie du poète, l'histoire de la satire avant Regnier et l'énumération très complète de ses sources; puis, M. Wright abandonne Vianey et se borne à dire que Regnier est rabelaisien et immoral, qu'on connaît de lui la satire contre Malherbe et *Macette*. Du réalisme de Regnier, de son talent de peintre de mœurs et d'attitudes, nulles nouvelles.—Soit encore Molière : on ne trouve rien sur la vérité humaine de son théâtre, son art dramatique, les sources et la valeur de son comique, sa langue, son style; on apprend seulement en manière de conclusion que Molière manque d'idéal . . . parce qu'il préfère l' "ordinaire et bête Henriette" aux Cathos, aux Madelons et aux Bélises (p. 375).—A l'ordinaire, M. Wright craint de se prononcer et oppose l'opinion de M. X * * * à l'opinion de M. Y * * * (cf. pp. 96, n. 1, 264, n. 2, 321, et *passim*) : ainsi, dans le chapitre sur Racine, défilent M. Lemaitre, et M. Larroumet, et la formule d'*Andromaque* de M. Janet, et—en un quart d'une précieuse page (354)—la plaisanterie de Hugo sur *Bérénice*, et M. Robert.—C'est là surtout ce qui me paraît inquiétant dans ce livre : en tant que recueil de faits, il est peut-être le plus complet et le plus sûr qui existe sous ce volume; en tant qu'il vise à être autre chose (puisqu'il y vise), le manque d'idées directrices, l'absence de plan et le mélange des opinions tranchées et des jugements d'autrui en font un ouvrage aussi décevant que peu "suggestif". A chaque page M. Wright montre comment on écrit une histoire de la littérature française avec des travaux de seconde ou de troisième main; jamais il n'engage son lecteur à se faire un jugement personnel par la lecture des textes et la méditation sur les textes.

M. Wright, en sa *Préface* (pp. viii-ix), déclare qu'il a pour la France et la littérature française une sympathie profonde, et regrette que le résultat de ses efforts ne réponde pas à ses désirs : je ne puis que souscrire, avec de très sympathiques regrets, à ce double aveu.

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Boileau et l'Italie par GABRIEL MAUGAIN.
Paris, Champion, 1912. 103 pp. (Extrait
des *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble*,
Tome XXIV.)

"La présente étude n'a d'autre ambition que d'apporter une petite pierre au futur édifice [that is, of a history 'des relations intellectuelles de la France et de l'Italie']. Elle comprend deux parties, dont l'une cherche quelle place l'Italie occupe dans l'œuvre de Boileau. Il était important de déterminer avec un peu de précision à quels écrivains de la Péninsule s'en prend ce fameux adversaire de la culture italienne et quels griefs il élève contre eux, jusqu'à quel point il était compétent pour les juger, dans quelle mesure il a contribué à les discréditer en France, eux et la langue de leur pays, dans quelles limites il a, malgré tout, ressenti leur influence.

"La deuxième partie de notre étude nous transporte en Italie. Y a-t-on édité les œuvres de Boileau? Comment les a-t-on jugées? Quelqu'un les a-t-il imitées? Des poètes y ont-ils cherché des conseils? A ces questions nous répondons sans prétendre jamais apporter des résultats complets et définitifs."

These introductory words plainly indicate the character of Professor Maugain's quest. His results are, in truth, not always "complets et définitifs," but his surmises are almost invariably stated as such (some with that well-worn phrase *sans doute*) and he has ascertained several facts which students in his field will be glad to note.

Did Boileau know Italian? He could at least read it (pp. 11-20). Did Boileau imitate Italian works? Apparently he owes something to Scaliger, possibly a verse to Folengo, and a simile to Bembo. That he drew upon *Orlando Furioso* or the *Secchia Rapita* for passages in his *Lutrin* is likely, and Professor Maugain quotes to back his surmise. Here is his conclusion:

"En somme, à quoi se réduit l'imitation italienne dans l'œuvre de Boileau? Pour la conception générale de son *Lutrin*, il a eu en Tassoni un modèle. Dans un épisode de son poème héroïque, il s'est rappelé, mais librement, quelques octaves du *Furioso*. Sept ou huit fois, il a pu faire passer dans ses œuvres, sans la moindre servilité, quelques courts passages de

Tassoni, de Folengo, de Bembo." (Pages 21-23.)

Professor Maugain shows that Boileau looked down upon most of the Italian literature that he knew. Of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, he seems to have known nothing. Tasso he dispatches with a flippant verse launched at a French courtier who prefers "le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile." Italian influences, moral and artistic, he scorns. Boileau's hostility, our author thinks, has had much to do with the decline of French interest in Italian literature, which has even now only a slight popularity in France.

In the second part of his contribution Professor Maugain shows that Boileau's influence in Italy began as early as 1680 and continued well into the nineteenth century, and he quotes, with judicious comments, numerous representative Italian opinions of Boileau and his works. From the evidence gathered it is clear that Boileau's estimates, though sometimes favorable, were biased by his patriotism and by his personal ambitions. He belongs, therefore, to a very large class of (influential) critics whose judgments must be corrected or reversed, and, above all things, require to be fairly set forth. This has been done in the present work, and the value of the contribution is enhanced by a rich bibliography, a really exact *Table des matières*, and by an Index. This feature, it is gratifying to note, is becoming more and more common in the learned books of France.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ST. BERNARD AND RAOUL DE HOUDENC

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In one of the *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum* of St. Bernard occurs the following passage:¹ "Festinemus proinde, filii, festinemus ad locum tutiorem, ad pastum suaviorem, ad uberiorem et fertiliorem agrum. Festinemus;

¹ *S. Bernardi Opera Omnia*, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CLXXXIII, col. 952-953.

ut habitemus sine metu, abundemus sine defectu, epulemur sine fastidio." This passage is the source of vy. 1100-1134 of Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe de Paradis*:²

Je vic en un livre jadis,
Où sains Bernars nous soumounoit,
Et mout durement nous hastoit;
Com fieus nous apieloit li sains,
Qui consaus est et boins et sains
Pour issir hors de tout peril.
Il disoit: "Hastons nous, mi fil,
"D'aler errant al seür liu,
"Où il n'a ne coust ne aliu;"
C'est en Paradis, là amont,
Où sains Bernars nos soumont,
Après l'apiele "lieu seür,"
Et aler i a grant eür,
Quar on i a tout che k'on vient.
Anuis n'i tient ne cuers n'i dieut.
Encor l'apiele "souef past:"
Nus n'est malades n'i respast,
S'il mengue de la viande.
Dont sains Bernars est si engrande
Que nous i hastons de l'aler;
Dieus nous i maint sans ravalier!
Encor l'apiele "camp plentiu;"
Trop couvenroit l'omme soutiu
Qui vorroit dire le bonté
De cel douc camp ne la plenté
De Paradis dont jou dit ai.
Sains Bernars nous met à l'assai,
Et si nous rueve tost haster,
Pour che que puissons abiter
Illuec sans mal et sans peeur
Et sans destrece et sans doleur,
Et que nous aiens compegnie
Sans anui avoec la mesnie
Des sains qui sont en sainte gloire;
Après Dius nous en doinst victoire!

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PARADISE LOST, VII, 15-20

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Paradise Lost*, VII, 15-20, Milton says:

"With like safety guided down
Return me to my native element;
Lest, from this flying steed unreined—as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime—

²P. p. Aug. Scheler, *Trouvères Belges, nouvelle série*, Louvain, 1879.

Dismounted, on the Aleian field I fall,
Erroneous there to wander and forlorn.—"

No one of the commentators explains clearly why Bellerophon had to wander alone, or why on this particular plain. Newton says: "Attempting vain-gloriously to mount up to Heaven, on the winged horse Pegasus, he fell and wandered in the Aleian plain till he died.—The truth of the story seems to be, that in his latter days he grew mad with his poetry, which Milton begs may never be his own case." The interpretation Newton here gives seems questionable. Does not Milton mean the defeat and loneliness of failure, rather than madness? But as regards the main point, Newton does not discuss, but merely states, the relation of the episode on the horse to the wandering.

Todd says: "Pope remarks, that Milton has interwoven the *offence* of Bellerophon with Homer's relation of this valiant youth," and then he quotes Newton. The modern editors simply repeat in various ways these explanations, sometimes with and sometimes without reference to Homer. In the sixth book of the *Iliad*, Hippolochus, in giving the history of his house, tells of the temptation and persecution of Bellerophon, closing the account with (ll. 200-02): "But when even Bellerophon came to be hated of all the gods, then wandered he alone in the Aleian plain, devouring his own soul, and avoiding the paths of men." Homer knows half the story Milton refers to; he knows about the wandering, but he does not understand the reason why Bellerophon should have been doomed to a life punishment. Pindar, on the other hand, gives the cause of the fall from Pegasus, but does not mention the after wandering and loneliness (*Isth.* vi, 45): "Thus did winged Pegasus throw his lord Bellerophon, when he would fain enter into the heavenly habitations and mix among the company of Zeus."

The question is, why should an aspirant to divine honors have been hated of all the gods, and have been condemned to so severe a fate without hope of release? Miss Jane E. Harrison, in *Prolegomena to Greek Religion* (pp. 219-221), offers the following explanation:

"Behind the notion of these accesses of fright, these nocturnal apparitions caused by ghosts, there is in the mind of Æschylus the still more primitive notion that the shed blood not only 'brings these apparitions to effect' but is itself a source of physical infection. . . . The Chorus in the Choephoroi sings:

Earth that feeds him hath drunk of the gore,
Blood calling for vengeance flows never more,
But stiffens, and pierces its way
Through the murderer, breeding diseases that none
may allay.

The blood poisons the earth, and thereby poisons the murderer fed by earth. As Dr. Verrall (*ad loc.*) points out, it is the old doctrine of the sentence of Cain, 'And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.'"

After telling the story of Alcmaeon, who slew his mother, she proceeds: "The case of Alcmaeon does not stand alone. It has a curious parallel in the fate that befell Bellerophon, a fate that, I think, has not hitherto been rightly understood.

"In Homer the end of Bellerophon is mysterious. After the episode with Sthenoboea, he goes to Lycia, is royally entertained, marries the king's daughter, rules over a fair domain, begets three goodly children, and then, suddenly, without warning, without manifest cause, he comes to be

'Hated of all the gods. And in the Aleian plain apart

He strayed, shunning men's foot-prints, consuming his own heart.'

Homer, with a poet's instinct for the romantic and mysterious, asks no questions; Pindar, with his Olympian prejudice, saw in the downfall of Bellerophon the proper meed of 'insolence.' . . .

"But the mythographers knew the real reason of the madness and the wandering, knew of the old sin against the old order. Apollodorus (II, 2-3) says: 'Bellerophon, son of Glaukos, son of Sisyphus, having slain unwittingly his brother Deliades, or, as some say, Peiren, and others Alkimenēs, came to Proetus and was purified.' On Bellerophon lay the *taboo*

of blood guilt. He came to Proetus, but, the sequel shows, was *not* purified. In those old days he could not be. Proetus sent him on to the king of Lycia, and the king of Lycia drove him yet further to the only land where he *could* dwell, the Aleian or Cilician plain. This Aleian plain was, like the mouth of the Ache-lous, *new land*, an alluvial deposit slowly recovered from the sea, ultimately in Strabo's time most fertile, but in Bellerophon's days a desolate salt-marsh. The madness of Bellerophon—for in Homer he is obviously mad—is the madness of Orestes, of the man blood-stained, Erinys-haunted; but the story of Bellerophon, like that of Alcmaeon, looks back to days even before the Erinys was formulated as a personality, to days when Earth herself was polluted, poisoned by shed blood."

This explanation affords an adequate reason for the hatred of the gods and for the banishment from men. If this be accepted, we must then suppose that, when men had forgotten the real cause for the punishment, or no longer considered the murder of a kinsman as so terrible a crime, the poets thought they found, in the aspiring flight on Pegasus, a sufficient cause for the suffering of Bellerophon.

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BRIEF MENTION

Eagerly as has been awaited the completion of the *Légendes épiques*, we are compensated for the gap of four years which separates the third and fourth¹ from the first two volumes. The earlier work was predominately destructive, the later is in equally large proportion constructive. It was well for Mr. Bédier and for his readers that there should be time to weigh both his evidence and the attacks upon it, and that its continuation and the conclusions should be presented, in as nearly as possible their final form, to an audience that has left behind it, as the case may be, the shock which followed the questioning of long-cherished theories or the first enthusiasm aroused by the new methods of viewing old facts. It is fortunate too that the *Chanson de Roland* was

¹ Paris: Champion, 1912. 431 and 512 pp.

reserved for this mature stage of the work. The central poem of the cycle takes to a higher degree than ever before, through this remarkable discussion, its rightful place as an integral part of French life and French history. The *Légendes épiques* thus furnishes the worthy continuation of the *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, and the names of pupil and master are linked by the large part they have each had in giving to the first great poem of France its true setting.

We have but to open the last two volumes to feel the new tone that pervades them. The structure that long housed the French epic literature is demolished; the author is building, and building with a sureness of touch that evidences how he has mastered his material in the time that has intervened since the earlier publication. We follow with keen interest page by page as Mr. Bédier develops the view of the *chansons de geste*, not as the product of any single phenomenon, such as the connection with pilgrim routes and pilgrim shrines or the alliance of clerks and jongleurs, but as the result of these and other phenomena: the product of the life and thought of the eleventh century—that century glorious in the annals of France as period of initiative and of force in religion, in war, in art, in poetry.

The publication of these volumes puts a term, in the life of their author, to seven years of fruitful research. In the new period upon which he is entering, the logic of our desires and of his competency marks out two enterprises as almost of necessity imposed upon him: an edition of the *Roland* to crown the *Légendes épiques*, and a testing of the material of the courtly epic by these new methods which in the analysis of the heroic epic have brought such striking results.

Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *La coja y el encogido*, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by J. Geddes, Jr. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1911. 16mo., xvii + 168 pp. Professor Geddes has made a desirable addition to the somewhat scanty list of available Spanish plays suitable for early reading in a college course. The plot, while inherently improbable, is sufficiently interesting to retain the attention of the student, and is clean without being mawkish or namby-pamby. The language is not prohibitively difficult for beginners, yet is idiomatic enough to be worth reading. The text is well-edited. The introduction gives an adequate account of Hartzenbusch's life and work and of his position in literature, with sufficient bibliographical material for fur-

ther study. The notes are clear and judicious, and not too numerous. The definitions in the vocabulary are generally accurate and cover the ground. In certain cases, definitions other than those given in the vocabulary seem preferable to the reviewer: 14, 23: *à todo correr*, 'at the utmost', not "as quickly as possible".—16, 25: *discreta*, 'intelligent', not "discreet".—18, 8: *calavera*, 'rattle-pate', not "profligate".—56, 2: *aprensión*, 'idea' or 'miscomprehension', not "fear".—56, 18: *trastienda*, 'astuteness', not "intuition".—67, 24: *particular*, 'subject', not "particular case".—84, 18: *marea* needs explanation.

G. N. H.

Not only Petrarca's political views, but also those of Dante and many contemporaries, receive valuable illustration in that striking episode of the history of Rome in the Middle Ages which is comprehensively treated by Mario E. Cosenza, in his *Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo* (University of Chicago Press, 1913, pp. xiv, 330; price \$1.50). While accounts of this premature effort to liberate Italy are easily found, no other book traces so clearly the reaction on Petrarca's mind of the varying fortunes and the final failure of Cola's career. Each chapter contains an introductory narrative, a translation of one of Petrarca's letters, and voluminous notes; these notes in turn contain many passages translated from letters by Petrarca and other persons. The method is, then, something like that of the well-known book by Robinson and Rolfe; but Mr. Cosenza gives a far larger proportion of his space to the literal versions of Petrarca's own writings, and the notes also are far more complete. Most of this material is entirely new in English, and some of it is the result of independent investigation. Whether or not the conclusions in regard to points of detail are always acceptable, Mr. Cosenza's discussions will have to be reckoned with. His translations, as in the case of his earlier book, *Petrarch's Letters to Classical Authors*, are excellent and accurate. It is a satisfaction to find a competent scholar devoting himself to this phase of the poet's work, and studying the influence of "the one great cause and sustaining faith of Petrarca's existence, a creed that was summed up in the single name Rome." Incidentally, our need of a new and complete edition of Petrarca's Latin works is made evident. We may also call attention to a publication which Mr. Cosenza did not use, K. Burdach's *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, Berlin, 1912.

K. McK.

A NOTE ON THE ACCENTUATION OF SOME FRENCH NAMES OF GERMANIC ORIGIN

The great mass of two-stem Germanic names in French and in Italian are stressed on the second stem: *Marbod-Marbeuf*, *Willihelm-Guillaume*, *Raginfriid-Rainfroi*. This condition of things is so self-evident that the mere statement is sufficient proof. But the prevalence of this mode of accentuation by no means excludes the possibility of another, either for individual names or, perhaps, individual stems. Thus, *e. g.*, among Tuscan names of places and among Italian family names there are a few that seem to go back to Germanic two-stem names with the stress on the first and not on the second stem. This seems the best explanation for the Tuscan *Monte Cúccari*, *Cúccheri*, *Cúccoli* (also well-known family name); *Monte Taúpari*, *Tópari*, *Tópoli*; *Monte Góttari*, *Góttoli* (which I had occasion to mention, p. 60, *Etude sur quelques noms propres d'origine germanique*). As family name the well-known *Fóscari* may be quoted. Whether the second stem is *-rith* or *-hari* seems hard to decide.

In an article, "Beiträge zur romanischen Linguistik," Mr. Haberl, in an attack upon a previous article of Mr. Antoine Thomas, who considered that the proper names in *-hari* and the *nomina agentis* in *-ari* may have influenced the abnormal development of the Latin suffix *-arius*, says: "Dazu kommt aber der viel wichtigere Einwand, dass die von Thomas gegebene Erklärung vom germ. Standpunkt aus unmöglich ist. . . . Ferner tritt der Umlaut nur in germ. betonter Silbe ein, während *-ari* im Ahd. nicht den Hochtton trägt. So wurde in nhd. *Günther* < ahd. *Guntahari* durch das *i* nicht der Vokal von *hari* umgelautet, sondern vielmehr das *u* zu *ü*. . . . Es ist also *hari* > *her* in Zusammensetzungen wie *Guntahari* > *Günther* nicht auf i-Umlaut sondern auf Abschwächung des unbetonten Vokals

zurückzuführen. Denn man darf nicht übersehen dass sich *-hari* nur als zweiter Bestandteil von Eigennamen im Fr. zu *-ier* entwickelt. Wenn *hari* als erster Bestandteil von Eigennamen verwendet wurde, trat später natürlich der i-Umlaut ein, da es in diesem Falle den Hauptton trug, vgl. ahd. *Haribert* > nhd. *Herbert*, fr. *Herbert*."¹

Discretion being the better part of valor, the field of the suffix *-arius* and its relation to the Germanic names in *hari* shall be left to doughtier champions. But the very interesting question of accentuation raised by Mr. Haberl's statement seems to open the way to some remarks which will hardly exhaust a subject worthy of a far completer study than has been made of it yet, but may help to throw a little light on it.

It is evident from the Romance point of view that Fr. *Gontier*, *Herbert* cannot possibly go back to a Germanic prototype stressed on the first stem, whose inevitable outcome would have been **Gontre*, *Gondre*; **Herbre* (or perhaps, by dissimilation **Herbe*); *Herbert*, *Gontier* must go back to a prototype accented on the last stem, and cannot be explained any other way. Incidentally it may be remarked that while the vowel is "umlauted" in Fr. *Herbert*, this is by no means the case in *Gontier*, as little as it is the case in Modern German *Walter*. Since, however, *Welter* is found in German beside *Walter*, it would appear that even from the Germanic view-point some discrimination between stems, or dialects, or periods would be in order.

As far as the stem *-hari* is concerned, it might be possible, even though *hari* was unstressed, to admit the substitution of the accented suffix *arius*, at some stage of its development. But no such supposition is possible for the mass of other stems which are to-day similarly stressed in French; what substitution is conceivable for *Marbeuf*, *Guillaume*, *Rainfroi*?

¹ *ZRPh.*, xxxiv (1910), pp. 131-132.

There seems no sufficient reason to deny for *-ier* out of *-her* what is undeniable for every other second stem that shows the accented development of the vowel: it was stressed when it entered the French language; and this vital point being established, what else could the outcome of *-her* be?

The question may, indeed, be raised whether the Romance languages did not shift the stress to the second stem. But we know that on the whole the Romance languages, including French, as far as the old stock of words is concerned, have shown themselves exceedingly conservative with regard to the position of the stress. This position seems to be the one and only "stable" element in the French language. On the contrary, as long as the full meaning of each stem was still felt, the second stem may have preserved even in the Germanic dialects a notable amount of its original stress. This is very probable as long as the names of the parents were still taken apart to form new names for their children. The second stem *-brant* can have suffered no great weakening so long as Hiltibrant, "*Heribrantes* sunu," called his own child "*Hadubrant*." Compound words with equal or fluctuating stress on the two stems existed in Germanic.² Curme, p. 47 of his German grammar, states that certain compound names of places are generally, though not uniformly in all parts of the country, accented on the final component, *e. g.*, *Eberswâlde*. And if in the modern *Eberswâlde*, why not also in the ancient *Heriwâlt*, even though the final stem is not identical?

The stress being equal or fluctuating, it was very natural that the Romance languages, notably French, should have "fixed" this stress on the second stem, in accordance with their prevalent mode of accentuation, while later the Germanic languages "weakened" the second stem in accordance with their own habits of speech. This may not have happened synchronously in all dialects, and thus double forms for the same name like *Walter* / *Welter* may have arisen. What interests the question

before us more closely is that this divergence may also account for the peculiarity of accentuation of the Italian names which have been quoted, and, unless I am greatly mistaken, of some French names also.

In Italian, where there is no aversion to proparoxytones, these names are readily recognizable whenever they occur; in French, on the contrary, they are easily confused even in their modern form with related hypocoristic names, and in older sources, where the quality of the *e* is not marked, with names in *-ré*, out of *-rad*. Thus Langlois, in his valuable collection of the proper names found in the Old French *chansons de geste*, prints with *é* a whole series of names: *Baudré*, *Gondré*, *Guirré*, *Hardré*, *Houdré*, *Tangré*, etc. But some of these names have certainly lived not with a stressed but with an unstressed *e*. Didot-Bottin (1900) gives *Houdre*, *Tangre*, and *Aguirre*.³

These names presuppose an accented first stem: *Hold'rad*, *Tank'rad*, *Wir'rad* (or *Wird'rad*), if not *Hold'*, *Tank'*, *Wir'* with another stem. For, indeed, since, *e. g.*, *diaconum* gives *diacre*, *Lengones* gives *Langres*, and *Huidre* alternates with *Huidelon*, it is not always possible to decide beyond the possibility of a doubt what the second stem was. In the case of *Tangré*, *Tange*, given by Langlois (*Tangré le Puillant*, cousin de Boémond de Sicile, *Tange de Puille*) no doubt seems possible that it corresponds to the Italian "*Tancredi*." The phonetic development is not excessively clear, however, and perhaps "contamination" with some other stems, *e. g.*, *Thancger*, *Thangrim* found in Förstemann, is conceivable. Either of these

³The *A-* in *Aguirre* is explicable either as the preposition *à*, which is found in names like *Alloncle*, *Alamartine*, *Alabéatrice*, or perhaps better as the Celtic *ab*, 'son.' See *Répertoire général de bibliographie bretonne*, by René Kerville, at the article *Abailard*, "nom qui dérive du mot *Ab*, fils: *Ab. Aelard*, fils d'*Aelard*," and the bibliography given there. Other similar names are given by Kerville, among others *Abolivier*. Didot-Bottin gives, *Abhervé*, *Abraard*, *Abolard* (probably not to be confused with *Abélard*, but related to the English *Willard*), *Abriol*, *Aguillaume*, etc. Others like *Allouis*, seem to contain the preposition, and this is of course possible even with *Aguirre*, *Aguillaume*.

²Cf. Behaghel, *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, pp. 686 ff.

names would furnish an acceptable prototype for the "*Tangre*" given in Didot-Bottin.

Mr. Langlois himself gives with final silent *e*, *Ancre* (**Ang'-hari*, *Marca Hispanica*, No. 28, a 866 *Angarius*; Förstemann, under *Ang*, *Ancho*, *Ancoin*; or, under the stem *Ana*-*Ana-ger*); *Baire* (from **Bag'-hari*, "*Baguier*, ferme," *Dictionnaire topogr. du Dép. du Gard*; or **Baitharius* proposed by Förstemann as correction of *Baithanus*); *Guires* (*Wir'rad*), *Lanfre* (*Land-frid*), and some others that are not so easily connected with a plausible Germanic prototype.

Of these *Baire* alone is found in Didot-Bottin, but it is scarcely doubtful that others would be brought to light by search elsewhere. Moreover Didot-Bottin gives other similar names not found in Langlois: we find *Affre*, *Baufre*, *Gauffre*, *Geoffre*, *Jaffre*, *Jauffre*, and *Joffre*; also *Meffre* and *Meiffre* (*Madifredus*, *Annales de Saint-Bertin*; Förstemann, *Meffrid* and *Mefred*). These names would show that it was not altogether unusual for the stem *-frid* to be unstressed. We also find *Hingres* (*Hincram*, cf. Italian *Inghirami*, which could, however, as well as Fr. *Ingres*, also go back to *Ingo-hram*, with a difference in the position of the stress; *Hinc-hari* is not impossible, in view of the German *Hinckers*, Andresen, *Die alt-deutschen Personennamen*); *Gibre* (*Gibhart*, German "*Gebhardt*," or **Gibhari*?); *Gindre* (Förstemann, *Ginheri*); finally, very interesting on account of the preservation of the *l*, "*Thièble*," "*Tible*," beside the more common *Thiébaud*, *Thibaud*.

It is by no means surprising to find these names well represented in composition, especially with *-ville* and *-mont*. Thus we find *Baufremont*, *Thièblemont* beside *Baufre*, *Thièble*; *Antremont* beside *Antier* (Förstemann, *Antheri*): *Autremont* beside *Authier* (*Grégoire de Tours*, *Autharius*). Although not quite above suspicion since *Antre-* and even *Autre-* may have a very different origin, still they cannot be passed altogether in silence. That is also the case with *Astre* (Förstemann, *Asthar*) which may stand in the same relation to *Astier* in which *Autre-* may stand to *Authier* and may equally have nothing at all to do with it. In

individual cases the question might easily be settled by older documents. Clearer cases seem to be: *Dangreville* (for *d'Angreville*, out of *Angari-villa*, beside both *Angier* and *Anguier*); *Daubreville* beside *Aubier* (Förstemann, *Albheri*); *Landreville* beside *Landier* (*Département du Hérault*, *Lantier*, ferme); *Gondrecourt* beside *Gondré*.

The frequency of this composition makes it probable that some of the names previously mentioned did not develop independently, but were "shortened" later from an older compound form. Thus it is conceivable that a **Barthari-villa* would regularly become **Barthre-ville*, while **Barthari* regularly became *Bartier*. The "shortened" **Barthre* became confused with the hypocoristic *Bart*, or was dissimilated to *Barthe*, though the form *Bartrin* may indicate its existence; all this without prejudice to an independent development of **Bart'-hari* to **Barthre*. A similar condition of things is conceivable for *Batret*, beside *Batier*; *Bertron* beside *Bertier*, a long list of the hypocoristic *Bert*, and many *Berte*, some of which surely represent feminines, while a few may be dissimilated from **Bertre*; *Gautron*, *Gautrin* beside *Gautier* and others. It is necessary to remark here, however, that the lengthening of a first stem by means of *l* or *r* was not unknown in Germanic names, though to judge from the examples given in Förstemann, it took place chiefly in Romance territory, and calls for further investigation. Thus Förstemann gives *Elbergaut*, *Baldrevert*, *Blandelcar*, from the Pol. *Irm*; *Bebrimod*, *Gadroald* from *Pardessus*, *Diplomata*, etc.; *Jadregisil*, the *Histoire générale du Languedoc*, and others. How far this corresponds to a reality, or is merely a wrong "latinisation" remains to be seen.

If, however, this development "in composition" is possible for some of the names under discussion, it is by no means probable for all; and whether they developed primarily in composition or independently, they all furnish a very valuable testimony with regard to Germanic names that are stressed not on the second but on the first stem. Only by a far more comprehensive and exhaustive study than it was possible to make here could we ascertain

what proved to be the decisive moment for this mode of accentuation, but even this brief notice may suffice to show the importance of these names in the discussion of stress in Romance names of Germanic origin, and not least among all, those whose second stem was *-hari*.

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DIE MITLEIDSTHEORIE IN LESSINGS DRAMEN UND IHR WERT FÜR DIE GEGENWART

Die Namen Aristoteles, Corneille und Lessing bezeichnen die drei Höhepunkte in einer langen Reihe von Versuchen, die Mitleidstheorie zu erklären und Regeln für die Anwendung von Mitleidselementen im Drama aufzustellen. Aus der aristotelischen Erklärung und Bestimmung des Mitleids, wie sie im achten Kapitel des zweiten Buches der Rhetorik zu finden ist, geht hervor, dass es nicht dasselbe ist, was wir auf Grund der christlichen Lebensanschauung als Nächstenliebe und Barmherzigkeit kennen. Das aristotelische Mitleid beruht stets auf einem selbstsüchtigen Trieb und unterscheidet sich gerade durch diesen Charakterzug von dem Mitleid der späteren Dichter.

Corneille hatte sich sehr früh mit der Theorie des Dramas vertraut gemacht und durch seine Abhandlungen nicht nur gezeigt, dass es ihm mit seiner Kunst wirklich Ernst war, sondern er hat uns auch aus seiner Erfahrung manche, noch heute zu beherzigende Aufschlüsse und Lehren gegeben. Corneilles Mitleid aber ist nicht das eigentliche spontane Mitgefühl, sondern ein solches, das sich auf ein moralisches Urteil gründet, nämlich auf die moralische Überzeugung, dass der Held besser sei, und daher weniger zu leiden verdiene, als die andern Charaktere des Dramas. Mit anderen Worten, Corneilles Mitleid ist im Grunde genommen nur eine Abart des Parteigefühls, und zwar des moralischen Parteigefühls, das zweifellos von der grössten Bedeutung ist und deshalb

auch seine volle Berechtigung besitzt; so weit können wir uns Corneille anschliessen. Der Fehler, den Corneille begeht, liegt hauptsächlich darin, dass er dem Mitleidsbegriff, den er zu erweitern glaubte, eine verkehrte Beschränkung gibt.

Dem Einfluss einer neuen Geistesströmung sind auch die Theorien über das Mitleid nicht entgangen. Welche Stellung die Neuzeit diesem Problem gegenüber einnimmt, ist von der grössten Bedeutung, da eine Abweichung von den alten Theorien ihren Widerschein im Drama finden muss. Eine kurze Abschweifung ist daher geboten. Johannes Volkelt (*Ästhetik des Tragischen*, S. 359 f.) erklärt, es komme bei der Definition des Mitleids vor allem auf die Schmerzen, Kämpfe und den Untergang der tragischen Person an. Grosze Qualen seien besonders dazu angetan, Mitleid zu erwecken.—Karl Groos (*Einleitung in die Ästhetik*, S. 352 f.) nennt das Mitleid, dessen Name schon auf die innere Nachahmung hinweist, ein spielendes Eingehen unserer Seele in die tragische Handlung.—Georg Günther (*Grundzüge der tragischen Kunst*, S. 41 f.) entfernt sich von der üblichen Ansicht darin, dass er das aristotelische Mitleid nur als Mitgefühl anerkennen will.—Theodor Lipps (*Der Streit über die Tragödie*, S. 41 f.) nimmt an, dass dasjenige Gefühl als Mitleid bezeichnet werden könne, das nicht allein durch die Wahrnehmung des Schmerzes, sondern auch durch den Wert des geschädigten Lebens hervorgerufen wird.—Hans Laehr (*Die Wirkung der Tragödie nach Aristoteles*, S. 80 f.) ist der Ansicht, dass unser Mitleid viel allgemeiner sei, indem wir auch Leute damit umfassen, die ihr Unglück selbst verschuldet haben. Wir bemitleiden häufig andere um Übel, denen wir für uns selbst geringe Bedeutung beilegen.—F. Knocke (*Begriff der Tragödie nach Aristoteles*, S. 9 f.) versucht nachzuweisen, dass die Zurückführung des Mitleids auf die Besorgnis eigenen Unheils sich nicht aufrechterhalten lasse.—Fr. Paulsen (*System der Ethik*, 3. Aufl., Bd. II, S. 111 f.) nimmt an, dass im Mitleid das Gefühl der eigenen Sicherheit, Unverletztheit, Überlegenheit zu erkennen sei.—Auch A. Döring (*Die Kunstlehre des Aristoteles*, S. 310 f.) tritt der

Auffassung des Mitleids als einer philanthropischen Regung selbstloser Teilnahme am fremden Leid entgegen, sieht aber im Mitleid die Besorgnis eigenen Unheils.—Ähnliches nimmt auch Hermann Schlag (*Das Drama*) an.

Noch manche Belege dieser Art liessen sich anführen. Fassen wir das Ergebnis einer grossen Anzahl derartiger Theorien kurz zusammen, so ergibt sich, dass die Stellung der Neueren zum Mitleid sich wesentlich geändert hat. Aristoteles fuszt ganz auf dem Boden der alten Philosophie, wenn er annimmt, dass man nur dann tragisches Mitleid verspüre, wenn man sich entweder in die Lage des Helden selbst versetzen könne, sich der Heimsuchung eines ähnlichen Übels zu verschreiben habe, oder wenn man den Helden nicht als Feind ansähe. Der Einfluss dieser Ansicht ist durchaus noch nicht gebrochen. Die Gegenströmung ist aber schon äusserst stark bemerkbar. Das Mitleid wird viel allgemeiner aufgefasst, als Aristoteles es je gestattete. Etwa die Hälfte der Neueren verwerfen die alte Theorie, dass das Mitleid auf einer Besorgnis für die eigene Person beruhe. Selbst die Anhänger der aristotelischen Theorie sind in ihren Behauptungen viel liberaler gestimmt. Überhaupt kann kein moderner Mensch an der Lehre des Aristoteles vom Mitleid festhalten. Es bedarf des Egoismus des klassischen Altertums, um das Mitleid so sehr zu beschränken.

In Bezug auf die mitleiderregende Person des Helden ist man mehr eines Sinnes. Im allgemeinen findet Aristoteles Bestimmung Beifall, während Corneille hier fast ganz beiseite geschoben wird. Der tüchtige, bedeutende, interessante und sympathische Charakter steht im Vordergrund. Interessant ist, dass sich drei Viertel der Neueren für die Verwendung des Bösewichts als eines mitleiderregenden Charakters aussprechen, da er als Mensch auf unser Sympathiegefühl Anspruch machen könne. Fast alle bekennen sich zu folgender Theorie: wenn es nur dem Dichter gelingt, die bewegende Leidenschaft vor den Augen des Zuschauers entstehen und zu der Höhe heranwachsen zu lassen, dass sie auch vor dem Schrecklichen nicht mehr zurückbebt: so zwingt

er den Zuschauer zu sympathisieren, er mag wollen oder nicht.

Den Faden, den Corneille hatte fallen lassen, griff Lessing wieder auf. In seinem Brief an Mendelssohn vom 18. November 1756 gibt er die erste Definition seiner Ansicht vom Mitleid. Von hier an bewegt er sich unentwegt seinem Ziele zu, das darin besteht, Aristoteles den Deutschen näher zu bringen und den Einfluss Corneilles zu untergraben.

In Bezug auf die mitleiderregende Handlung hat sich Lessing eng an die aristotelische Lehre angeschlossen, obschon er manches daran erweiterte und humaner gestaltete. Aristoteles lehrte, dass die Angriffe nicht von Feinden gegen Feinde gerichtet werden dürfen, weil das den Zuschauer nicht genugsam bewege, sondern dass die Unglückstat zwischen Angehörigen derselben Familie, zwischen Brüdern, Sohn und Vater, Mutter und Kind stattfinden solle, wenn der Dichter erschüttern wolle. Nur einmal folgte Lessing streng dieser Regel, und zwar in *Emilia Galotti*. Die Fabel von *Philotas* und *Miss Sara Sampson* sind Fälle, die Aristoteles wohl nicht gerade verworfen hätte, die ihm aber für das Drama eindruckslos erschienen sein würden, weil da nicht Familienangehörige einander befehdeten und zu Grunde richten. Aber eben dadurch, dass Lessing die Charaktere durch mannigfachere Motive und Wendungen zu führen verstand und in liebevollerer Schilderung ihren Zustand kundgab, wurde es ihm möglich, Mitleid durch Szenen hervorzurufen, die gänzlich ausserhalb des Gesichtskreises der Griechen liegen.

Aristoteles verlangt, dass die Unglückstat mit vollem Bewusstsein und voller Kenntnis der Beteiligten unternommen und ausgeführt werden solle. Als das allervorzüglichste aber lobt er es, wenn eine schwere Unglückstat geschieht und erst nach deren Vollbringung sich herausstellt, wie nahe sich der Täter und sein Opfer standen. Verschiedene andere Rangstufen werden noch erwähnt, die durch vorherige Unkenntnis und zu spät eintreffendes Erkennen möglich gemacht werden. Diese Regeln arbeitete Lessing gänzlich um, denn er erkannte nur zu wohl die engen Bahnen, innerhalb deren sich die alte Tragödie trotz ihrer

Grösze bewegte. Ihm war es darum zu tun, den Rahmen der Geschehnisse zu erweitern und ihn allen menschlichen Lebenskreisen und Möglichkeiten anzupassen.

Aristoteles verlangt Zufall, der etwas Schicksalsmäßiges an sich hat. In Bezug auf diesen Punkt geht Lessing ebenfalls seinen eigenen Weg. Er wendet natürlich Situationen, die an das Zufällige grenzen, zu verschiedenen Malen an; von krassen Beispielen aber ist keine Spur vorhanden. Überhaupt lässt sich bei Lessing eine wirkliche innere Trennung zwischen Zufall und Schicksal nicht leicht vornehmen. Seine Kunst dringt stets bis zum wahrhaft Menschlichen vor. Wir finden in seinem dichterischen Schaffen, dass er sowohl der Annahme eines gewissen freien menschlichen Wollens, sowie dem Glauben an eine höhere Fügung und Weltlenkung Rechnung getragen hat. In dieser Methode wird Lessing ganz und gar modern, denn dass es in der Tragödie keinen Zufall im Sinne des launenhaften Ungefährs gebe, hat die Ästhetik längst erkannt. Natürlich verläuft in seinen Tragödien nicht alles gemäsz den menschlichen Absichten. Das Zufällige wird eben durch diese fortwährenden Kreuzungen der menschlichen Pläne eingeführt.

Das Umschlagen aus Glück in Unglück, wie es schon die griechische Tragödie verlangt, gebraucht Lessing beständig als Mitleidsmittel. Dass die Tragödie ohne dieses Prinzip nie fertig werden kann, ist klar. Ob sich bei Lessing Änderungen des Prinzips zeigen, lässt sich aus einem Vergleich mit Aristoteles Ansicht schwerlich erkennen. Dass aber Lessing den allgemeinen Charakter dieses Umschlags vertiefte und veredelte, ist klar.

In Verbindung mit dem Vorherwissen oder Vorausahnen des unglücklichen Ausganges von seiten des Zuschauers, wie es Aristoteles verlangt, sei besonders auf seine Methode der Wiederholung von Wörtern oder Sätzen hingewiesen. Solche Wiederholungen dienen bei Lessing nicht nur zur Vermehrung der Spannung, sondern vielmehr zur Erregung der Aufmerksamkeit, die dadurch auf das kommende Unglück gelenkt werden soll. Gewöhnlich gelingt das sehr gut und wirkt dann als starkes Mitleidsmittel.

In der Ausarbeitung des Abschlusses bleibt Lessing den aristotelischen Regeln treu. Die Lösung wird entweder durch Mord oder durch Selbstmord herbeigeführt; daneben steht die innerliche Vernichtung, vertreten durch anhaltenden Trübsinn und Tiefsinn; und in *Nathan* ein Beispiel eines Dramas mit glücklichem Ausgang. In jedem Falle wurde der Dichter den Regeln der Tragödie gerecht und verstand es auch, durch den Abschluss das Mitleid bis zum letzten Augenblick rege zu halten. Der charakteristische Abschluss des Trauerspieles ist auch für Lessing der Tod. Dieser ist niemals willkürlich, sondern tritt jedesmal dem Lauf der Handlung und den Charakteren gemäsz ein. Nie hat Lessing den Tod als Strafgericht allein erscheinen lassen. Durch diese Vorsicht hat er dem Ende gewöhnlich das Empörende genommen. Um dem Selbstmord das Abstosende zu nehmen—was notwendig war, damit das Mitleid bestehen bleiben konnte—kam es darauf an, die Antriebe zu der Tat verzweiflungsvoll und furchtbar genug zu gestalten, so dass der Zuschauer sich die Notwendigkeit der Handlung erklären könne. Dies ist Lessing in *Miss Sara Sampson*, in *Philotas* und auch in *Emilia Galotti* gelungen.

Mitleid durch einen scheinbar glücklichen Ausgang zu erregen, war die schwierigere Aufgabe, die sich der Dichter gesetzt hatte. Aristoteles wollte der Tragödie mit glücklichem Ausgang keinen hohen Wert zugestehen, und selbst Schiller äuszerte sich einmal dahin, dass in Wahrheit für das ernste Drama nur der Abschluss mit dem Tode genüge. Lessing überwand die Hindernisse und zeigt die Berechtigung dieser Abart durch die geschickte Einschiebung von bedrohenden Gefahren, die sich als wirklich furchtbar erweisen und das Gemüt des Helden bis auf den Grund bewegen und enthüllen.

Durch den Helden dargebotene Mitleidsmittel gruppieren sich erstens um die Person des Helden selbst und zweitens um das den Helden heimsuchende Übel. Der Held verdient gewöhnlich das ihn treffende Los nicht, denn er ist meistens von Bedeutung, tüchtig, sympathisch, und eines besseren Loses wert. Ferner

erprobt der Held seine Charaktergrösze auch im Untergang. Die angeführten Eigenschaften sind: Grozmut den Feinden gegenüber; Vergeltung; das Sprechen rührender Worte angesichts des Todes; die gänzliche Abwesenheit von Selbstmitleid; das Suchen des Todes zum Nutzen anderer.—Das eintretende Übel wird geschildert als: nahe; plötzlich auftauchend; den Heimgesuchten ahnungslos findend; und von solcher Art, dass der Held es wohl kommen sieht, es aber nicht mehr verhindern kann.

Drei Arten des Übels benutzt Lessing als Mitleidsmittel: 1. Leid- und schmerzvolle Übel, die unmittelbares Verderben drohen, wie: Tod und Verletzungen. 2. Übel, die das Schicksal bereitet, wie: Mangel an Freude; Mangel an Glück; Mangel an Freunden; gewaltsame Trennung von den Lieben; Gebrechlichkeit; Hülfe, die zu spät kommt; üble Resultate ursprünglich gut gemeinter Handlungen; Übel infolge der Unterlassung gewisser Handlungen. 3. Übel, die von Mitmenschen ausgehen, wie: Feindschaft und Zorn solcher, die schaden können; Ungerechtigkeit, die Gewalt in Händen hat; Mitbewerbung anderer; feindliche Tücke; Verfolgung.

Die Wirkungen des Schmerzes, die Lessing als Mitleidsmittel angibt, zerfallen ebenfalls in drei Unterabteilungen: 1. Der Held ist in seiner Lage besonders dem Schmerze ausgesetzt, weil: besonders glücklich; plante vorher Groszes, was vereitelt wird; ahnungslos; vertrauensvoll; ein zartes Wesen; von Krankheit genesend; aus einer Ohnmacht erwachend. 2. Der Schmerz findet wegen seiner Art leichten und tiefen Eingang: Verrat durch Freunde; Tod der Lieben; wiederholte Unglücksbotschaften; Undank, wo nicht erwartet. 3. Der Schmerz richtet durch seine Natur besondere Qualen an: dauernden Trübsinn; Gewissensbisse wegen leichtsinniger Verschuldung eines Unglücks; Selbstvorwürfe; peinigende Reue.

Als Mitleidsmittel gebraucht Lessing ferner aussergewöhnliche Strafen, die nicht durch Schlechtigkeit oder durch Verbrechen, sondern durch kleinere Fehler und Schwächen hervorgerufen werden, wie: Unentschiedenheit; Schwanken im Entschluss; zu schnelles Handeln infolge momentaner Eindrücke; Mangel

an Selbstbeherrschung; Überstürzung; plötzlich aufspringende Leidenschaft; strafbaren Leichtsinns; strafbare Leichtgläubigkeit; Eigensinn; Ehrgeiz und Stolz. Hier wendet sich Lessing wieder von der aristotelischen Ansicht ab. Aristoteles verlangt das *unverdiente* Leiden, während Lessing auch das *verdiente* Leiden als Mitleidsmittel kennt, denn das einmal gewonnene Mitleid wurzelt zu tief, um am Ende gänzlich verloren zu gehen. Im allgemeinen aber gebraucht Lessing das nicht verdiente aber verschuldete Leiden. Die Verschuldung liegt eben in einer der angeführten Schwächen. Aristoteles spricht von unverdientem Leiden, verlangt aber "irgend ein groszes Vergehen." Dieses grosze Vergehen ist bei dem Griechen zunächst ein Vergehen gegen die Gesamtheit des Staates, oder gegen die vom Staat vertretene Religion. Im Gegensatz dazu ist es bei Lessing ein mehr nach auszen gewandter, das öffentliche Recht und die allgemeine Ordnung der Dinge berührender Eingriff.

Der ungewöhnliche oder wenigstens eigentümliche Untergang des Helden wird als Mitleidsmittel angewandt: Er kommt unverdient; oftmals durch Freundeshand; auf besonders schreckliche Weise. Im Vergleich mit Lessing ist die griechische Todesauffassung eine äusserst düstere. Bei den Griechen herrscht das Furchtbare und Entsetzliche, bei Lessing das Mitleidige vor.

Die bewusste Tendenz, welche Parteimitleid hervorruft, wird von Lessing stets benutzt. Aristoteles war diese Tendenz wohl bekannt und sie ist im griechischen Drama auch vorhanden, findet aber bei der Aufstellung der Theorie für die Tragödie bei Aristoteles keine Erwähnung.

Pantomimische Mitleidsmittel spielen in der neueren Bühnenkunst eine viel bedeutendere Rolle als bei den Alten. Das Mienenspiel musste den Alten überhaupt wegen der Maske gänzlich fremd bleiben. Auch die anderen auf das Auge berechneten Wirkungen der Schauspielkunst erwähnt Aristoteles kaum. Daraus erklärt es sich auch, dass Lessing in der Anwendung sichtbarer Mitleidsmittel etwas sparsam umgegangen ist. Der Schauspieler wird natürlich versuchen, realistisches Beiwerk hinein-

zulegen, um dadurch der Stimmung des Publikums aufzuhelfen. Die dazu sich eignenden Situationen sind vorhanden, obschon die von Lessing angegebenen pantomimischen Mitleidsmittel sich nur auf einen direkten Fall von abgehärmtem Aussehen, einige schmerzverkündende Geberden, nur wenige Äußerungen des Schmerzes, und das Vorführen einer einzigen Wunde belaufen.

Im ganzen genommen lassen sich nun in Bezug auf den Gebrauch von Mitleid in den Dramen Lessings folgende allgemeine Grundregeln formulieren, die auch für das Drama der Gegenwart noch Gültigkeit besitzen:

1. Das Mitleiderregende in der Handlung überragt bei weitem das Furchtelement. Das Furchtbare der Situationen war die Unterlage der griechischen Tragödie. Die humanitäre Gesinnung der christlichen Gegenwart zerstörte die alte Theorie von selbst. Nach Aristoteles war die Hauptwirkung der Tragödie die Furcht, die das Mitleid in sich einschlieszen sollte, so dass wir andere nur wegen solcher Heimsuchungen bemitleiden, die wir fürchten, wenn sie uns selbst geschehen. Furchterregende Auftritte in diesem Sinne waren in der griechischen Tragödie viel häufiger und auch für diese charakteristisch. Lessing besonders lehrte uns das Mitleid, das frei von allen persönlichen und selbstsüchtigen Gefühlen sich im Zuschauer entwickeln könnte. Die rein selbstische Rückbeziehung des Betrachtenden vom fremden Leiden auf das eigene Ich hat dem vertieften Fühlen Platz gemacht, das einem jeden fremden Leid ein warmes teilnehmendes Erbarmen schenkt. Als Mensch uns ähnlich soll der tragische Held nicht deshalb sein, damit wir fürchtend und leidend ganz unser Selbst an seine Stelle versetzen, sondern bloß deshalb, damit wir sein Leiden besser verstehen.

2. Das in dem Zuschauer erregte Mitleid ist der Maszstab für den inneren Wert des Helden. Wir erwarten, dass das Leiden des Helden unser Mitleid hervorrufe, vorausgesetzt nur, dass während der ganzen Handlung seine Tüchtigkeit noch siege. Das Tragische bedeutet für uns nicht das Grässliche sondern jenen Zustand der Seele, in dem sie, hineingeworfen in den Kampf um irdisches und ewiges Sein, aus

eigener oder fremder Schuld leidend, kämpft und sich endlich von dem Körper löst. In diesem Prozess entfaltet sie dann voll und ganz die ihr innewohnenden Eigenschaften, und in der Tragödie sollen diese offenbar werden.

3. Der Dichter kann Furcht und Mitleid auf die verschiedenste Weise hervorrufen, aber wie sehr er sie auch in Bewegung setzen mag, das eine wird doch klar, dass Furcht und Mitleid in der Tragödie nicht dasselbe ist, was wir im gemeinen Leben als Furcht und Mitleid ansehen. Dass Aristoteles einen solchen Unterschied machte, ist kaum anzunehmen. Dass das bei der Tragik angewandte und empfundene Mitleid anders geartet ist, als das des Lebens, geht aus der Abwesenheit eines wichtigen Moments hervor. Im Leben verbindet sich mit dem Mitleid der natürliche Trieb zur Hilfe. Wo dieser Wunsch zu helfen nicht eintritt oder durch äusere Umstände zerstört wird, da ist auch das Mitleid zu nichte geworden. Anders ist es in der Tragödie. Das Verlangen nach Hilfeleistung ist dem Hörer von vornherein abgeschnitten, da selbst durch die täuschendste künstliche Einkleidung nicht der Eindruck des Wahren und Tatsächlichen hervorgerufen werden kann.

4. Das Mitleid und die Natur des Mitleids wird in jedem Drama durch den Charakter dieses Dramas bedingt. Die Mitleidsmittel bilden daher einen wesentlichen Teil der organischen Einheit oder Einheit der Handlung. Vier ganz verschiedene Beispiele liegen uns in den untersuchten Lessing'schen Dramen vor, die für die Wahrheit der These zeugen. Wir brauchen nur die Mitleidsmittel des Rührstückes *Miss Sara Sampson* mit dem durch Patriotismus und Hingabe hervorgerufenen Mitleid des *Philotas* zu vergleichen, oder dem durch die Tragödie der Wollust erregten Mitleid das von *Nathan* gegenüberzustellen, um die innige Verbindung zwischen Charakter des Dramas und Natur des Mitleids zu erkennen.

5. Der Mitleidsbegriff, oder besser gesagt der Furcht- und Mitleidsbegriff, ändert sich in jeder Periode im Sinne der herrschenden allgemeinen Weltanschauung. Eine Zeit, die unter dem Einflusse der Richardson-Romane stand, schuf das Rührstück; die folgende ernstere

Periode, erfüllt von Kriegsgedanken, gab das patriotische Drama; die Auflehnung gegen den Übermut des Adels predigte das erste bürgerliche Trauerspiel, und die Zeit der Religionsstreitigkeiten fand ihren Wiederhall in dem religiös-sittlichen Toleranzdrama. Was im kleinen Kreise bei Lessing der Fall gewesen, lässt sich auch auf die verschiedenen Perioden, die das deutsche Drama im allgemeinen durchlief, anwenden.

6. Eine Definition des Mitleidsbegriffes auf allgemeine Sätze aufzubauen, die sich in den theoretischen Abhandlungen einzelner Dichter vorfinden mögen, muss immer zu übertriebenen Verallgemeinerungen führen.

7. Der richtige Begriff des tragischen Mitleids lässt sich nur pragmatisch induktiv aus den anerkannten Meisterstücken einer gewissen Periode deduzieren.

8. Der Begriff des tragischen Mitleids kann keineswegs ohne weiteres von einer Periode auf eine andere übertragen werden; es würde dies, wie bereits erwähnt, zu falschen Folgerungen führen.

9. Der Begriff des tragischen Mitleids muss historisch-evolutionell und nicht absolut verstanden werden. Ein Entwicklungsgang, der verschiedene Schattierungen aufweist, lässt sich schon bei einzelnen Dichtern konstatieren. Wie viel mehr muss dies im Werdegang einer Literaturgattung der Fall sein!

10. Der Begriff des tragischen Mitleids jeder Periode ist dazu angetan, wichtige Aufschlüsse über das moralisch-ästhetische Wesen dieses Zeitabschnittes zu geben, da die Literatur im allgemeinen und das Drama im besonderen es sich zur Aufgabe macht, den jeweiligen moralisch-ästhetischen Ansichten des Leser- und Zuhörerkreises so nahe wie möglich zu kommen.

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SOME NEW FACTS CONCERNING FIELDING'S *TUMBLE-DOWN DICK* AND *PASQUIN*

Lawrence (*Life of Fielding*, p. 376) dates *Tumble-Down Dick* "1737," and notes (p. 106) in connection with 1737 that the play "appears to have been specially aimed at Rieh's harlequinade in an unsuccessful piece called 'The Fall of Phaeton,' acted at Drury Lane, in March, 1736." The tabular list of theatrical performances for each day of January and February, 1736, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of February, 1736, page 98, and the list for March and April in the issue of April, 1736, page 234, show that the "Fall of Phaeton" was played at Drury Lane with the *Earl of Essex* on February 28 (see also advertisement, *London Daily Post*, February 28), and was also acted on March 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, 16, 18, 27, 30, April 17, 26, 27, 28. According to the list of plays (stated to be based on Genest) at the end of the article on Fielding in *DNB.*, *Tumble-Down Dick* was first performed 1737. Mr. Dobson (*Fielding* ed. 1905, p. 56) says: "Besides these, there are three hasty and flimsy pieces which belong to the early part of 1737. The first of these, *Tumble-Down Dick*; or, *Phaeton in the Suds*, was a dramatic sketch in ridicule of the unmeaning Entertainments and Harlequinades of John Rieh at Covent Garden." He adds: ". . . from the dedication [to *Tumble-Down Dick*] it appears that Rieh had brought out an unsuccessful satire on *Pasquin* called *Marforio*." In the dedication, Fielding merely refers to a "satire," he does not give its name. The list of daily performances appended to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of April, 1736, p. 234, states that "All for Love, & *Marforio*" were acted at Covent Garden April 10th. *Marforio* seems to have failed, for it was not repeated during April. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 19, states that *Marforio* was not printed. In the *Encycl. Brit.* (Edit. XI) s.v. *Fielding*, Mr. Dobson says: "*Tumble-Down Dick*; or, *Phaeton in the Suds*, *Eurydice* and *Eurydice* hissed are the names of three occasional pieces which

belong to the last months of Fielding's career as a Haymarket manager." These "last months," it will be recalled, ended with the summer of 1737. Miss Godden (*Henry Fielding, A Memoir*, p. 318) lists: "1744 *Tumble-Down Dick*, produced at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket." The publication of *Tumble-Down Dick* is not noticed in the Register of Books of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736-1743 inclusive. In the Bibliography of First Editions in his edition of Fielding's *Works* (*Miscellaneous Writings*, III, p. liii) Henley says, under date "1737 or 1744":

"An advertisement in 'Pasquin', 1736, states, 'Shortly will be published TUMBLE DOWN DICK or PHAETON IN THE SUDS, a serious Pantomime now practising at the Haymarket Theatre.' Lawrence, in 1855, gives the date of publication as 1737. Roscoe, in 1840, states it was not acted until 1744; this is the date assigned to its publication in 'Theatrical Records' of 1756. The earliest copy in the Brit. Museum also bears date of 1744 and reads: . . ."

At the foot of the title-page of his reprint (*Plays and Poems* V) of the 1744 edition of *Tumble-Down Dick*, Henley noted "First Acted in 1744."

Pasquin is listed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* Register of Books of April, 1736, p. 235. The *London Daily Post* of Tuesday, April 6, 1736, advertises,

"Next Thursday will be publish'd, / (Having been already acted 26 Nights successively, and still / continues to be perform'd to crowded Audiences with Universal / Applause.) / PASQUIN; a Dramatick Satire on the Times: / . . . Written by Henry Fielding, Esq., / Printed for J. Watts, at the Printing Office in Wild / Court near Lincoln's Inn Fields . . ."

On Wednesday, April 7, the same paper has an advertisement like that of the 6th, except for the first line, which reads: "Tomorrow will be publish'd." These advertisements with their information as to the date of publication of *Pasquin*, have not hitherto been noted in print. On the reverse of the leaf in the 1736 edition of *Pasquin* that contains the announcement of *Tumble-Down Dick* (see above), is listed *Petronius Arbitrator* dated "April 8, 1736." But the note from the *Prompter* quoted toward the end of this present article, suggests that *Pas-*

quin may actually not yet have been issued on April 9 or even April 10. Oddly there is in neither the *Daily Journal* nor the *Daily Post* any advertisement on April 8, the previously advertised date of publication; and there is no further advertisement of issue of *Pasquin* in any later April number of either of these papers.

Final statement of the actual date of first performance of *Pasquin*, has apparently not yet been made. Lawrence (p. 79) and Mr. Dobson (p. 45 f.) locate it in the spring of 1736. Miss Godden (p. 62) notes: "*Notitia Dramatica*, MSS. Dept. British Museum, speaks of *Pasquin* as performed for the fortieth time on April 21, 1736: and quotes an advertisement of the play for March 5. There seems to be no record of the actual first night." Miss Godden quotes part of an advertisement of March 5 (p. 67): "*By the Great Mogul's Company of English Comedians, Newly Imported*. At the New Theatre in the Haymarket, this Day, March 5, will be presented PASQUIN, . . ." Her quotation agrees in wording (even to the error in "the [sic] find belongs to 'em") with the opening of an advertisement of *Pasquin* in the *London Daily Post* of February 24, 1736, except that for "this Day, March 5," the earlier notice reads, "Friday, March 5." In the issues of the *London Daily Post* of March 1 and 3 is an advertisement identical with that of February 24, except for the substitution of "Friday next, March 5." The issue of March 4 has "Tomorrow" for "Friday next;" the issue of March 5 has at its head in large type "Haymarket," and "this Day" for "Friday next;" the issue of March 6 has "this Day, March 6." Further, the issue of March 8 (Monday) has "Haymarket. The Third Day . . . this Day, March 8, will be presented PASQUIN, . . .;" and the issues of March 9 and 10 announce "The Fourth Day" for the 9th and "The Fifth Day" for "Tomorrow, March 11." Clearly, then, *Pasquin* was performed for the first time on Friday, March 5, 1736.

The dedication signed "Pasquin" to John Lun (John Rich) prefaced to the 1744 edition of *Tumble-Down Dick* reprinted in Henley's

edition of Fielding's *Works*, speaks as if it were written, and as if it were to be printed, very shortly after the first success of *Pasquin*. It opens, "Though *Pasquin* has put dedications in so ridiculous a light, that patrons may, perhaps, pay some shame for the future for reading their own praises . . ." It refers to Rich's introduction of "Entertainments." Then in paragraph 3 it proceeds:

"But, sir, I have farther obligations to you than the success, whatever it be, which this little farce may meet with, can lay on me. It was to a play judiciously brought on by you in the May-month, to which I owe the original hint, as I have always owned, of the contrasted poets, and two or three other particulars, which have received great applause on the stage. Nor am I less obliged to you for discovering in my imperfect performance the strokes of an author, any of whose wit if I have preserved entire, I shall think it my chief merit to the town. . . . Farther, as *Pasquin* has proved of greater advantage to me, than it could have been at any other play-house, under their present regulations, I am obliged to you for the indifference you showed at my proposal to you of bringing a play on your stage this winter, which immediately determined me against any farther pursuing that project;"

and Fielding adds that he would not play the part of flatterer of the greatness that Rich assumed in private. He goes on:

"I am, moreover, much obliged to you for that satire on *Pasquin*, which you was so kind to bring on your stage; . . . I own it was a sensible pleasure to me to observe the town, which had before been so favourable to *Pasquin* at his own house, confirming that applause, by thoroughly condemning the satire on him at yours."

The next paragraph continues the discussion of Rich's satire on *Pasquin*.

The expression, "the success, whatever it be, which this little farce may meet with," undoubtedly refers to *Tumble-Down Dick*. It would seem to be used of a play not yet tried, or at utmost little tried, on the public. The play for which Fielding got "the original hint . . . of the contrasted poets" is evidently *Pasquin*, the poets being Fustian and Trapwit. It is true that "contrasted poets" Fustian and Machine appear in *Tumble-Down Dick*, but "the original hint" had been worked up in

Pasquin. Supporting the idea that this play is *Pasquin* is the statement that the poets and "two or three other particulars" borrowed from Rich's play, "have received great applause on the stage." The assumption is farther sustained by the phrasing of Fielding's statement "I have always owned" indebtedness to Rich for the suggestion of the poets, and by the next following sentence of the dedication, according to which Fielding's play in which the poets appear has already been criticised by Rich—situations that could not have been had not the play already been performed or printed at least some little time before the writing of the dedication.

Tumble-Down Dick was acted in 1736, and the first performance occurred on April 29. The following advertisement is from the *London Daily Post* of April 21, 1736:

"HAY-MARKET. / *The Fortieth Day.* / By The Great Mogul's Company of English Comedians, / Newly Imported. / AT the New Theatre in the Hay-Market, / Wednesday next, April 28, will be presented / PASQUIN / A Dramatick SATIRE on the Times. / To which will be added, / The Practice of a Dramatick Entertainment of Walking, in Serious / and Absurd Characters, call'd / TUMBLE-DOWN-DICK: / OR, PHAETON in the SUDS. / Interlarded with Foolish Comic Interludes, call'd / *Harlequin* a Pick-Pocket. / With New Scenes, and other Decorations. / Boxes 5s. . . ."

This same appeared in the issues of April 22, 24, 26. On the 27th *Pasquin* alone was announced for "this Day"; and at the end of the notice was printed in small type:

"To-morrow will be presented *Pasquin*, &c. To which will be added (never perform'd before) the Practice of a New Entertainment of Walking, in Serious and Absurd Characters, call'd *Tumble-Down-Dick*: or *Phaeton* in the Suds. Interlarded with foolish Comic Interludes, call'd *Harlequin* a Pick-Pocket. . . ."

But the first performance of *Tumble-Down Dick* was postponed to the 29th. The *London Daily Post* of April 28 advertised "The Forty first Day" of *Pasquin* for "To-morrow, April 29." The same advertisement announces *Tumble-Down Dick* as to be played on the 29th with *Pasquin*. The reason for the postponement of the new play is given in a note at the

end: "The Company being engaged in the Practice of the Entertainment, and, by reason of the Royal Wedding, expecting no Company but themselves, are obliged to defer playing 'till To-morrow." This last note is partly quoted by Miss Godden on her page 67. The play apparently was a success, for it was advertised to be performed with *Pasquin* on April 29, 30, May 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25; and with *Guilt Its Own Punishment* on May 27, 28, 29. Beyond this last date I have not followed the play.

When was *Tumble-Down Dick* first printed? The matter concerning *Pasquin*, the nature of the matter, the nature of the expression of it, and the giving over of a larger part of the dedication to it,—these elements of the dedication of *Tumble-Down Dick* taken together make up what might well have been introduced into a dedication intended to be published at about the time of the success of *Pasquin*, but would less probably have been introduced into one intended for issue a year (1737) or a number of years (1744) after the success of *Pasquin*. The expression of paragraph 3 of the dedication quoted above, ". . . the success, whatever it be, which this little farce may meet with, . . ." may well lead to belief that the dedication was written before, or at the very time of, the first performance of *Tumble-Down Dick*. In this dedication the play from which Fielding got the idea of "the contrasted poets" (apparently for *Pasquin*, see above) is said to have been "brought on by you [Rich] in the May-month." Evidently "the May-month" must have been May, 1735, for *Pasquin* (as we have seen) was advertised as early as February 24 and was played on March 5, 1736, and announced April 6 as to be printed April 8, 1736. From the nature of the expression "the May-month" it would appear that the dedication to *Tumble-Down Dick* was written after May, 1735, and at latest before May of the next year. The expression "the May-month" indicates also that Fielding intended the dedication, and so the play, to be read by the public before May, 1736. Further, as it deals with *Pasquin's* success, and mentions performance of Rich's satire on *Pasquin* (i. e., *Marforio*

played April 10), apparently the dedication was written after April 10, 1736. All this is supported by the advertisement (quoted above) in the printed edition of *Pasquin* announced as to be published April 8, 1736, that "Shortly will be published *Tumble-Down Dick* . . ." In view of what has just been said in this and the next preceding paragraph, one may conclude that the dedication was written probably in April, 1736, with the idea of publication in the same month.

Now, the advertisements of May 20, 22, 25, 1736, contain a list of the full cast of *Tumble-Down Dick*. Except for the omission of the Prompter in the advertisements, and substitution of Miss Ferguson for Miss Burgess as Genius of Gin, of Miss Roberts for Miss Ferguson as one of the Stars, of "Mademoiselle La Charmante, piping-hot from Paris," for Middle. Beaumaunt as Columbine, of "Mons. D'Herbage" and "Mons. De la Soup-Maigre" as Countrymen in place of Mr. Lowden dropped, and failure to give the name of the actors of the Watchmen, this cast is identical with that reprinted by Henley as the cast of 1744. This leads to the conclusion that the 1744 edition is printed from a 1736 edition or from "copy" got up for a 1736 edition. This conclusion is supported by and supports the assertion that the dedication in the 1744 edition was, as it stands, hardly written for publication in 1744. Further, the 1744 title-page speaks of the play "As it is perform'd at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market," and has J. Watts's imprint. Long before this, Watts had ceased¹ to be Fielding's printer of new works.²

We have seen that on April 21, 1736, *Tumble-Down Dick* was advertised as to be acted

¹ See my note in *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1912.

² Since this article was accepted Mr. F. S. Dickson, the donor to Yale University of the Lounsbury collection of Fieldingiana, to whom I am indebted for many favors, has written me that he has in his possession a cutting from an old-book catalogue reading as follows: "119 Fielding (Henry), *Tumble-Down-Dick*, or *Phaeton in the Suds*, a Dramatick Entertainment, First Edition, 8vo, sewed (slightly cut), 5s. 6d. 1736." So apparently the play was printed in 1736.

April 28, and that in the edition of *Pasquin*, itself advertised on April 6 as to be issued April 8, it was advertised as "Shortly will be published." The play was, then, composed at least partly before April 6. It was written, moreover, in *anticipation* of Rich's *Marforio*. This the following body of new matter, which includes a general summary of this paper so far, will make apparent.

(1) In *Pasquin*, as the *Tumble-Down Dick* dedication admits, Fielding did use matter borrowed from Rich, *i. e.*, the "contrasted poets." (2) Fielding appealed to Rich to put on a play for him. (3) Evidently the "this winter" of the appeal is the winter of 1735-6, for in 1736-7 Fielding had his own theatre, and in *Pasquin* and *Tumble-Down Dick* of 1736 he attacked Rich violently. (4) As the expression directly shows, the play offered to Rich was *Pasquin*. (5) Coming back from his country residence, Fielding attempted to get use of a stage, Rich's, without having concluded on owning or managing a theatre by himself. (6) Rich's refusal to put on the piece was at least a cause,—was it a chief cause?—for Fielding's leasing the Little Theatre in the Hay-Market. (7) Now probably it was that Fielding introduced into the last two acts of *Pasquin* those passages attacking Rich and his "entertainments," that make up a part of *The Life and Death of Common Sense*. (8) Evidently the original play was considerably modified because of the feeling against Rich. (9) Apparently, then, the design at least, and perhaps a completed version of the original *Pasquin* was had by Fielding some months earlier than the date at which he is generally supposed to have had the extant modified from; and evidently the design and the earlier version were in many respects markedly different from the design and the matter of the extant version.

(10) Angered by the satire in *Pasquin* performed on and after March 5, Rich determined to put on, perhaps he himself wrote ("Whether this was written by your command or your assistance, or only acted by your permission, I will not venture to decide," says the dedication to *Tumble-Down Dick*), *Marforio*, a satire partly on *Pasquin*. The satire was actually

played April 10, as we have seen. (11) The following will show that the matter and the purpose of *Marforio* were known in advance of its performance, and that the piece was brought out in the midst of controversy. In the *Daily Post* of April 10 appears a notice by "The Author of *Marforio*":

"An Extract from the PROMPTER of Yesterday.

'Several Correspondents (sic) have inform'd me that the Author of MARFORIO, a Farce which is to be acted To-morrow Night at Covent Garden Theatre, not contented to attack (a little of the soonest) the Reputation of PASQUIN before it is printed and consequently before it can equitably be a Subject for Censure, has also, in a Manner that no Humour can justify, no Wit find necessary, descended to mistake, as a Subject for SATIRE, the Design of the Prompter to promote a good Taste among Actors, and an Inclination in Audiences to distinguish and encourage them.'

To the Author of the PROMPTER.

SIR,

In what Manner this Piece, call'd MARFORIO, has been represented to you, I know not, for in your subsequent Paragraphs you intimate that this little Dramatic Performance is an Insult on Humanity as well as Common Sense; and that instead of Humour, there is Scurillity, and instead of Wit, Personal Slander; . . . As for making Retrenchments, which you advise me to at the close of your Paper, I cannot consent; I know of nothing there is in the whole Piece to give a just Offence. . . .

As to your charge of my attacking the Reputation of PASQUIN unequitably, because it was not printed when I wrote MARFORIO, I only answer; Those who have been the Spectators of PASQUIN will be the most proper Judges, whether I have done my Witty Brother any Injustice, and I heartily desire they would all attend this Night: If I have taken a little Liberty with him, he himself cannot be angry when he has taken an unbounded Liberty with all Ranks of Men; . . . As for my Cause, I shall submit it this Night to the Gentlemen in the Pit, and from their Arbitration shall make no Appeal.

The Author of MARFORIO."

Apparently, as Fielding suggests in the dedication to *Tumble-Down Dick*, the "Arbitrators" damned the play. I find no notices of its performance during the rest of April, and apparently (as we have seen) it was not printed.

(12) Possibly knowledge of Rich's purpose hastened the publication of *Pasquin*, which on April 6 was announced for the 8th, but which,

perhaps, had not been issued by the night of the 8th when at latest was composed the *Prompter* article of the 9th. (13) Irritated by Rich's project and catching opportunity for advertisement and "more matter," Fielding, before *Marforio* was acted, determined to attack his opponent in another play. (14) As we have seen, on February 28 and during March, Rich had produced at Drury Lane "*The Fall of Phaeton*, Interspers'd with a grotesque Pantomime call'd *Harlequin A Captive*." Catching up the subject and the fact of Rich's fame as Harlequin and as a producer of "Entertainments," Fielding wrote probably early in April "*Tumble-Down Dick*; or, *Phaeton in the Suds*, Interlarded with Foolish Comic Interludes, call'd Harlequin a Pick-Pocket." (15) Recognizing the opportunity for alleged unfair criticism that his defender in the *Prompter* voiced on the 9th, as given by the delay of over a month in publishing *Pasquin*, Fielding prepared "copy" of *Tumble-Down Dick* and wrote the dedication for publication in April (as we have seen) probably simultaneously with the first performance. The failure of *Marforio* made actually unnecessary the hurrying on of the play, which was consequently delayed till the end of the month.

I may add that these facts that I have presented may account beyond mere opposition to the nature of Rich's performances, for some of Fielding's persistent hostility toward Rich evinced in his continued attacks on the manager in the *Champion* of 1739-40, and for the matter, some of it in phrasing similar to that in the *Champion*,³ in *Jonathan Wild*, Book III, Chapter XI, published in 1743.

JOHN EDWIN WELLS.

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A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR METRICS

If science is to play any part in the study of verse, it is of primary importance that the terms used should be defined precisely and without contradiction in order that propositions concerning these terms should have a meaning. With this in view, let us limit our discussion so as to treat only of verse read aloud, concerning ourselves primarily not with the poet but with the reader.

In verse, as in prose, we consider the sound of syllables, words, and rhetorical phrases, but in verse we must consider a new force, meter, with which prose is not concerned. Now, strangely enough, I can find no serviceable set of definitions for the terms used in the study of metrics. The important terms are either undefined, or defined so as to involve contradictions, or defined with reference to what is seen on the page or what ought to be heard rather than what is heard. For the sake of a scientific treatment, I shall propose a consistent set of exact definitions, expressed in terms that concern the ear of the reader.

And, to show the need of such a set of definitions, let us first examine certain other sets. In Saintsbury's¹ set, for example, the important terms are frankly undefined. *Rhythm* is called "an orderly arrangement of sounds." If we ask "What sort of orderly arrangement" we learn "Certain (given) arrangements of 'long' and 'short' syllables." If we ask, "What are long and short syllables," we learn only that a long syllable is not short and that a short syllable is not long. Then, as far as the definitions go, *any* syllable may be long and any other short, and practically any passage may be considered rhythmic, no matter how it is read.

On the other hand, if we strive to be scientific and define our terms with precision, we are in great danger of pronouncing contradictions. In Bright and Miller's *Elements of English Versification*² we find this definition

³ See my articles on *Fielding's Political Purpose* in "*Jonathan Wild*," in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, March, 1913, pages 36-8, and on "*The Champion*" and "*Jonathan Wild*" soon to appear.

¹ George Saintsbury, *Historical Manual of English Prosody*, The Macmillan Co., 1910, pp. 291, 287.

² Ginn and Co., 1910.

of *stress*,³ which implies also a definition of *rhythm*: "A verse is so constructed that its beats, or verse-stresses, fall at regular intervals of time, dividing the verse into equal time-units." *Foot*⁴ is defined as "a group of syllables that forms one time-unit in the rhythm of a verse." Trochaic and iambic feet are defined in terms of stressed and unstressed syllables. Moreover, "trochaic inversion" is allowed,⁵ as, for example:

Flatter the mountain tops with sovereign eye

that is, in the notation of the text:

ˊ × | × ˊ | × ˊ |

and so on. Then we must conclude that either the stresses do not occur at equal intervals of time or the feet have not the same time value, and we are led to a contradiction; for if *Flatter* is one-fifth of the line, *Flatter the* is not. Evidently, if we accept such readings as:

Flătter the mōuntain tōps, etc.

we may explain our reading in terms of trochees, iambs and the like, or in terms of equal time-parts between stressed syllables, but we may not adopt both explanations at the same time.

Lanier⁶ and others who base their systems on equal time-division are at a loss when they consider lines *as read*, for very few lines are actually read so as to be divided into equal time-parts. Whereas, according to Saintsbury's definition, practically all lines are rhythmic, no matter how they are read; according to Lanier's, practically *no* lines are rhythmic. And as for the systems based on *stress* (emphasis), I can learn no more about their stressed syllable than about Saintsbury's long syllable. For all syllables are emphasized more or less, and one cannot tell how much emphasis is necessary that a syllable may be stressed, or how little that it may be unstressed.

³ Page 5.

⁴ Page 7.

⁵ Page 78.

⁶ *Science of English Verse*, New York, 1880.

Our problem is to classify all possible readings of a given line, not as good, bad, and indifferent but as metrical or non-metrical, and so we shall take no notice of questions of history or convention or good taste. A classification of existing phenomena is concerned with the phenomena themselves and does not ask how they came into being.

Line shall mean an arbitrary number of syllables. Usually the line is chosen by the poet, sounds well to the ear, and makes sense, though no one of these conditions is necessary, and any combination of syllables may be considered a line. Restricting ourselves for simplicity to heroic verse and the single line, we propose the following definitions.

A reading is *strict pentameter* if the line is divided by the ear into five time-parts exactly equal. A reading is *pentameter* if it departs from strict pentameter by slight changes. Changes from strict pentameter are *slight* if they do not establish the impression of prose (no-meter) or a new meter. In other words, a reading is pentameter if it suggests to the ear five equal time-parts rather than some other number of equal time-parts or prose.

Consider, for example, that the line

The cūrfew tōlls the knēll of pārtīng dāy

has been read. If the ear decides that the indicated vowels are read at approximately equal intervals of time then the line is pentameter by definition. Let us call the vowels that show the time-division *stressed vowels* and the syllables that contain them *stressed syllables*, using the word "stressed" in this connection partly because it is already in use and partly because the way that time-division is indicated in English is by means of emphasis—stress in the other sense.

The fact that rhythmic stress is largely subjective may be shown by the ticking of a watch. We can make the watch beat in 2/4, 3/4, 4/4, or 5/4 time, if we are familiar with these rhythms. Then the same watch-ticks might seem to be in 2/4 time to one listener, in 3/4 to another and 5/4 to a third. But in what measures is the watch ticking? Evidently in

no measures. So it is quite possible that one person might read a line with no thought of meter, and this line would seem to be pentameter to one listener and tetrameter to another. Our definitions would leave the same reading of the same line in three different meters. With trained observers such a case would be exceptional, but with untrained observers such a situation might arise at any time, unless the observers should make up for their lack of training by fidelity to some convention.

Now the easiest way to classify meters is to pay no attention to meter, that is to class all readings as no-meter. The next easiest way is to take for granted that all readings of heroic verse, say, are pentameter and pay no further attention to meter, in other words, to argue that the reading sounded pentameter because it might have been made to sound pentameter. A third way, and a marked advance over the first two, is to call pentameter such lines as give the pentameter effect and call all other lines no-meter. A fourth way is to train the ear to recognize in heroic verse not only pentameter effects but other metrical effects as well, and to distinguish between them, inasmuch as English readers observe a tetrameter in heroic verse.⁷ Every one that I have heard read the line

A thing of beauty is a joy forever

has divided the line into four parts,⁸

A | thing of | beauty is a | joy for | ever

rather than into five:

A | thing of | beauty | is a | joy for | ever

In this connection, we propose the following theorem: Some readers read some heroic lines tetrameter. The theorem is not far-reaching, to be sure, but it is quite sufficient for our

⁷C. F. Jacob, "Concerning Scansion." *Seewanee Review* 19, 362 (July, 1911); C. W. Cobb, "A Type of Four-Stress Verse in Shakespeare," *New Shakespeareana*, Jan., 1911.

⁸The measures | | are supposed to represent equal time values.

purpose (namely, to call the reader's attention to the type), and it is easily established. Let us consider, first, objective evidence from records made in the psychological laboratory of the University of Michigan, August, 1912. The subjects were Professors Meader and Shepard and the author. The directions were to read naturally but with reference to rhythm rather than to dramatic effect, et cetera. The lines chosen were:⁹

A th|ing of b|eauty is a j|oy for|ever
In the d|eep b|osom of the |ocean b|uried
N|ow is the w|inter of our d|iscont|ent
To B|ona, s|ister to the K|ing of Fr|ance
Th|ese but the tr|appings and the s|uits of w|oe

The first, second, and third measures averaged respectively .38, .54, .5 of a second for 22 readings of the 5 lines. We wish to know whether the verse was read in four or five parts, that is, whether the second measure above represents one foot or two. In every case it is the second measure that is in question. Since there is no question about the first and third measures represented by .38 and .5, let us assume that 4.4, the average between .38 and .5, represents the time value of a foot. Then the measure in question, .54, is nearer one unit, .44, than two units, .88, by as much as .1 is less than .34, and the reading tested is tetrameter, on the objective evidence.

On the subjective side it is sufficient to say that some half dozen persons who have given attention to the matter have observed the ten-syllable tetrameter in their own reading and in the reading of others. I consider anyone eligible as an observer who can read the same line of heroic verse in two different ways, pentameter and tetrameter, with subjective certainty. And to give my own evidence as observer, I have heard at least fifty persons read heroic verse and every one of them has used the tetrameter type. In the long run, these lines occur about one in ten.

Considering the matter from the standpoint

⁹Following Verrier, *Essai sur les Principes de la Métrique Anglaise*, Paris, 1909, III, 27 ff., we begin our measure with the beginning of the stressed vowel.

of psychology, the listener associates his auditory percept of the reading with his auditory images of tetrameter and pentameter and decides that the reading is nearer one than the other. This is a problem in sense-discrimination, and requires among other things that one should have an auditory image of the ten-syllable tetrameter with which to compare his percept. Similarly, in order to hear the slow movement in Tschaikovsky's Sixth Symphony one must have an auditory image of $5/4$ time. If the listener has not this image, the beautiful tune is without rhythmic meaning. Now there seems to be one beat too many, now one beat too few. The listener is in confusion. He leaps from image to image, trying to find one that will fit the melody and give him the satisfaction that his neighbor is enjoying.

Such confusion in the domain of verse may be avoided by means of the above definitions, since they give the reader a metrical test for any reading of any line.

CHARLES W. COBB.

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NOTE ON GUSTAV FRENSSSEN

Desiring to obtain authentic information about the life of Gustav Frenssen, the author of this short article wrote to the noted novelist. After several weeks he sent the following Brochure: Hanns Martin Elster, *Gustav Frenssen, Sein Leben und sein Schaffen*, Leipzig, Verlag von Rudolf Eichler, 1912, 8vo., 79 pp. Frenssen considers that this Brochure contains the most correct statement on his life and work. This is evident from the following letter:

Blankenese a/ Elbe
bei Hamburg
29. Dzb 11.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor.

Ihr freundliches Schreiben hat Monate lang auf meinem Tisch gelegen; aber ich wusste nicht, was ich Ihnen senden sollte, um Ihren Wunsch zu be-

friedigen. Da bekomme ich nun eine Brochure, die alles das und zwar ziemlich richtig enthält, was Sie wissen wollen.

Indem ich mich freue, dass ich Ihnen so dienen kann, bin ich mit freundlichsten Grüßen

Ihr

G. FRENSSSEN.

The material on Frenssen's life is taken largely from Frenssen's own statements about his life and works. The principal sources are: *Weihnachtsalmanach*, 1903, Berlin, G. Grote; a lecture delivered in the Hamburger Volksheim and published in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, February 18, 1906; Pastor Niebuhr's article, "Der Verfasser von *Hilligenlei*, mit Briefen Frenssens," in *Westermanns Illustr. deutsche Monatshefte*, March, 1906; *Weihnachtsalmanach*, 1909 and 1910, Berlin, G. Grote. Before sending the Brochure, Frenssen read it very carefully and entered several corrections.

In referring to the *Dorfpredigten*, Elster states: "Es sind Predigten zum Lesen." Frenssen, in a foot-note, adds, "Sie sind genau, wie gedruckt, gehalten."

Elster criticizes the return of Fiete Krey and the appearance of Heim Heiderieter. He says: "Aber noch mehr Unwahrscheinlichkeiten sind im *Jörn Uhl*: ich meine da Fiete Kreys Rückkehr aus Amerika, Heim Heiderieters gänzlich unmotiviertes Erscheinen, das in wenig taktvoller Weise nur darauf hinausläuft, Frenssen selbst in den Roman zu bringen." This seems a strange mistake to be made by one who has read *Die drei Getreuen*, and also Frenssen's own description of the character Heim Heiderieter. No wonder the author underscores the word *taktvoll*. The same Heim Heiderieter appears and tells the story to the young people, the story of which Lisbeth Junker said: "Es ist doch ein fein Ding um solch Erzählen, Jürgen. Du hättest sieben wissenschaftliche Bücher über unsere Vorfahren lesen können und sieben andere über das Wesen der Menschenseele: und hättest vielleicht nicht so viel Erkenntnis und Freude gewonnen, als durch das kleine, bunte Bild, das er uns eben gemalt hat." Frenssen's real purpose in introducing the familiar figure of Heim Heiderieter should be evident from the content of

the story without his direct explanation: "Zweck ist, einen zu haben, der das Problem darlegt." The question of proper motivation on the part of the author may be in place, but the mere dragging in of a character to introduce himself is not like Frenssen. The character which reflects Frenssen is the young pastor. This is evident from a comparison of his thoughts with those found in the *Dorfpredigten*. It hardly seems necessary for the author to enter "Der bin ich."

Elster seems to misunderstand Frenssen's attitude toward religion and the world. He writes: "Eskennt z. B. Frenssen meiner Ansicht nach das Wesen des deutschen Volkes, wenn er seine durch und durch rationalistische Meinung der Handschrift als die Grundlage der Wiedergeburt des deutschen Volkes bezeichnet." The spaced words are the words underscored by Frenssen, who wrote with some emphasis "ist nicht wahr. Ich, und Rationalist!" In a short article on *Hilligenlei* in *Poet Lore*, 1907, the writer expressed almost the same view: "When one thinks of the poet's criticism of Paul, how under the inspiration of his wonderful vision he made out of Christ a divine being, an eternal wonderman, one fears that Frenssen is likewise transported by his 'Märchen' of nature and human life."

Frenssen takes exception to a criticism of his characters in *Anna Hollmann*, namely, "Das Streben nach Vereinfachung hat auch der Psychologie der Gestalten geschadet."

The author corrects statements which are current about his life. Elster writes: "er gab am 1. Oktober 1902 seine Amtstätigkeit auf, um zuerst zu versuchen, als freier Bauer auf eigenem Grund und Boden in seinem Geburtsdorf Barlt zu leben, . ." Frenssen states: "Ich war niemals selbst Bauer." There is also a story to the effect that Hamburg presented to the great novelist the country home in Blankenese. With typical 'Humor,' the author writes: "So was kommt hier nicht vor. Mit selbsterworbenem Geld gekauft."

Throughout the Broschüre Frenssen marked several passages which seemed to appeal to him. He, obviously, fully appreciates the

weakness of his style in *Jörn Uhl* and in *Hilligenlei*. He agrees with Elster on the following point:

"So löblich Frenssens Streben ist, das einem vor der Willensmacht seiner Persönlichkeit nur Achtung abnötigen kann, so aussichtslos ist sein Kampf gegen den Lutherstil, der für uns der religiöse Stil ist. Inhaltlich gibt uns Frenssen in seiner Handschrift den uns nötigen glaubbaren Glauben, der Form nach gibt er uns ihn nicht. Vielleicht hätte er ihn uns auch der Form nach gegeben, wenn er Jesu Leben rein dichterisch geschildert hätte, ohne nach der wissenschaftlichen Forschung zu blicken."

It seems quite evident that Frenssen sacrificed his artistic form in order to fulfill his purpose of writing "Das Leben des Heilands nach deutschen Forschungen dargestellt: die Grundlage deutscher Wiedergeburt."

Frenssen also marked the following passage on his style:

"Als Frenssen zuerst schrieb, musste er pathetisch sein; das ist so in sein Wesen übergegangen, dass er selbst in einfachen Briefen, auf Postkarten nicht von ihr frei ist. Wenn er die Feder zur Hand nimmt, formt sich sein Denken auch wider Willen, glaube ich, in diesem Stil. Das ist zu bedauern, zumal Frenssen das Zeug dazu hätte, den vom jungen Goethe begonnenen, von G. Keller und C. F. Meyer fortgebildeten epischen Stil weiter auszubauen." (Note the reference to Gottfried Keller in the letter below.)

Frenssen seems to feel, even at this late date, the bitter criticism of his *Hilligenlei*, for he marked the following reference to this criticism: "Es ist natürlich, dass auch auf dieses Werk (*Klaus Hinrich Baas*) noch die Gehässigkeit feindlicher Weltanschauungen, die Frenssen um *Hilligenlei* willen bekämpfen, ihren Schatten warf, dass ihre Vertreter behaupteten, jetzt erkenne man deutlich den 'Rückschritt,' der Dichter habe sich 'ausgegeben.'"

Frenssen prides himself on being "ein Deutscher," so he caught the statement of Elster that "Frenssen ist ein Deutscher durch und durch, kein Parteideutscher, aber einer, der weiss, was es heisst, ein Deutscher sein und der diese Bedeutung immer wieder in seinen Büchern predigt."

Minor corrections, even corrections in proof-

reading, show that Frenssen read the Broschüre very carefully before sending it.

In his lecture and articles Frenssen has said much about his life and about the novels *Die Sandgräfin*, *Die drei Getreuen*, and *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, but little about *Jörn Uhl*. Desiring information on a few points the author of this note wrote again to Frenssen. He very kindly gave the desired information, as may be seen from his answer.

Blankenese bei Hamburg
Sept. 1912.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor.

Ich hoffe, dass die anliegenden Angaben Ihnen genügen. Wenn die Schulausgabe zu Stande kommen wird, haben Sie wohl die Freundlichkeit, mir ein Exemplar zu schicken.

Mit verbindlichem Gruss

Ihr ergebener

GUSTAV FRENSSEN.

In meiner Familie, die seit wohl 500 Jahren in demselben Dorf Barlt an der Westküste Holsteins Landleute und Handwerker waren, findet sich von Alters her eine starke Neigung, die Schicksale von Familien, und die Lebensläufe einzelner Menschen mit Ernst und fast Ehrfurcht zu betrachten. Mein Vater hatte diese Neigung im besondern Grade, und ich lernte von ihm von Kindheit an, die Schicksale vieler Familien der Landschaft und der einzelnen Menschen kennen. Als ich ein junger Mensch war, ergriff mich besonders das Schicksal einiger vornehmer Bauerngeschlechter, die durch Trunk und Spiel stürzten.

Nachdem ich in meinem ersten Buch, die *Sandgräfin*, noch ganz ohne Selbstvertrauen meine eigene Art und Weise mehr verborgen als gezeigt hatte, und dann in meinem zweiten, die *drei Getreuen*, zwar nun schon auf eigene Weise erzählt hatte, aber doch etwas zart, schüchtern und scheu,—worin wohl ein Hauptreiz des Buches besteht,—wagte und tat ich nun in dem dritten Buch den Griff mitten in die Lade, und erzählte Alles was von meiner Kindheit an mein Gemüt bewegt hatte, die ganze wirkliche Welt, in der ich aufgewachsen war und noch lebe. Es ging wohl stark von sittlichem Wollen aus: ich wollte meinen Heimatleuten und Allen, die es sonst sehen wollten, die ganze schwere Wahrheit und Wucht des Lebens zeigen. Und so wurde es ein Bild der ersten Landschaft und des ersten Menschenlebens.

Die Personen sind—meist freilich verändert, einige aus zweien zusammengesetzt—, fast alle Leute, die mir im Leben begegnet waren, die ich meist noch kenne, und von denen Viele wissen, dass sie es sind.

Viele haben das Buch lächelnd gelesen, viele mit Kummer, und einige mit Thränen.

Ueber litterarische Quellen zu *Jörn Uhl* kann ich selbst nichts weiter sagen, als dass ich, wie alle sinnigen Menschen, die vornehmsten Erzähler von Homer bis Gottfried Keller kenne und liebe.

This letter explains at once the strength of *Jörn Uhl* and also its lack of artistic unity, for, as the author stated, he "erzählte alles was von seiner Kindheit an sein Gemüt bewegt hatte, die ganze wirkliche Welt, in der er aufgewachsen war und noch lebte."

The reader, unless a stickler for strict form, does not object to being shown "die ganze schwere Wahrheit und Wucht des Lebens" and especially the pulsating life of Schleswig-Holstein. And although one must accept the fact that the author wrote with a strong moral purpose, it must be acknowledged that the former village pastor unfolded the "Bild der ersten Landschaft und des ersten Menschenlebens" in an artistic manner.

Blankenese bei
Hamburg
29. Nov. 12.

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor.

In der Zeit, bevor ich den *J. Uhl* schrieb, liebte ich besonders: Wahrheit und Dichtung von Goethe, Gottfried Keller Novellen, dann noch von Dickens *D. Copperfield*, von Raabe *Hungerpastor*, von Sudermann *Ehre*. Ich halte für möglich, dass hier und da eine Stelle in *J. Uhl* von diesen Büchern beeinflusst worden ist, etwa in einem Ausdruck oder einer Satzwendung, im ganzen Stil nicht, und auch stofflich nicht. Denn der Stil entwickelte sich von der *Sandgräfin* und den *3 Getreuen* her, ganz sicher und ruhiger vorwärts, wie jeder sehen kann; und der Stoff war so reichlich vorhanden und dieses vorhandene ist so reichlich verwendet, dass ein Kenner der Landschaft und ihrer Geschichten sagte: Es ist nichts in dem Buch, was nicht geschehen ist, und es ist nichts so geschehen, wie es erzählt ist.

Ich bin mit freundlichen Grüßen

Ihr ergebener

GUSTAV FRENSSEN.

The above letter, which was received since this article was written, contains valuable information in regard to the author's sources.

WARREN WASHBURN FLORER.

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ON A DISPUTED TERZETTO IN THE PARADISO

Beginning with the 127th line of Canto XXVII Dante thus depicts the depravation of man as he passes from youth to manhood.

Fede ed innocenzia son reperte
Solo nei parvoletti; poi ciascuna
Pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.
Tale, balbuziando ancor, digiuna,
Che poi divora, con la lingua sciolta,
Qualunque cibo per qualunque luna:
E tal, balbuziando, ama ed ascolta
La madre sua, che, con loquela intera,
Disia poi di vederla sepolta.

A much-disputed terzetto follows.

Così si fa la pelle bianca nera
Nel primo aspetto della bella figlia
Di quei ch'apporta mane e lascia sera.

Professor Norton renders the passage literally (1895) but adds in a note: "Both the order of the words and the meaning of the sentence are obscure." Longfellow had thus translated the lines, in harmony with a Latin commentary:—

"Even thus is swarthy made the skin so white
In its first aspect, of the daughter fair
Of him who brings the morn and leaves the night."

and in a footnote interprets "him who brings the morn" as the sun, and his "fair daughter" as the aurora, which at first white, becomes later rosy. The note refers to the *Purgatorio* II, 7-9,

"So that the white and the vermillion cheeks
Of beautiful Aurora, where I was,
By too great age were changing into orange."

Beside ascribing to Dante a readiness to repeat a previous comparison which awakens question, this interpretation imputes to him an awkwardness of syntax by which the words "In its first aspect" follow the word "swarthy" although referring to the earlier word "white"—an awkwardness which Longfellow avoids in his translation.

The last difficulty is escaped by most of the commentators quoted by Scartazzini, who find the passage in part a comparison—God likened to the sun (*quei ff.*)—: and in part imagery only—the *bella figlia* being the Church, or humanity, conceived as the offspring of Deity, and its corruption in his sight, *nel primo aspetto*, being the darkened skin of human maturity, *pelle bianca, nera*.

Confused rhetoric here replaces awkward syntax, and impels the reader unwilling to believe either of Dante, to a third interpretation by two commentators, Da Buti and Antonelli, who find the whole passage an image from nature, the *bella figlia* of the sun being the moon. One of them interprets *aspetto* as "phase" and *primo aspetto* as the first phase, that of conjunction with the sun.

But without further interpretation the terzetto, although introduced by Dante with *Così*, remains unconnected with the previous lines, which all describe the effect of age in debasing man's nature, pure in earlier years. The moon is not older in conjunction than in opposition: indeed in its first phase is called new.

Incomplete as this interpretation is, it affords a clue which to an admirer of the poet seems promising. A new simile, drawn, according to Dante's wont, from the every-day experience of nature, appears more likely here than either a philosophical enigma or the repetition of a previous image.

The lunar theory is abandoned and the auroral pursued in two later interpretations of the passage. According to Francesco Torraca in his commentary on the whole poem (Rome, 1907) the verses mean that men grow worse with age just as the sky grows white at dawn:—"thus becomes white the skin, dark at birth" of the sun's beautiful daughter (the light). This interpretation is difficult to entertain. It can hardly have been in Dante's mind to compare waning morals with waxing light.

According to E. G. Parodi (B. S. D. It., XI, 193, n. 2) Dante's description of the sun as *him who brings morning and leaves evening* gives the key to the riddle. His beautiful daughter is the Aurora, and the passage is to

be read "So the skin of the Aurora becomes black that showed itself white at her first appearance: or, So the sky, white in the morning, becomes black at evening." The sky indeed becomes dark at evening, but not the skin of the Aurora, by that hour half the circuit of the globe away. A notable astronomer like Dante would never have conceived of the Aurora as waiting until her skin were darkened by the descent of night. This variety of the auroral interpretation appears plainly inadmissible.

Does Dante then mean that the Day, the compass of *mane* and *sera*, is the *bella figlia* of the sun: and are the hues of sunset, born of the mists and exhalations of earth, her darkened skin in comparison with the heavenlier tints of daybreak? Possibly. Yet reading the lines through with the idea of Day in mind, they halt hopelessly. They should run "So grows dark the skin of the *bella figlia*, white in its first aspect" and they actually do run "So grows white skin dark in the first aspect of the *bella figlia*."

Taken simply and as they stand, these words point to some natural object dependent on the sun, whose surface as first seen by us changes to dark from white by reason, as we are led to think, of age. Just such an object is the moon when her surface is lighted in part by reflection from the earth: or when, according to the popular image, the new moon carries the old moon in her arms. We need only assume that the phrase *primo aspetto* refers to observation instead of to astronomy as the first proponents of the lunar theory thought. The passage then accurately and simply describes the earliest guise in which every succeeding moon presents itself.

"So the white skin of the sun's fair daughter turns to dark, in its first aspect."

Against the sunset sky there appears at once a spotless crescent and a full-grown orb, with gray and wrinkled cheeks. The immaculate and brilliant rim we call young: the scarred and wan expanse within it old. There is one heavenly body which is seen each month at once at the bright beginning and the dark ending

of its recurrent life, and which warns us by the contrast in its looks to keep ourselves unspotted from the world.

The periphrastic description of the sun need not count against this interpretation. The line is a beautiful one ending neatly with its rhyme to *nera*: and the sudden change from laconic to flowing structure is characteristic of Dante.

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ONELA THE SCYLFING AND ALI THE BOLD

In support of the very ingenious argument recently offered by Miss M. G. Clarke¹ for finding in Yrsa,² mother of Hrolf Kraki, the daughter of Healfdene whose name the scribe left out in l. 62 of the *Beowulf*, one might call attention to a passage in the *Ynglingasaga* which she passes over in silence. Miss Clarke's proposed reconstruction of the personal and dynastic relations of the Scyldings and the Scylfings, hypothetical tho it is, yet fits in so many ways and makes intelligible so much that is obscure or inconsistent in the Scandinavian traditions that it is bound to receive attention at the hands of *Beowulf* students. The relations which she posits (without the arguments,

¹ *Sidelights on Teutonic History during the Migration Period*, by M. G. Clarke (Girton College Studies III, Cambridge, 1911), pp. 82 ff. The idea was suggested to her, she says, by Mr. H. M. Chadwick, whose *Origin of the English Nation and Heroic Age* have thrown so much light upon *Beowulf* problems.

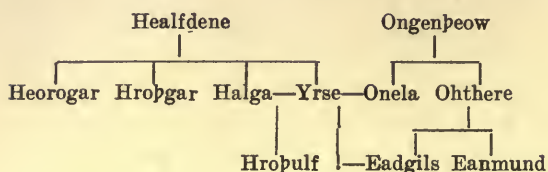
² If Dr. Olrik is right in deriving this name from *ursus* (*ursjon-*), and if, like the other names in *Beowulf*, it has followed English morphology, its form in Old English would be *Yrse*. *Beowulf* 62 would then be restored thus:

Hyrde ic þæt Yrse was Onelan cwen;

or, to further amend by the change of a single letter Trautmann's doctoring of the line,

& Yrse ec, þe was Onelan cwen.

for which I must refer readers to the book itself) are these:



Healfdene, himself the grandson of a king of Sweden on his mother's side (*Skjoldngs.*), conquered the Swedes and became overlord of their realm (reigned twenty-five years at Upsala and died there, *Ynglgs.* XXV). To confirm this relation, his daughter Yrse is given in marriage to Onela, heir of the Swedish house—as Hroþgar later gives his daughter Freawaru to the prince of the conquered Heaðobeardan. Yrse has already, by an incestuous union with Halga, become the mother of Hroþulf, whose origin is thus like that of Fitela and other heroes of saga. After the death of his father Ongenþeow,³ Onela is at the head of what might be called the foreign party in Swedish affairs. His

³Kild by Eofor in battle with the Geats, according to *Beow.* 2962–82. But it is very probable that the Geats, occupying a territory between the Swedes and the Danes, were in alliance with or subject to now the one and now the other of their neighbors. If the Danes were their allies or overlords (according as one reads *þyder* or *hyder* in *Beow.* 379) in Hreðel's and Hygelac's time, the fight with Ongenþeow (*Beow.* 2472–90, 2923–99) may be presumed to be the English memory of what appears in later Scandinavian tradition as a dynastic war between Danes and Swedes. We must then suppose in the time of Heardred (several years later) a change of policy which brings the Geats in co-operation with the other party in Sweden and prompts Heardred and after him Beowulf to support the sons of Ohthere against Onela. This, however, was but a temporary, perhaps merely personal, deviation from the traditional policy which ranged the Geats (with the Danes and) against the Swedes. So the messenger that announces Beowulf's death to his people professes renewal of strife between Swedes and Geats on account of the old feud with Ongenþeow (ll. 3000–8), despite the fact that Eadgils, whom Beowulf had helped to the Swedish throne, must be supposed still to be king at Upsala. The poet of the *Beowulf* conceived the Danes and Geats as friendly, probably as allied, peoples. See further note 6.

brother Ohthere, leader of the native or patriotic party, declaring that “the Swedes had never paid scat to the Danes,” heads an insurrection, which ends in his defeat and death (*Ynglgs.* XXVII, the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow. The *Beowulf* says nothing of the death of Ohthere, though he is apparently no longer living when his two sons take refuge with Heardred). His sons find an asylum at the court of the Geats (*Beow.* 2380 ff.). One of them, Eadgils, returns and with the help of the Geats defeats and kills his uncle Onela. Then, in order to ensure his hold upon the Swedish throne, he marries his uncle's widow Yrse—as Cnut married Emma, or as Claudius in *Hamlet* married Gertrude. (In all the Scandinavian forms of the story Hrolf's mother Yrse is at some time the wife of Aðils.) Hroþulf, who is now the nearest male representative of the Danish interest in the Swedish throne, goes to Upsala to claim from Eadgils the tribute due to him as overlord of the Swedes (or perhaps to claim, in his mother Yrse's right, the bride-gift due from a husband to the bride's family, without which a marriage was not legal), and there follows strife between Eadgils and Hroþulf. Hroþulf's visit to Upsala falls in time below that curious “dead line” after which English tradition knows nothing of Danes or Swedes,⁴ and accordingly is nowhere alluded to in *Beowulf*; but it is an important part of the Hrolf story in all the Scandinavian versions (Snorri in the *Ynglgs.* merely refers here to the *Skjoldngs.*, but he tells the story himself in the Prose Edda, *Skaldskaparmál* XLIV).

This view of the historical relations of the Scyldings and Scyldings who appear in the background of the *Beowulf* story involves the idea of the Swedish kingdom as a subject state, intermittently for two or three generations, to the Danish royal house, and of two parties, a

⁴Unless indeed with Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 11–18, we see in Wealhþeow's speeches *Beow.* 1181–8, 1220–8, an allusion to strife between Hroþulf (Hrolf) and Hreþric (Roric) after Hroþgar's death, and in the mention of Heoroweard (Hjorvarð) 2162 evidence that the poet knew a story of Hroþulf's death at the hands of this elder cousin, cf. *Hrolfss.* XXXI–IV, etc.

foren and a nativ party, among the Swedes themselvs. The former is consistently supported by Northern tradition, and the latter seems a natural corollary. That Ali (Onela), in all the Scandinavian traditions in which he appears as an opponent of Aðils, is not a Swedish prince but king of Uppland in Norway, is explained by the fact that there were two Upplands, one in Norway and one in Sweden, the latter being that part of the Swedish kingdom in which Upsala itself, the capital, lay. Icelandic tradition (the story does not appear in Saxo), knowing that Aðils's opponent was king of Uppland, supposed that Uppland must be somewhere else than in Sweden, and therefore identified it with Uppland in Norway.

Now there is in that chapter of the *Ynglinga-saga* which tells how Halfdan became king at Upsala a passage which Miss Clarke does not quote or allude to but which seems strongly to support her theory. I quote from Morris's translation, italicizing the part which Miss Clarke has omitted in her argument:

" . . . in the days when these kings afore-said [Yngvi, Jorund, Aun] bare rule at Upsala, the kings over the Danes were, first, Dan the Proud, who lived to be exceeding old; then his son Frodi the Proud, or the Peaceful, and then Halfdan and Fridleif, the sons of him, and these were great warriors. Halfdan was the older, and the foremost in all matters; and he went with an army against King Aun of Sweden, and certain battles they had wherein Halfdan ever gained the day; and in the end King Aun fled into West Gautland, whenas he had been king at Upsala for five-and-twenty years; and for twenty-five winters he abode in Gautland, while King Halfdan ruled at Upsala. King Halfdan died in his bed at Upsala, and was laid in mound there. *Thereafter came King Aun yet again to Upsala, and was then sixty years old. Then he made a great sacrifice for length of days, and gave Odin his son, and he was offered up to him. Then gat King Aun answer from Odin that he should live yet another sixty winters: so he reigned on at Upsala for twenty-five winters more. Then came Ali the Bold, the son of Fridleif, with an army to Sweden against King Aun, and battles they had, and King Ali ever had the better part; and again King Aun fled his realm, and went into West Gautland; and Ali was king in Upsala twenty-and-five winters or ever Starkad the Old slew him. After the fall of Ali, King*

Aun went back again to Upsala, and ruled the realm there yet five-and-twenty winters. Then he made yet another great sacrifice for the lengthening of his life, and offered up another of his sons;"

and Odin promist that he should liv on forever if he would sacrifice one of his sons every tenth year. Yet he grew older and feebler, and had to be fed like a babe; and when it came time to sacrifice the tenth son, the Swedes forbade it, and Aun died. The following chapters tell of Egil, Ottar, and Aðils, in successiv generations from Aun, of Aðils's fight with Ali the Upplander of Norway, and of his relations with Yrsa, with Helgi, and with Hrolf Kraki.

This story of Aun is evidently myth, or rather folk-lore; Aun is a Northern Tithonus. Egil also, the "mighty hunter," is probably in part a mythological figure.⁵ Accordingly, we may suppose that originally Ottar was the next in succession to Aun, which would giv us as the earlier basis for this part of the *Ynglingasaga* a series Aun-Ottar-Aðils corresponding to the series Ongenþeow-Ohthere-Eadgils of the *Beowulf*.

But what I wish to point out is this: that in Aun's successiv losses and recoveries of his throne and the renewd leases of life granted to him by Odin, the saga-teller has preservd in a fanciful way a memory of essentially the same dynastic facts that underlie the more nearly authentic stories of Ottar and Aðils, and that appear with yet more of the air of history in the Ongenþeow-Onela + Ohthere-Eadgils series of the *Beowulf*, considered in the light of Miss Clarke's hypothesis. Insted of Aun-Ottar-Aðils we hav successiv appearances of Aun upon the throne at Upsala with intervals of Danish rule, during which the Swedish king is

⁵ Cf. Egil the Archer, brother of Velent (Weland), in the *Þiðrekssaga*. Snorri's (that is, presumably, Þjóðolf's) account of Egil's strife with Tunni the thrall, his flight to Denmark, his return with a Danish host lent him on condition of his paying tribute, and the friendship between him and Froði after the defeat of Tunni, seems to be merely another version of the story of Swedish faction leading to Danish domination (Tunni—the nativ, Egil—the pro-Danish party). Aun, it may be noted, is a good Northern illustration of the divine king *ἐννέωπος*—cf. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*,² 156, note.

in retreat in Gautland—the land of Heardred and of Beowulf.⁶

⁶The parallel of course is far from being perfect: Ongenþeow fell in fight against the Geats, whereas Aun finds an asylum in Gautland. But the political relations of Swedes and Geats are very much mixt—perhaps it would be better to say shifting—in *Beowulf*. Beowulf supports Eadgils; but Eadgils's brother and fellow-refugee at Heardred's court, Eanmund, is slain by Weohstan the Wægmunding, a retainer apparently (*Beow.* 2607-8) and a kinsman certainly (*Beow.* 2813) of Beowulf; and the fact that Onela rewarded Weohstan for the deed (*Beow.* 2616) indicates that Weohstan was in the servis, at that time, of the rival branch of the Scyflings.

A possible explanation of the position of Weohstan, Wiglaf, and Wulfgar in the *Beowulf* is afforded by Stjerna's modification (*Essays on Beowulf*, transl. by Clark Hall, 1912, pp. 50-62) of Bugge's theory that the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow in the *Ynglingasaga* is a memory of the same event that is described in *Beow.* 2473-90, 2923-99 (the deth of Ongenþeow). Stjerna believed the fight to hav taken place really not in Jutland (Vendsyssel) as Snorri has it, but at Vendel in Sweden (north of Upsala, at the original hed of navigation on the Fyris). Archeological evidence points to the Swedish Vendel as an important station on a prehistoric trade route, and the great tumulus near by, known since the seventeenth century as King Ottar's mound, shows that it was a royal seat (cf. *Beow.* 2950-58). If we may suppose the Wendlas to hav been a family or tribe of the Swedes once independent, with their seat at Vendel, but afterwards subordinated, by intermarriage or conquest, to another family whose names had vocalic alliteration and whose seat was at Upsala, and if we may further suppose the Danish conquests to have been coincident with the transition from the Vendel to the Upsala house—i. e., to hav occurred while Vendel was still a royal stronghold—we shall hav an explanation not only of the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow but also of the parts playd by Wulfgar, Weohstan, and Wiglaf in the *Beowulf*. (The alliteration, noted by Stjerna l. c. 56, of Ongenþeow, &c., with Upsala, of Healfdene, &c., with Heorot and with Hleiðra, of Wulfgar, &c., with Vendel, can hardly be merely accidental.) The Wendlas, we may then suppose, were of the Danish or foren faction: Wulfgar *Wendla leod* is a high official at the Danish court (*Hroþgares ar ond ombiht*, 335-6); Weohstan kills Eanmund in the interest of Onela (2612-20), Hroþgar's brother-in-law; and Weohstan's son Wiglaf, altho he holds his fief from Beowulf (2608-9), is still *leod Scyflinga* to the poet. In a great rally of the southern peoples (Geats in *Beowulf*, Danes in *Ynglings*.) against the oncoming power of the Swedes (Ongenþeow in *Beowulf*, Ottar

And more particularly: we hav in Ali the Bold, son of Friðleif, who attacks Aun during his second tenure of the kingdom and drives him again to seek refuge in Gautland, as Onela drove the sons of Ohthere to seek refuge with Heardred, a figure considerably nearer to the requirements of Miss Clarke's hypothesis than is afforded by Ali the Upplander of Norway. Her hypothesis equates Onela, the uncle and rival of Eadgils, with the son-in-law of Healfdene; Ali of Norway is quite unconnected with either the Danish or the Swedish house. But this Ali the Bold, son of Friðleif, is closely connected with Halfdan, being his brother's son, as Onela, by the hypothesis, is his daughter's

in *Ynglings*.) the Swedish king is kild (by two Danish earls in Vendel in Jutland, according to *Ynglings*.; according to *Beowulf* in his stronghold (the Swedish Vendel?) by Eofor and his brother Wulf Wonreding, whose name suggests that he is not a Geat, but a warrior of the Wendlas fighting under Hygelac against the traditional foes of his own family). This exploit is the cause of mingled satisfaction and apprehension in *Beowulf*, and in Danish tradition was remembered as the story of Ottar Vendel-Crow.

So far there is nothing in the *Beowulf* that cannot be expland on the supposition that historically the Geats were at this time subordinate to or in alliance with the Danes. And the same may be said of Saxo (Holder, p. 56) and of the *Hrolfssaga*, if we take Bjarki to be a diffraction of Beowulf. The only serious difficulty lies in the fact that Beowulf supports Eadgils against Onela, i. e., acts on one occasion with the nativ and against the Danish faction in Sweden. This is not a peculiarity of English tradition; in the *Skjoldungasaga* and in the Prose Edda (*Skaldskaparmal* XLIV), Hrolf himself sends his champions, Bjarki among them, to help Aðils against Ali of Norway. The explanation would seem to be that during Heardred's brief reign the policy of the Geats shifted temporarily, for some reason unknown, to the other side, and that when Onela had slain Heardred for harboring his nephews, Beowulf avenged the deth of his king by helping Eadgils to overthrow Onela. Aun's retreat to Gautland, and perhaps Hrolf's sending of his champions to help Aðils against Ali, would then be interpreted as distorted memories of this fact. At all events it is clear from *Beow.* 3000-8 that the Swedes are still the dreaded foes of the Geats.

Is not the *hwate Scildingas* of 3006 merely the poet's (or the scribe's) momentary and careless, but very intelligible, confusion of the two peoples celebrated in the poem?

husband. He is thus quite appropriately the representative of the Danish claim to the overlordship of Sweden in this first and more fanciful of Snorri's (or Þjóðolf's) versions of the strife between the two kingdoms; and he seems to afford a bridge from Onela the Scyfling, son-in-law of Healfdene, to Ali of Norway,⁷ who is neither Swede nor Dane.⁸

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A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic. By GEIR T. ZOËGA. Oxford, Clarendon Press. \$3.40. (551 p.)

For some time, a fairly complete and reliable dictionary of Old Icelandic at a moderate price has been a desideratum for beginners or others who could not afford the expensive works of Cleasby-Vigfusson or Fritzner. The present lexicon fulfills the first of these requirements exceedingly well, on the whole; the price, however, is at least one-third too high for the purse of those students for whom the book is primarily intended.

As the preface states, "it is in the main founded on the Oxford Dictionary (Cleasby-Vigfusson) and has been compiled on the general principle of including all those words which the ordinary student of Icelandic is

likely to meet in the course of his reading. With the exception of the Edda poems, the purely poetic vocabulary has been omitted"—and, I think, wisely.

The fact that the abridgment is based on Cl. V. insures the distinct advantage of a pithy and strong English rendering—as against Fritzner's minutely painstaking, but long-winded, definitions. The words "in the main" in the acknowledgment might well be stricken, since if anything not in the larger work has been added it is certainly most inconspicuous. Column follows column with practically the same arrangement of vocables, excepting when, generally for well-considered reasons, words are omitted. Against this arrangement, however, strictures must be made in various respects. It is regrettable that Zoëga has seen fit to adhere to the practice of the older work in separating long and short vowels. That practically useless and time-robbing arrangement has been abandoned by all lexicographers in favor of the strictly alphabetic order. As it is, the philologically untrained will have troubles in plenty with the complicated O. N. phonology; but who, even among adepts, will be sure whether to look up *illr* or *íllr*, *stigr* or *stígr*, *ogn* or *ógn*, prefixal *or-*, *ur-* or *ór-*, *úr-*, etc., etc.? Things are not improved by rather slavishly following Cl. V.'s non-adherence to this principle in the case of *e*, *é* and having *fe-fé*, *le-lé*, *me-mé* come indiscriminately.

We learn that "the vowel *ø* has also been distinguished from *ö* (*q*), but without separation of the words containing them." But why, seeing they represent entirely different sounds? Thus we see *stō-* (*stq-*), *stø-* and *gō-* (*gq-*), *gø-*, etc., cheerfully keeping company (as in the older work which did not differentiate the sounds), whereas long *ø* (*œ*) is carefully segregated from its short brother!

In accordance with the entirely reasonable program above quoted, I have tested the lexicon by the following monuments: *Njála* (chaps. 100-125), *Laxdæla*; *Færeyingasaga*, *Heimskringla* (*Ólafss. Tryggv.*); *Stjórn* (at random); *Völsungas.*, *Egilss. einh.*; *Snorra Edda* (prose); *Íljmiskviða*, *Helreið Brynhildar* and found it adequate and accurate, with minor

⁷ The connection seems clearly to have been made in the *Skjöldings*, where, according to Arngrim's abstract, the grandfather of Alo (Ali) is also named Alo, and is king of Uppland in Norway (Clarke, *o. c.* 77).

⁸ In the *Ynglings*. Ali (Saxo's Olo nephew of Harald War-Tooth, as Mr. Chadwick points out, *Orig. Engl. Nat.*, p. 147) is slain by Starkaðr, the Hercules of Northern legend; in the *Beow.* Onela is killed by Eadgils in an expedition for which Beowulf provided the men and the weapons. It is quite possible—tho the weight of opinion is against it—to refer *he* of l. 2396 to Beowulf instead of Eadgils, which would make Beowulf the slayer of Onela in revenge for the death of his king Heardred. Beowulf, a mighty man of his hands, would then stand to Onela as Starkaðr to Ali.

exceptions, for all excepting Laxd. and Sn.E. where, for some reason, a considerable number of vocables are not covered. I noted, Laxd.: *sveipa af* 'to toss off', *gera at* 'to make much of', *gør* 'flock' (not only in poetry), *fætiliga* 'timidly'; *brautgangr* in the sense of 'divorce', *kviðustaðr* 'reason for anxiety', *forystulauss* in sense of 'without leader', *glæðel* 'sword'. Sn. E.: *hræring* in the sense of 'emotion', *elding* in the sense of 'luminous body', *silkiræma* 'silk-ribbon' and likewise the simplex *ræma*, *máttak* 'diction', and the following mistakes: *hallmæli* wrongly given as pluraletantum, *mannlíkan* (n) as feminine; *setberg* is not 'a seat-formed rock' but 'a battlemented mountain' (cf. Aasen sub *sete*), *sjávargang* (in the *Prologus*) means 'the Deluge', not 'high sea'. I note also that the cross-references are not worked out between the forms *sjór*, *sjár*, *sær*, *sjávar*-, so baffling to the beginner, and that only *frú* is given for the many variant forms of this word.

Fær., Heimskr., Völs., Egilss., Stjórn, and Njála were found to be well covered, on the whole, with the following exceptions: Fær.: *bera ut* in the sense of 'to bury' is omitted. Heimskr.: *rætask* (*mun á bardaga*) reference to *reitast* lacking. Njála: *umbrot* is not pluraletantum, *vanfóli* 'vicious horse' and *ljósaverk* 'dairy-work' are omitted. Völs: *komast fótum undir sér* 'to become established' is found neither under *komast* nor under *fótr*; *aftmunr* 'superiority in strength' is omitted.

Hýmiskv. and *Helreið B.* are well treated, unless, indeed, we should animadvert on the curious practice of simply omitting hapax legomena and unexplained words of frequently read monuments, which was observed also in reading the prose texts. *Knía* should be referred to *knýja* with which it is evidently identical. *Hléðr* 'famous' is omitted. In conformity to the plan of the abridgment, kennings are taken up only in rare instances, though the principle of selection is not evident.

Omissions noted otherwise: *újafnask* 'to become unequal, iniquitous', *gorsamligr* 'altogether'.—No particular pains seem to have been taken to incorporate new explanations.

To mention only one salient example, *grésjárn* (with which the giant Hýmírr closed his bundle, and against which the strength of Þórr is unavailing) is still translated by 'iron wire' when it was shown by Bugge to mean 'magic' iron, from O.Ir. *gres* 'art'.

A sketch of the declensions and conjugations, and a list of irregular forms, though by no means complete, render the work more useful.—The typography is neat. Only, one might desire broader margins, for notes and references. It would have been very helpful to use larger and stouter caption-numbers which would facilitate, as now the small Arabic numerals discourage, search until the exact idiom is found. In the same manner, heavier print for prepositions and adverbs as used with verbs would make for greater perspicacity. Cf. the four unbroken columns sub *taka*.

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The Commedia Dell'Arte; A Study in Italian Popular Comedy, by WINIFRED SMITH.
New York: The Columbia University Press,
1912. 8vo., xv + 290 pp.

Let us not apologize for the "commedia dell'arte." If, as Dr. Smith affirms, "it contributed nothing to the spiritual advance of mankind," it did something equally important: it created the art just as it inspired the genius of the most living dramatist of the old régime. The deeper we go into the sources of Goldoni's art, the clearer it becomes that this great interpreter of Venetian life owes less and less to Molière and the other foreigners, and more and more to the "commedia dell'arte." Take any of Goldoni's most genial creations: if we say that here is something distinctly new on the Italian stage, something that bears the imprint of perfect artistry and indicates a seriousness of purpose constituting a "reform," we shall only be doing justice to a great and conscientious genius. But we have not said it all until we

note the intimate indissoluble relation that exists between Goldoni's best work and the dramatic tradition which he vitalized and then killed. Does Goldoni bring the comedy back into connection with character? The "*commedia dell'arte*" had never been divorced from character, save that it worked at random impulse and caught with caricature the salient trait, while Goldoni's art is meditative and penetrates to all the finer nuances. Or is it a question of play construction? None of Goldoni's comic motives are without their counterparts in the extemporized drama; rather he systematizes the materials he found already in use, enlarging their scope, developing their possibilities, giving unity and cumulative power to what had been detached and artificially juxtaposed. The reform of Goldoni is not a breaking away from the theory of the "*commedia dell'arte*" but a realization of its ideal.

In the history, then, of the "*-commedia dell'arte*," Goldoni's rôle is much more than that casual episode which appears in Dr. Smith's study. In fact from Goldoni's theatre we can perhaps derive the best data that exist for seeing the extemporized play in actual operation; just as among his plays we find one of the best criticisms that have been made of the "*commedia dell'arte*." In ignoring the *Teatro comico* of Goldoni, Dr. Smith slighted one of her most suggestive possibilities. Here Goldoni, speaking not merely as the theoretician but as the practical workman, sympathetically defines the typical features of the contemporary Italian stage, interprets its spirit, reveals its powers and its limitations. The characteristics which he notes are so many categories for the historian to utilize in exposing the progressive development of this type of art: plot construction, variety of subject, realism of observation, morality, dialogue, *chiusette*, soliloquies, *rimproveri*, *conchetti*, laments, tirades, *libri generici*, episodes, improvisation,—here are some of the questions that Goldoni raises in connection with the "*commedia dell'arte*." An orderly and comprehensive analysis of this *genre* could do no better than discuss these problems with Goldoni's outline as a point of departure.

In Dr. Smith's narrative there is a distinct

charm of manner and a certain brilliancy of conception. But what her exposition gains in *élan* entails a sacrifice in the relief given to interesting and essential questions of detail. In the justifiable desire to emphasize the general outlines of the history of the "*commedia dell'arte*," the most real problems on which definite light may be shed have a tendency to receive an incidental treatment that is never exhaustive and never concise. If it is a question of female actors, or of males in female rôles, one definite statement of the facts is better than many chance references; so for the question of music, of stage machinery, of state regulation of the stage; so for the individual history of the minor types created by different actors. Specifically, for instance, there is the question of the term *commedia dell'arte* itself. If we agree that the proper translation is "professional comedy," or "comedy of the guild," it would still be interesting to know from documents the history of the phrase, and exactly how to refute the erroneous meanings that have gained currency. First of all, why assume tacitly that guild organization existed among the comedians? Or assuming indeed such a formal "*arte*," how do we know that the term arose in contrast to the *commedia erudita* or *commedia scritta*? It is apparent from known facts that the comic companies often utilized written plays. In the beginning the term could not have been used to distinguish the written from the extemporized drama, but rather to distinguish one type of stage from another. More probably the term grew out of the conditions of the theatre in the sixteenth century. There we find in Italy, as in France later, the profane stage in contrast with the religious representation. Granting the frequency of dilettante and society productions, the two types most affecting the popular patronage were the *compagnia religiosa* and the professional "*arte*." In the contrast between these two kinds of actors and performances, which is conspicuous, rather than between two types of comedy very much alike, it is more satisfactory to seek the origin of such an expression. The reasons for the later specializing of the meaning are obvious.

Nearly half this volume is occupied with the origin of the *genre*, showing the development of the *scenario* from the simple "piazza" entertainment of the mountebank to the conventional plot modeled on the imitative classic play. Improvisation is of course taken as the distinctive characteristic of the "commedia dell'arte." Both the popular and the aristocratic elements constituting the improvised drama are found in other countries than Italy. Why then is the "commedia dell'arte" so peculiarly an Italian production? Clearly there is some third causative element, and one to be sought rather in Italian character and in the conditions of Italian life than in any definite series of empirical facts. The theory of the superior "mimetic excellence" of the Italians, according to Dr. Smith, "begs the questions and falsifies the facts: it takes greater mimetic power to represent adequately Othello or Alceste than to play Pantalone or Gratiano." It is true that this answer begs the question, in the sense that it alleges a fact which itself requires explanation. As for falsifying the facts, it is not at all a question of Othello or Alceste, but merely of that "readiness of technic" required by the "commedia dell'arte." And here the fundamental fact in the discussion must be the clearly unquestionable excellence of the Italians in this respect. It is unfortunate that Dr. Smith starts with the feeling that this situation is "ultimately perhaps inexplicable." The two reasons she adduces—the absence of great dramatic geniuses in Italy and the peculiar position of the actors leading to a dominance of the actors over the writers and the public taste—form only a circle in logic: this means, in substance, that the Italians had the "commedia dell'arte" because the "commedia dell'arte" was all they had. We repeat, then, that this view of the question is unfortunate; for here, if anywhere, lies the problem of this *genre*, and it offers a beautiful theme, which had the capacity to vitalize Dr. Smith's whole conception of her subject. After all, what gives charm to her presentation, is her sense of the quaint naïveté of this ancient humor. But the subject has an appeal which is more organic. The "commedia dell'arte" fed upon a

popular spirit that is best described as gaiety; this explains the apparent frivolity of its themes. Goldoni, to destroy the *genre*, had only to inject into its vein the poison of a moral purpose; and its last vitality flickered out in the spirit of social reform that came growing with the Revolution. The analysis of this gaiety in its relations to the social system is the most pregnant esthetic possibility of the subject. The chief instrument of this gaiety is the play on regional types. Should we succeed even in dating the origin of Pantaloon, of Arlecchino, of Gratiano, we would have then only an incidental detail concerning the vehicle, the *scorza*, of something deeper and richer, the Italian regional consciousness. The history of the "commedia dell'arte" is the history of the development of regional satire. Before the audiences of the extemporized drama, the Venetian, the Bergamask, the Bolognese, the various social types, stood out in clean cut features. We have to posit a well-defined conventional sense and reconstruct its intimate history before we can penetrate to a sympathetic grasp of this humorism. And passing from these underlying questions of substance we come to the problems of form. It is not alone a question of improvisation, but of the special competence for improvisation. There is first to be considered the element of supple linguistic materials that favored the ancient lyric tradition; and then the conditions under which this typical capacity passes over into dramatic form, perhaps we should say rather, is forced over into the dramatic form. For nothing is more conspicuous in Italian history, in Italian life, than the histrionic impulse. We find in Italy a strongly developed individualism reacting to an equally rigid local conventionalism. Out of this spring naturally tragedy and comedy, tragedy, when the individual breaks out in revolt and succumbs, comedy, when his harmless idiosyncrasy is planed off by the leveller of public ridicule. The best tradition of Italian acting has always taken as its norm the identity of the staged representation and the corresponding situation in life. If naturalness be considered the ideal of "mimetic excellence," then surely the Italians can justly claim some

superiority in this regard, a superiority which comes less from a "mimetic" sense, than from a fundamentally "dramatic" attitude toward life.

We should have liked to see Dr. Smith's marked sensitiveness and her fine scholarly method operating with this wider orientation in her theme. For the skill with which she has gone through her wide readings and careful compilations gives assurance of her capacity for treating subjects of broad reach with accuracy and discrimination. Perhaps with denser composition the present state of knowledge of the subject could have been more exhaustively presented in similar space. Books like D'Ancona's *Origini*, Moland's *Comédie Italienne*, Rossi's *Calmo* could have been more profitably exploited; books like Capasso's *Commedia dell'arte* and Molmenti's *Venice* could have entered the bibliography of the subject. Especially Dr. Smith could have handled her patient collections with greater pleasure and effect, with a wider acquaintance with Italian. For instance, when Trappola (p. 95) says, "It is enough to say *Tasso* and every one knows we mean *poet*," he is saying not that Tasso is the archtype of the poet, but that all poets are badgers. This is a common pun in Italy. I recall some verses from a Venetian satire on the critics:

O che Ovidii novelli, o che Nasoni
Che vuol a tutti i altri dar del naso . . .
Che gran Virgilli pieni de maroni . . .
O che Claudiani zotti anzi struppiai;
O che Martiali marci e d'umor pieni.
O che Tassi, ben tassi, in poesia
Solamente svegiai per tarizzar,
O che Testi, ben teste da lavar
Con quel saon ch'è stà lavà Golia.

Comare and *compare* (p. 191) do not indicate necessarily legal relationship, but merely the mutual right to use the familiar *tu*. *Raffioli* and *sbruffedei* (the last a humorous Venetian term, arising in the days when forks and spoons were luxuries) are hardly "mincemeat" (p. 106). The phrase "bu non è torriccia Ne la torriccia non è bu" (p. 37) plays about the name *Bo*, the School of Padova. These *contrari* probably satirize the theory of scholastic logic proceeding from definitions. As for

Shakespeare's Bergamask dance (p. 179) all hesitation may be removed by recalling that local names are regularly applied to various dance movements, *pavana*, *furlana*, *bergamasca*, and even perhaps *tarantella*. The most serious deficiency in this phase of Dr. Smith's work is her treatment of the famous passages on the charlatans and comedians in Garzoni's *Piazza universale* (pp. 34-5, 190-1), particularly important to her, since one of the essential novelties in her volume is her discovery of Jonson's indebtedness to Garzoni for a scene in the *Volpone*. Zan della Vigna's "performing monkey" is only a chimera of J. A. Symonds, created out of the following Italian: "la brigata scoppia dalle risa vedendo i gesti di simia, gli atti da babuino, le diverse scaramelle di mano che [Z. della V.] fa alla presenza di tutti." Then the translation runs on with a freedom quite unnecessary. The phrases *cacciar carotte* and *far caleselle* are replaced by suspension points; *dalle vintidue alle vintiquattro hore di giorno* are rendered "every evening from ten to twelve." The phrase *alterarsi di nuovo*, following *corrucciarsi insieme*, is translated "changing countenance." *Bussoli*, "collection boxes," become "purses." In the following lines in Garzoni, *capire* should be corrected to *carpire*. Only a vague suggestion of Garzoni's spirited articles results from Dr. Smith's translations.¹

This book should serve as a model for dissertations calculated to answer the many objections brought against the doctor's degree. One can but feel that the author has come from the work with methods developed, sympathies quickened, horizons enlarged. If above we have suggested other possible ways of viewing the subject and noted some errors of detail, it is only the more sincerely to congratulate the author on a contribution highly creditable to American scholarship.

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¹ We may digress to add gratuitously to the chapter on the "commedia dell'arte" in France the fact that the celebrated name Jean Doucet is only an adaptation of the Italian Gian Dussetto, constructed on *giandussa*, as it were, Pimple-face.

GUSTAVE LANSON, *Manuel Bibliographique de la Littérature Française Moderne, 1500-1900*. IV: Révolution et Dix-Neuvième Siècle. Paris: Hachette, 1912. xx + 619 pp.

Professor Lanson's Bibliography, now complete in four volumes, fills a large gap in our sources and material for the study of French literature from the sixteenth century. It is an admirable work and will elicit the gratitude of every student of literature. The conception, arrangement and distribution of the material, the many different branches of information are new. In this last volume M. Lanson restricts himself almost exclusively to the general bibliography of movements and schools, only supplying bibliographies to some great individual authors already dead and to a restricted few still living, whom he includes because he considers, as he explains in the Introduction, that their life work is mainly done. M. Bergson is included as one of the great spiritual forces "qui travaillent aujourd'hui l'esprit français."

The table of contents of itself indicates on what broad lines and how comprehensively the author has dealt with the subject. According to the "Index des Abréviations" the periodical literature and publications have been quite thoroughly consulted. The field has been thoroughly covered as to the general subjects, although one should always bear in mind that a selection of the most important material and not completeness is the aim. The reviewer has made a test as an experiment to see how well a subject was covered with which he enjoyed more or less familiarity. French Versification was chosen. In looking over the general list on page 1102, *Le Vers Français*, he was struck by the omission of the very best known works, but on further investigation these were found under various headings. An astonishingly large number of references are scattered through the four volumes, either under the subject of French verse, or under poetry, or under special authors. The same test was made for Victor Hugo, with the same result. It is gratifying to see so many foreign works mentioned, al-

though many of the leading American and English magazines are not included, such as the Atlantic Monthly, Forum, Bookman, Scribners, Contemporary Review, in which important articles bearing on French literature appear from time to time. The collection into these volumes of so vast an amount of information, distributed in a comprehensive, concise and clear manner, will result in a great saving of labor to the student of French literature and commands our appreciation and gratitude.

HUGO P. THIEME.

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CORRESPONDENCE

AN ANACHRONISM ASCRIBED TO JONSON

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Nothing could be more astonishing to a specialist in Roman life than Ben Jonson's minute familiarity with that subject; nothing more amusing than the misconceptions and false criticisms of those that comment on him with defective knowledge. William Gifford, the translator of Juvenal and Persius, was too good a classical scholar to figure often among these, but one may suspect him as well as the other commentators of wronging Jonson in the following passage of the *Sejanus*:

"[Satrius Secundus and Pinnarius Natta can] cut
Men's throats with whisperings; sell to gaping
sutors

The empty smoke that flies about the palace;
Laugh when their patron laughs; sweat when he
sweats;

Be hot and cold with him; change every mood,
Habit and garb, as often as he varies;
Observe him, as his watch observes his clock;
And, true as turquoise in the dear lord's ring,
Look well or ill with him: ready to praise
His lordship," etc.—[Act I, scene 1.]

Gifford's edition cites Juvenal III, 105 ff. for lines immediately following these, but the citation should have begun with line 100 to

include all Jonson's borrowings.¹ In fact, this passage is full of reminiscences. In Juvenal IV, 110, we hear of those "who cut open throats by a gentle whisper",² and in Martial IV, 5, 7, of a man who cannot hope for success at Rome, because he is unable "to sell empty smoke around the palace on the Palatine."³ It is, therefore, hardly reasonable to believe that in saying "Observe him as his watch observes his clock" Jonson was guilty of an anachronism the like of which he would perhaps have criticized in Shakespeare.⁴ Yet this is Gifford's note:

"Steevens, who is supported by Whalley, maintains that this line refers to the figure of a watchman, which was placed on the dial-plate of our ancient clocks, with a lantern and pole to point out the hour. I have many doubts whether such a personage was ever so employed; but none as to the fallacy of the explanation. The speaker alludes to the pocket-watch, which in Jonson's days was not so independent of correction as at present, but was constantly regulated by the motion of the clock, at that time the more accurate machine of the two."

But the Greeks and Romans had nothing that could in any way justify Gifford's interpretation of the word "watch." On the other hand, they had sun-dials, water-clocks,⁵ and even instruments of complicated mechanism, which announced the arrival of an hour by a trumpet-

blast or other noise.⁶ These last were, however, very rare. The ordinary man of means assigned a special slave to watch a sun-dial either on his own property⁷ or one set up in a public place,⁸ and report the time by word of mouth⁹ or by blowing a trumpet.¹⁰ In accordance with the usual minute division of labor in the Roman household, this watcher might have practically no other task, and any failure to perform it well would insure severe punishment. He could, therefore, be depended upon to follow the progress of the shifting shadow on the dial as diligently as the flatterer observed every expression of his patron's face, and every movement that he made. This interpretation of the line accords with the almost universal fidelity that Jonson shows in both the *Catiline* and the *Sejanus* to his ancient authorities. Even the fullest of our commentaries can give the ordinary reader no adequate idea of what a wonderful cento of passages from Greek and Latin authors these two tragedies really are. It is indeed possible that Jonson told Drummond¹¹ little more than the truth of himself, when he said that "he was better versed, and knew more in Greek and Latin than all the Poets in England, and quintessence their braines."

WALTON BROOKS McDANIEL.

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¹ Luckily for subsequent blunderers the poet himself did not give all his references to substantiate his title of a polymath. Such precision was perhaps not always in his power.

² *tenui iugulos aperire susurro.*

³ *vendere .vanos circum Palatia fumos*; cf. Lampr. *Alex. Sev.* 36, Apul. *Mag.*, 313, 31.

⁴ In Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, published by the Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 16, note 2: "Sheakspear, in a play, brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, wher ther is no sea neer by some 100 miles" is perhaps indication enough of what Jonson would have said of Shakespeare's lines *Bru.* Peace! count the clock. *Cass.* The clock hath stricken three (*Julius Caesar*, II, 1.). As an actor in the *Sejanus*, Shakespeare perhaps spoke the very line that we are discussing, and, I fear, had no other interpretation of it than Gifford.

⁵ Compare Cic. *de deor. nat.* II, 34, 87: *solarium vel descriptum vel ex aqua.*

MILTON'S *Nativity*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—Professor J. W. Rankin, *M. L. Notes*, XXVII, 230, contributes to the discussion of the much-vexed line: "And every shepherd tells his tale," *L'Allegro* 67, by introducing a parallel with Milton's other poem *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*. Apparently he has read only my first letter on the subject, *Nation*,

⁶ *Lucian Hipp.* 8; *Vitruv.* IX, 8, 5.

⁷ Cic. *ad Fam.* XVI, 18, 3.

⁸ *Pliny N. H.* VII, 213.

⁹ *Martial VIII*, 67, 1; *Sidon. Apoll. Epist.* II, 9, 6.

¹⁰ *Petron.* 26.

¹¹ *Op. cit.* p. 37, where I suspect with Grossmann, *Ben Jonson als Kritiker*, p. 12, note, that we should read "quintessenced" = "outdid."

January 11, 1912, and is unacquainted with the further discussion, *Nation*, January 25 and February 15, 1912. Be that as it may, his interpretation of the Nativity hymn is, to say the least, extraordinary. We *must* imagine the shepherds in *L'Allegro* telling stories at early dawn because they are "chatting in a rustic row" at the point of dawn, *Nativity*, 87. Further, that Nature had hidden "her guilty front with innocent snow," *Nativity*, 39.

The second point I shall answer first, by asserting that the face of Nature is *not* hidden with snow. True, in verse 39 Milton represents Nature as begging the gentle air to cover up her shame in snow. The 'conceit' is worthy of Cowley; nothing but Milton's general intensity of emotion has saved him from a tiresome Marinism. At any rate the gentle air does nothing of the sort. There are no violent winds, no snowstorm. In verse 46 the Maker sends down "meek-eyed Peace," in line 52 "universal peace through sea and land." In verse 65 the winds "smoothly the waters kissed," and the wild ocean "hath quite forgot to rave." In plain prose, when Christ was born everything was tranquil. How else could Milton have put it, mindful of the hymn: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth *peace*."

Now for the shepherds. Milton introduced them because they were inevitable; Luke had spoken of the shepherds keeping watch over their flock by night. And since the shepherds were there, Milton had to give them something to do. The apparition of the angel presupposes that the shepherds were not scattered over the field but gathered in a group. And we must also assume that they had a premonition of something unusual impending. What more natural, then, than that they should sit in a row and chat of what was uppermost in their "silly thoughts," namely, their loves, or their sheep? All such details develop themselves from the general situation.

It is difficult, I too admit, "to imagine that shepherds with ordinary common sense would engage in such a performance [in the snow]; but I suppose we *must* imagine it, unless we change *chatting* to *chattering*." The italics are not mine; I have merely inserted the

phrase [in the snow]. Well, since there was no snow, there is no difficulty. If the reader will only go through the Nativity hymn as a whole, he will doubtless agree with me in pronouncing Professor Rankin's interpretation extraordinary.

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BRIEF MENTION

Fraser and Squair's *Shorter French Course* (Boston: Heath, 1913. xxvii + 316 pp.) is an elaboration of the excellent elementary section of the *French Grammar* by the same authors. Its production was evidently inspired by the experience of those who have felt the need of a fuller treatment than that given in *Part I* of the earlier work, but who were unwilling to burden the second or third year student with the mass of detail found in *Part II*. The *Shorter French Course* contains more than double the number of lessons found in *Part I* with a corresponding increase of illustrative material. The rules are clearly stated and are presented in a way to appeal to the student's memory. Especially helpful is the tabular method employed for teaching those confusing subjects, the order of the conjunctive pronoun objects and the variations in the conjugation of verbs.

M. P. B.

The first two volumes of the new edition of Stendhal (*Œuvres complètes de Stendhal*, publiées sous la direction d'Edouard Champion. Paris, Champion, 1913) consist in the autobiographical *Vie de Henri Brulard*. The editor, Mr. Debraye, has with admirable patience deciphered the almost cryptogrammatic handwriting of the manuscript, here published, in its entirety, for the first time. The text is followed by a full critical apparatus, judicious illustrations accompany the volumes, and the material execution is notably good. The publication of the whole work, some thirty-five volumes, will extend over the next ten years. The same house is just about to issue a Stendhal bibliography by Mr. H. Cordier.

The general editor of this Stendhal edition has become the head of the publishing firm bearing his name through the recent death, at the age of sixty-seven, of Mr. Honoré Champion, so well known to Romance scholars through his connection with various enterprises of the first importance, such as the *Romania* and the *Atlas linguistique de la France*.

ALTNORDISCH TRYGGR¹

Das altn. Adjektiv *tryggr* erscheint nur als *wa-*, *wô-*Stamm, woraus zu schliessen ist, dass das *y* aus einem früheren durch das folgende *w* (Altn. *v*-Umlaut) labialisierten *i* entstanden ist: *Urn. *triggvaR* > Altn. *tryggr*.

Die herkömmliche Ansicht, dass das *e* im Nord. und Westg. älter sei, als das *i* im Got., und dass das *e* in westg. *eo*, *eu* älter sei, als das *i* in got. *iu*, werde ich versuchen, in bezug auf das altn. *tryggr* als irrtümlich zu erweisen.

Prof. Hermann Collitz hat im *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Bd. VI, S. 253–306 ("Segimer oder Germanische Namen in Keltischem Gewande") die Ansicht ausgesprochen, dass es für das *i* und *iu* der germanischen Sprachen nicht den geringsten Unterschied mache, ob dem *i* ein vorgermanisches *e* oder *i* zu grunde liegt, dass es weder urg. *e* noch urg. *eu*, sondern nur vorg. *e*, *eu*=urg. *i*, *iu* gegeben habe. Alle scheinbaren Unregelmäßigkeiten des Altn. und Westg. müssen aus dem Germanischen selber erklärt werden, es genüge fast immer, einfach den got. Vokalismus für die übrigen germ. Sprachen voranzusetzen.

¹ BIBLIOGRAPHIE. Wilhelm Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*, 8. Aufl., Halle, 1912; *Zur Althochdeutschen Lautlehre*. II. Die Diphthonge *iu* und *eo* (*io*), PB. Beitr. Bd. IV, S. 557–566.—Hermann Collitz, *Segimer oder Germanische Namen in Keltischem Gewande*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Bd. VI, 2, S. 253 ff.; *Das Schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte*, *Hesperia* I, Göttingen, 1912.—Falk und Torp, *Germanischer Sprachschatz*, (Fick, Wörterbuch, 4. Aufl., Bd. III, Göttingen, 1909); *Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Germanische Bibliothek, IVte Reihe).—Rudolph Kögel, *Gotisch ddj und Altnordisch ggj*, PB. Beitr. Bd. IX, S. 545–548.—Adolph Noreen, *Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik*, 3. Aufl., Halle, 1903.—Hermann Paul, "Zur Geschichte des Germanischen Vocalismus," PB. Beitr. Bd. VI, S. I–256.—Eduard Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, 3. Aufl., Halle, 1898; *Zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Diphthonge*, PB. Beitr. Bd. XVIII, S. 411 ff.—"Zum Angelsächsischen Vocalismus," Leipzig, 1909.—Wilhelm Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1892.

Über O. Bremer's abweichende Meinung (*Indog. Forschungen*, Bd. XXVI (1909), S. S. 148–173) hat sich Prof. Collitz wieder in der Einleitung zum ersten Bande der *Hesperia* (S. XV) ausgesprochen.

Die herkömmliche Ansicht vertreten freilich noch viele, worunter Sievers (PB. Beitr. XVIII, S. 411, ff., "Zum Angelsächsischen Vocalismus," Lpz. 1900), aber Prof. Collitz hat (Das Schwache Prät., S. 145–147) es klar gemacht, dass angels. *éo* (z. B. in *éode*, *fréond*) nichts für germ. **eu* beweist.

Was altn. *tryggr* anlangt, wird man, glaube ich, zugeben müssen, dass Prof. Collitz recht hat. Während germ. **uw* im Nord- und Ostg. als *ggw* (Altn. *ggv*) erscheint, verbindet sich im Westg. das erste **w* mit dem vorausgehenden Vokal zum Diphthong (Westg. *Wurzelsvokal +*uw*). Bei dem betreffenden Worte (altn. *tryggr*) spricht das Zeugnis der westg. Sprachen zu Gunsten einer urg. Grundform mit dem Wurzelsvokal *i*, nicht *e*: Urg. **tri* + *w* > Westg. **triuw*. Die ahd. Formen sind im Westg. entschieden die ältesten, und zeigen daher am besten den Zustand des betreffenden Diphthongs im Westg. Die westg. Formen, deren Stamm (zuweilen mit Einschluss des anlautenden Konsonanten der Endung) auf *uw* oder *uj* (z. B. **niu*jis > *niuwi*) ausgeht, zeigen im Althd. vor dem *u* ein *i* (einerlei ob aus vorg. *e* oder *i*), welches gegen ein *a* der Endung unempfindlich ist: daher heisst es nicht nur *triuwi*, *niuwi*, sondern auch *triuwa*, *hriuwa*, *hriuwan*, u.s.w. Die Endung *i* hat also im Ahd. nichts mit dem *i* (*iu*) der Stammsilbe zu tun. Nur im Ags.=Fries.=Alts. neigt altes *iu* überhaupt zum Übergang in *eo*, das wieder durch das *i* der Endung umgelautet wird. Die angeblichen alten *eu* der ältesten ahd. Quellen, die Braune² aufstellt, sind nicht streng althoch-

² "Nur in einzelnen alten Quellen sind noch Formen mit *ë* (*ëu*) bewahrt. So im Is. *hrëuûn*, und auch vor *i*, *ëuuih* (euch) und *ëu* (d. plu.), dagegen *triuua*. Bei Tatian *trëuua* und *ëu* (euch) je einmal neben sonstigem *iu*. In H. einmal *rëuûn*; in B. einmal *ëuuih*, ebenso in al. Ps. zweimal *ëuuih* (neben *hiuuuih*)." *Ahd. Gramm.*, § 30, A. 2.

deutsch, sondern "ingaevonische" (d. h. ags.=alts.=fries.) Formen. Bei diesem *ë* vor *uw* handelt es sich im Ahd. ausschliesslich um eine ags.=alts.=fries. Dialekteigenheit. Diese Formen mit ingaevonischem *ëu* versucht Braune nach dem Ags.=Alts.=Fries. zu korrigieren, welche doch eben jüngere Formen als das Althd. aufweisen. Daher halte ich (mit Prof. Collitz, der mich darauf aufmerksam machte) den von Braune (§ 30, A. 2) aufgestellten Satz nicht für richtig; nämlich ursprünglich hätten *ë* und *i* auch vor *uw* (im Westg.) mit dem Vokale der Endung gewechselt. Der beste Beweis für die Priorität des *i* vor *ë* liegt ja in den ahd. Formen selbst, die regelmässig *iu* (Westg. **iuw*) aufweisen. Ähnlich muss auch die Geschichte des alten angeblichen **eu* (Urg. **e + u*, Westg. **ë + u*) gewesen sein. Die Priorität des *i* vor *e* auch bei diesem urg. Diphthong legt Prof. Collitz in seinem Aufsatz über "Segimer" (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Bd. VI, S. 253–306) klar an den Tag.

In Einklang mit der herkömmlichen Ansicht nimmt Sievers (Ags. Grammatik,³ § 46, 64. "Zum Ags. Vokalismus," S. 26–60, PB. Beitr. Bd. XVIII, S. 411–416) an, dass dem westg. Diphthong **ëu* ein germ. **e + u*, oder **e + ww* zu grunde liege, dass dieses westg. **ëu* im Ags. (Ags. Grammatik³ § 64) regelmässig als *éo* (z. B. *béod*, u. s. w.) erscheine, auch vor *w* (wo got. *iggw*, altn. *ygg(v)* vorliegt) z. B. *hréowan*, *tréow* (Altn. *hryggva*, *tryggr*). Wenn das altn. *tryggr* auf ein älteres germ. **tre + ww + a* zurückginge, wie Sievers meint, liesse sich diese Form nicht erklären, denn im Altn. ist der v-Umlaut eines *e ø(ö)* nicht *y*. Man wäre dann gezwungen, *tryggr* als *wja-*, *wjô*-Stamm anzusehen, welcher in die *wa-*, *wô*-Stämme übergetreten sei. Das *i* des Suffixes hätte das *e* der Stammsilbe zu *i* umgelautet, und letzteres wäre durch das *w* der Endung zu *y* umgelautet (d. h. labialisiert). Freilich schwanken andere Adjectiva im Altn. zwischen der reinen *wa-*, *wô*- und der *wja-*, *wjô*-Declination (Noreen,² § 74, 5); z. B. *dyggr*, *hryggr*, *myrkr* (Urg. *mirk + wi*), aber das *i* des Suffixes hat nichts mit dem Stammvokal zu tun, denn ein *i* der Stammsilbe bleibt gegen ein *i* der Endung unempfindlich.

Altn. *tryggr* erscheint nur als ein reiner *wa-*, *wô*-Stamm (ohne *j* Suffix), sowie got. *triggws*, wie das Adverbium *triggwaba* ja zeigt. In ahd. *gi-triuwi* wird das *i* des Suffixes darauf beruhen, dass im Ahd. das *uw* (Got *ggw*, Altn. *ggv*) wie ein alter *u* Stamm. (Braune, § 251) behandelt ist, wie, z. B. ahd. *engi*=got. *aggwus*, ahd. *herti*=got. *hardus*. Im Altn. hingegen erscheint *tryggr* nur als ein reiner *wa-*, *wô*-Stamm, worin der Stammvokal *i* durch das folgende *w* des Suffixes, sowie bei *syng(v)a*, zu *y* labialisiert wird. Daher sollte man, wie Noreen (§ 74, 5) es tut, altn. *tryggr* mit got. *triggws* zusammenstellen, indem beide den germanischen Stammvokal *i* vertreten. Dass in altn. *dyggr*, *hryggr*, *myrkr*, u. s. w. *ja*, *jô*-Stämme vorliegen, verändert die Sachlage nicht im geringsten, denn ein *i* bleibt ja gegen das *i* der Endung unempfindlich. Das Altn. beweist also nichts gegen Prof. Collitz's Annahme (*J. E. Germ. Philol.*, Bd. VI, S. 253–306), dass das *i* des Got. auch dem Altn. und dem Westg. zu grunde liege. Im Gegenteil haben wir hier bei altn. *tryggr* noch eine Bekräftigung seiner Theorie, indem *tryggr*, das nur als ein reiner *wa-*, *wô*-Stamm vorkommt, sich viel leichter und einfacher aus der Grundform **tri + ww + a* (Urn. **tri + ggv + a + R*) > Altn. *tryggr*) erklären lässt, als aus einer Grundform **tre + ww + i*, wo man gezwungen ist, eine Form im Altn. (z. B. **tryggjan*) aufzustellen, die doch nirgendwo belegt ist. Auch wenn eine solche Form (nach Art von *hryggjan*) vorkäme, würde das nichts gegen altes *i* beweisen. Da nun das Got. und das Ahd. entschieden ältere Formen aufweisen, als das Ingaevonische, und da das Altn. nichts gegen altes *i* beweist, sondern entschieden für altes *i* spricht, liegt der Schluss nahe, dass nicht das Got. = Nord. = Ahd., sondern nur das jüngere Ingaevonische (d. h. Ags.=Alts.=Fries.) vom Grundvokale des Urg. abgewichen ist. Von Sievers' Standpunkte aus wäre man gezwungen, die älteren germ. Formen (Got. und Ahd.) als Abweichung von den jüngeren anzunehmen. Nach Prof. Collitz's Ansicht hingegen zeigen nur die jüngeren Formen Abweichungen von den älteren, denn hier beweisen das Altn. und das Ahd. nichts gegen das got. *i*. Hier genügt

es einfach den gotischen Vokalismus für die anderen germanischen Sprachen vorauszusetzen. In ags. *tréow* und alts. *trēuwa* liegen jüngere Entwicklungen des westg. *iu* vor.

Altn. *tryggr* beweist also nichts für altes **e + ww*, sondern stützt im Gegenteil die got. und ahd. Formen, welche auf altes **i + ww* zurückgehen. Man wird hier sagen müssen, dass das Problem am verkehrten Ende angefasst wird, wenn man die älteren Formen als Abweichung von den jüngeren ansieht, und z. B. mit Sievers und mit Falk u. Torp (Germanischer Sprachschatz, Bd. III, S. 171; Norwegisch-Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, S. 1290) got. *triggws* und altn. *tryggr* auf eine Grundform **trewwi* zurückführt. Eine Grundform **tri + ww + a* erklärt das Altn. ohne Annahme einer Suffixendung auf *j*. Bei einer Grundform **trewwi* muss man zunächst *tryggr* als *(w)ja-*, *(w)jô-* Stamm erklären, der in die Flexion der reinen *wa-*, *wô-* Stämme übergetreten sei. Warum einen solchen Umweg machen, da das *i* der Stammsilbe sich ganz gut mit dem Vokal der Endung verträgt: Urg. **tri + ww + az* > Urn. **tri + ggv + aR* > Altn. *tryggr*? Das *j* Suffix des Westg. (Ahd. *ga-triuw-i*, Alts. *getriuwi*, Ags. *getriewe*) hat nichts mit dem Nordischen zu tun, sondern beruht ausschliesslich auf westg. Eigenheiten, indem das *uw*, *uj*. u. s. w. des Westg. wie ein alter *u* Stamm behandelt und *triuw-* demgemäss in die *ja-*, *jô-* Declination der Adjectiva übergeführt ist.

Ferner sollte es bei Falk und Torp (Germanischer Sprachschatz, S. 171) statt Alts. *triwi*, *trēwa* heissen *triuwi* oder (*triuui*), *trēuwa* oder (*trēuua*), denn die Stammsilbe ist im Heliand nach Ausweis des Metrums stets lang, hat also Diphthong.

Beim altn. Personalpronomen *yðr* sieht man gleichfalls, dass sich das altn. *i* mit einem *a* Stamme ganz gut verträgt, wenn man nämlich das Possessivum *yðarr* hinzunimmt. Hier herrschen wesentlich dieselben Vokalverhältnisse wie bei *tryggr*, denn das Got., das Altn., und das Ahd. bewahren alle das alte *i*. Nur im Ags. und im Alts. (also im Ingaevonischen) zeigt das *i* Neigung in *e* überzugehen: beim Pronomen Got. *izwis*, Altn. *yðr*, Althd. *iu*, aber Ags. *éow* (*íow*), Alts. *eu*, *iu(u)*; beim Possessivum

Got. *izwar*, Altn. *yðarr*, Althd. *iuwêr*, aber Ags. *éower* (*íower*), Alts. *euwa*, (*iuwa*). Nach der herkömmlichen Ansicht über altes *e* würde man auch hier gezwungen sein, am verkehrten Ende anzufangen, um zu beweisen, dass das Ingaevonische den älteren urgermanischen Vokal vertritt.

Bei altn. *tryggr* und *yðr* ist die Annahme des Grundvokals *i* insoweit begründet, als das *y* nichts für altes *e* beweist, sondern im Gegenteil zeigt, dass ein *i* im Altn. sich mit dem *a* der Endung vertragen kann, und als dieses *i* auch an dem Vokalismus des Got. (*triggws*) und des Ahd. (*triuwa*) eine Stütze findet. Vom geschichtlichen Standpunkte aus betrachtet, wäre es verkehrt, die urg. Grundform nach jüngeren Spracheigenheiten aufzustellen, welche offenbar mit älteren Erscheinungen im Widerspruch stehen. Meine Untersuchungen über das altn. *tryggr*, (zu denen ich durch Prof. Collitz's Aufsatz über "*Segimer*" und persönliche Förderung seinerseits angeregt bin) haben dazu gedient, mich in der Überzeugung der Richtigkeit seiner Verneinung des alten germanischen *e* zu bekräftigen. Es lohnte sich wohl, auch andere Fälle, in denen ein westg. *iu* = altn. *y* + Konsonant (wie oben in *tryggr*, *yðr*) vorliegt, über das Gesamtgebiet des Germanischen zu verfolgen.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF *THE LATE LANCASHIRE WITCHES*

Fleay is undoubtedly correct in his statement that this is an old play of Heywood's, revised by Brome to make it timely in its contemporary allusions, for a revival in 1634.¹ Fleay, however, has not given a very accurate determination of the parts attributable to the two authors.

The evidence which indicates that the play

¹ Fleay, *Biog. Chron.*, 1, 301.

is a revision is in the obvious interpolation of an episode, an omission of one or two incidents that we are led to expect, and a mention in two places of names of witches or spirits inconsistent with the names in the rest of the play. A transaction between Generous and Arthur, involving a mortgage, is mentioned in Act I (p. 178),² and Robin, in Act III (p. 210), gives his master Generous a receipt for one hundred pounds, which he has dropped. These two incidents seem to be connected, but not very clearly. They also ought to lead up to something, but they are hardly mentioned further. Again, in Act II (p. 197), Arthur and Shakstone bet on the speed of their dogs in chasing a hare, but the scene ends abruptly on p. 199, without the interference of witchcraft which we are led to expect. These scenes indicate that something has been omitted in the present version of the play. Moreover, the incident of the boy and the gray hounds (pp. 196, 199-201) is obviously an interpolation with no connection with any of the threads of interest. The boy is brought in again in Act V (p. 241 ff.) as a witness against the witches, but his evidence is quite unnecessary, for the *dénouement* is brought about by the soldier who sleeps in the mill. The final indication of revision is the speech of Mrs. Generous in Act IV (p. 240):

"Call Meg, and Doll, Tib, Nab, and Iug,"

and the use of three of these mes, Nab, Iug, and Peg, again in Act V (p. 244). The names of the witches throughout the rest of the play are Maud (Hargrave), Meg (Johnson), Gil (Goody Dickison), Mall (Spenser), and Nan Generous; while the familiars are Suckling, Pug, and Mamilion.³

The play, then, as published in 1634, is a revision. We may dispose of the possibility of collaboration in the revision by the fact that Heywood was writing for the Queen's Company in 1633 and that the *Lancashire Witches*⁴ was brought out by the King's Men, the com-

pany for which Brome was writing in 1633 and 1634.

We are able to determine, to a certain extent, the parts that may be ascribed to each author by comparing the play with the three sources that have been discovered. The main plot, the story of a woman of wealth practicing witchcraft, finally discovered and condemned, is taken from a celebrated witch-trial in Lancashire in 1612. As ten witches were condemned and executed as the result of the trial, considerable notoriety was given to it. Heywood, with a journalist's instinct, made a play on the subject probably within a year of the trial.⁵ Besides this indication of Heywood's authorship of the main plot, the treatment of the erring wife by her husband (Act IV, p. 228) strongly suggests the *Woman Killed with Kindness*.

Closely connected with the main plot are three characters, Arthur, Shakstone, and Bantam⁶ who, in the first scene of the play, accuse Whetstone, a foolish fellow, of being a bastard. At the end of the fourth act, Whetstone has his revenge by showing, with the aid of witchcraft, visions of the fathers of the three gallants—a pedant, a tailor, and a serving man. Since this incident, as Langbaine pointed out, occurs in Heywood's *Hierarchy of Angels*,⁷ which was not published until 1635, and was, therefore, probably not known to Brome at the time of his revision, I assign the parts in which these characters occur to Heywood.

Another interest in the play is the comic situation brought about by the reversal of the relations of father and son, mother and daughter, and servant and master, as an effect of witchcraft.⁸ This part of the play, which includes the characters of Old Seely, his son Gregory, and a friend, Doughty, I can find no good reason for attributing to Brome. On the other hand, as this reversed situation has some bearing on the relation of Arthur and Generous

² Heywood's Works, 1873, Vol. iv.

³ See pp. 187-189, 199-202, 218-222, 235.

⁴ See title page to a *Maiden-head well Lost*, 1634, and Schelling's *List, Eliz. Drama*, 2, 586.

⁵ T. Potts's *Discoverie of Witches in the County of Lancaster*, London, 1613 (Reprinted by the Chetham Society, 1845), gives a full account of the trial, but I do not think it was the actual source of the play. Heywood probably had merely heard of the trial.

⁶ See pp. 176, 189 ff., 246 ff., 250 ff.

⁷ Bk. 8, p. 512.

⁸ Pp. 179-187.

(pp. 178 and 182) in the main plot, it seems to me it must be assigned to Heywood.

The greater part of the rest of the play is taken up with the strange events at the marriage of Lawrence and Parnell, the servants of the Seely family. The witches play all sorts of pranks with the wedding feast and frighten the guests; and one of them, Mall Spenser, gives Lawrence a bewitched cod-piece point, which causes a great deal of vulgar comedy by preventing him from consummating his marriage. This plot is involved to such an extent with all the different interests I have mentioned before, that I cannot see any possibility of a separate authorship for it. Arthur, Bantam, Shakstone, Whetstone, Seely, Doughty, and Gregory—characters in the other plots—are present in some capacity, chiefly in the wedding scenes; Mall Spenser, who gives Lawrence the fatal present, has an intrigue with Robin, the servant who plays such an important part in the Nan Generous plot. Furthermore, there is a piece of external evidence, which, I think, indicates that the Lawrence-Parnell plot was in the early version of the play. In Field's *Woman is a Weathercock* (v. 1), one character addressing another as a very lusty person says, "O thou beyond Lawrence of Lancashire." As Field's play was entered in the Stationers' Register Nov. 23, 1611, and the trial in Lancashire, from which Heywood drew his play, was not over until Aug., 1612, Field cannot be referring to Heywood's Lawrence. However, the probability is that both dramatists are using the name of a real character well-known to the audience, or a proverbial name for a person of his type. Whichever be the case, I think it safer to infer that the allusions to Lawrence should be dated as close together as possible. An allusion of this sort twenty years old would probably be forgot. Therefore, this external evidence also points to 1613 as the date of composition of the Lawrence-Parnell plot. Fleay seems to imply that the part of Lawrence and Parnell was added by Brome, because he says that the dialect which they speak is that of the *Northern Lass*.⁹

⁹ Fleay, *op. cit.*, 1, 303.

This, however, is not true. The speech of Lawrence and Parnell, which is considered fairly good Lancashire dialect,¹⁰ is much more difficult for the average reader than that of Constance in the *Northern Lass*, who speaks a sort of general North English dialect.¹¹ As Heywood also had used a northern dialect elsewhere—*e. g.*, in *Edward IV*—as well as Brome, Fleay's argument is useless.

This attribution leaves very little part in the play to Brome. I think that all that can be shown positively to be his work are the passages that are undoubtedly based on the evidence gathered at the second trial for witchcraft in Lancashire in 1633. These are the short scene of the boy and the grayhounds in Act II (pp. 196–197); the sequel to it, in which one of the grayhounds turns into Goody Dickison (pp. 199–201); the scene of the meeting of the witches (pp. 218–221);¹² and the boy's report of his adventure, at the beginning of Act V (pp. 241–244). This assigns to Brome about nine pages in all, out of a play of eighty-nine. Besides this, Brome changed the names of the witches and spirits throughout the play, and probably altered slightly the riming scene in Act IV (p. 235), to introduce the references to Meg, Mamilion, Dickison, Hargrave, and All-Saints' night. He also must have added the prologue and epilogue, and probably the song for Act II, appended to the play.

All these details of the play, just enumerated, were drawn from the *Examination of Edmund Robinson* and the *Confession of Margaret Johnson*.¹³ They must, therefore, because of their later date, have been the additions of Brome.

These interpolations have nothing to do with

¹⁰ Crossley's Intro., *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 1.

¹¹ Compare the words listed from the two plays by Eckhardt in *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren englischen Dramas*, 1900, 1. 86 and 87.

¹² The original idea of this scene was probably in the first version, but the getting a feast by pulling at ropes and the presence of the boy come from the 1633 version.

¹³ Both found in Crossley's introduction to T. Potts, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–76.

the rest of the play. In fact, Brome's reworking here has resulted in making a worse play out of a very poor one, merely to be up-to-date.

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HONORÉ D'URFÉ'S *SIREINE* AND THE *DIANA* OF MONTEMAYOR

The close relations between Urfé's minor pastoral poem, *Sireine*, and Montemayor's *Diana* have often been briefly referred to by literary critics.¹ But it is only recently, in M.O.-C. Reure's excellent book *La vie et les œuvres de Honoré d'Urfé* (Paris, Plon, 1910), that this interesting question has been studied more in detail. There are, however, a few important facts which M. Reure does not mention. The present paper proposes therefore to compare the French and the Spanish pastoral once more, even at the risk of making, in parts, *double emploi* with M. Reure.

It appears from the manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fr. 12486), that the *Sireine* was composed from 1596-1599, some time before the first part of the *Astrée* assumed its definite shape. The author chose for his poem a peculiar stanzaic form of six octosyllabics:

Je chante un despart amoureux,
Un exil long & malheureux,
Et le retour plein de martire.
Amour qui seul en fus l'auteur,
Laisse pour quelque temps mon cœur
Et viens sur ma langue les dire.²

¹ See esp.: Bonafous, *Étude sur l'Astrée et sur H. d'Urfé*, Paris, 1846, pp. 34 and 133 ff.; H. Koerting, *Geschichte d. frz. Romans im 17. Jhdt.*, Leipzig, 1891, vol. I, p. 79; A. Lefranc, "Le roman français au XVIIe siècle" (*Revue des cours et des conférences*, Vol. XIII, 1905, p. 27). The oldest authority is probably Daniel Huet, who declares in his *Traité de l'origine des romans* (1670-72) that "Urfé a pris, . . . comme tant d'autres choses, et l'argument mesme de son Sireine de la Diana de Montemayor."

² Thus in the edition of Paris, 1618, which we follow in our quotations.

As indicated in this first stanza, the poem is divided into three parts, *le despart*, *l'absence* and *le retour de Sireine*. In the manuscript, these parts are of approximately equal length. In subsequent printed editions, however, the poem was greatly enlarged, especially the third part, which was increased to more than double its original length.³

The argument in short is as follows: Sireine, a shepherd of the kingdom of Leon in Spain, and Diane, a shepherdess, have sworn eternal fidelity to one another. But Sireine is sent away by his master, on the banks of the river Eridan. During his absence, he receives a letter from Diane, urging him to return: her mother wants her to marry Delio, a rich but uncouth shepherd. Sireine returns, but arrives too late; on the very ship that brings him home he hears that Diane, still loving only him, has fulfilled her duty as a daughter and married Delio whom she does not love. Upon his arrival Sireine meets Silvan, his friend and former rival for Diane's affection, who delivers to him a melancholy love-letter written by Diana with her own blood a few days before the marriage. At the same moment three beautiful nymphs draw near, Doride, Cynthie and Polydore, and Sireine learns from their conversation that Diane has not changed her feeling toward him, but is afraid to show her love, lest she forfeit her good name. This knowledge affords a little comfort to the unfortunate shepherd, and in the concluding stanza the author curses those who cruelly separated Sireine and Diane.

Everybody familiar with Montemayor's *Diana* will at once recognize the great similarity of our plot with the *argumento* of the Spanish novel: Montemayor resumes briefly Diana's love for Sireno, her dislike for Silvano and her final marriage with Delio, "after time and her heart had changed." He concludes: "De

³ The exact figures are:

	manuser.	ed. of 1606	ed. of 1618
Despart.....	139 stanzas	148	149
Absence.....	122	169	170
Retour.....	142	284	284
Total.....	403	601	603

aquí comienza el primero libro y en los demás hallarán muy diversas historias de casos que verdaderamente han sucedido" . . .⁴ From this very sentence it appears that Montemayor's chief object was to develop a dramatic situation from incidents which had already occurred. Urfé, on the other hand, takes only the previous history of the *Diana*, as expounded in the *argumento*, together with a few suggestions which he finds mostly in the earlier parts of the novel. His story ends exactly at Montemayor's starting point.

The only important difference of conception between the French and the Spanish pastoral consists in the fact that Urfé's Diane marries Delio in order to obey her parents, while—according to the *argumento*—Montemayor's fickle-minded Diana simply forgets her love for Sireno.⁵ But this difference must not be overrated. The interference of cruel parents with the matrimonial projects of their children is a commonplace in the novel of that period.⁶ Montemayor himself alludes to the "voluntad de padres, persuasión de hermanos y importunidad de parientes" which at first could not prevail upon Diana to forget her beloved Sireno, and to the "voluntad de su padre y deudos" which finally caused her to change her mind.⁷

But Urfé's imitation is not confined to general similarities in plot and characters.⁸ In certain instances he even goes as far as to directly translate the Spanish model: Out of the 149 stanzas of the *Despart*, 127 are either literally translated from, or freely enlarged

⁴ *La Diana*, Paris (Socied. de Ediciones Louis-Michaud), 1912, p. 14.

⁵ Cf. A. Lefranc, *l. c.*

⁶ See G. Reynier, *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, Paris, 1908, ch. 10-11.

⁷ *Diana*, Book I, p. 16, and Book V, p. 223.

⁸ The three nymphs of the *Sireine* correspond exactly to the Spanish Dorida, Cintia and Polidora. If Delio is described by Montemayor as a man who, "aunque es rico de los bienes de fortuna, no lo es de la naturaleza" (*Diana*, Book I, p. 32), Urfé lets him appear as

" . . . homme imparfait

Et qu'à despit Nature a fait." (*Retour*, st. 94.) Urfé introduces new only a colorless "messenger" who carries letters from and to Diane.

upon, the long *canción* of some forty *décimas* with interspersed *redondillas* in which the nymph Dorida sings of the farewell of the two lovers.⁹

A few quotations may suffice to illustrate Urfé's manner of rendering the Spanish original:

déc. 2: Este pastor se moría
por amores de Diana,
una pastora lozana
que en hermosura excedía
la naturaleza humana,
la cual jamás tuvo cosa
que en sí no fuese extrema;
pues ni pudo ser llamada
discreta por no hermosa:
ni hermosa por no avisada.

Despart st. 17: Ce berger qu'Amour devoroit
Des longtemps mourant adoroit
Des beautés la beauté plus belle.
Vne Diane estoit son cœur,
Mais la servant il eut tant d'heur
Que l'aimant il fut aimé d'elle.

st. 18: Naissant ceste fille auoit eu
Tant de beauté, tant de vertu,
Et puis deuint si parfaite
Que son nom n'eust iamais esté
Discrette, faute de beauté,
Ni belle, pour n'estre discrette.¹⁰

It will be noticed in this example that each stanza corresponds to half a *décima*, the regular proportion for the entire passage. Further—

⁹ The exact proportions of the imitation will be seen in the following figures: Not translated are *décimas* 3, 4, 5 (ll. 1-6), *redondillas* 2-3, *déc. 26* (6-10), 27 (1-5), 30 (6-10), 41 (5-10). Original with Urfé, or freely enlarged upon the model are *sizains* 13-16 (description of the shepherd's garments, which contains reminiscences of *Diana*, Book I, p. 16), 19-23, 24-26 (threefold repetition of *déc. 5*, v. 7-10), 28-30, 33-39, 41-43, 44-49 (Sireine addresses his flocks and Mclampe, the dog which we also meet in the *Pastor Fido* and in the *Astrée*), 50-53, 58-59, 73-74, 77-78, 92-97 (enlarged upon *déc. 23*, ll. 1-5: as the letters carved into the bark of the tree are swelling, so Diana's and Sireine's love is increasing!), 103-104, 110, 116, 122-126, 129-132.

¹⁰ MS., *st. 4:* Ce berger mouroit adorant
ce berger adoroit mourant
des beautez la beauté plus belle . . .

MS., *st. 5:* Car la beauté & la vertu
auoient tellement combattu
à qui la rendroit plus parfaite . . .

more, there occur in both *sizains* rather insignificant additions which in other instances assume the character of regular *chevilles*.

Montemayor's poetical niceties, concetti and plays on words are generally preserved with obvious care. In st. 18 we admired an antithesis; here follows a conceit:

déc. 6, 1-5: El sol por ser sobre tarde
con su fuego no le ofende,
mas él que de amor depende
y en él su corazon arde,
mayores llamas incende.

st. 27: Alors le Soleil qui baissoit
Le Berger guere n'offensoit:
Mais d'Amour la chaleur plus forte
Viuant au milieu de son cœur
Par un beau soleil son vaincœur
Le brusloit bien d'une autre sorte.

Sometimes the rendering is rather clumsy, as in the following definition of absence:

Red. 1: Al partir llama partida
él que no sabe de amor,
mas yo le llamo un dolor
que se acaba con la vida.

St. 32: Ceux qui ne scauent point aymer,
Ont accoutumé de nommer
L'effet de partir une absence:
Mais moi qui suis maistre en cela
le mets le despart au delà
De tout ce qui plus nous offence.¹¹

Quite frequently Urfé adds certain conceits which are particularly dear to him, as for instance the idea that Sireine's heart, away from Diane, needs must die, and he introduces in this connection an old Virgilian simile:

St. 36: Ce malheur souffrir ne se peut,
De le fuyr, Amour ne veut,
Encor'que ie m'esloigne d'elle.
Le cerf atteint fuit escarté;
Mais où qu'il aille, à son costé
Pend tousiours la fiesche mortelle.¹²

¹¹ MS: Ceux qui ne scauent point aymer
ont accoutumé de nommer
l'effait du despart despartie.
Mais moy ie dis que c'est un mal
auquel nul autre n'est esgal
qui ne finist qu'auec la vie.

¹² Cf. *Aeneid* IV, ll. 69 ff., referring to Dido:

. . . . Qualis coniecta cerva sagitta
. Fuga silvas saltusque paragrat
Dietaeos; haeret lateri letalis arundo.

This comparison was a favorite one with the poets

In the *Absence* and the *Retour de Sireine* the literal translations are much less numerous, since the little action which they contain is chiefly Urfé's own invention.¹³ Every now and then we meet, however, a conceito which comes directly from the *Diana*.¹⁴

Finally the question arises whether Urfé util-

of the latter part of the sixteenth century. Ronsard uses it in the first *Élégie à Genièvre* (*Bibl. Elzév.*, Vol. iv, p. 227), and Mathurin Regnier in his eclogue *Cloris et Philis* (*Bibl. Elz.*, p. 307).—The MS. has:

St. 31:
.
.
Le cerf fuit bien qu'il soit blessé,
toutefois, estant offencé,
il ne fuyt sa playe mortelle.

¹³ There are only two pastoral scenes in the *Diana* which could furnish further material for the *Sireine*: in book V, p. 222-223, the Spanish Selvagia defends Diana against Silvano's and Sireno's reproaches, as does the French Selvage against the accusations of the messenger (*Retour*, st. 170-188); in book VI, p. 241-253, Sireno and Silvano complain of the cruelty of Diana, while in *Retour*, st. 76-84, they discuss which one of them has been treated more cruelly.

¹⁴ E. g., *Retour*, 213 (5-6) and 214:

(Diane) sur le sable escrivoit
Du doigt: "Morte auant que changée" . . .
Mon cœur a peu croire en effect
Pour vne chose veritable
Sans que ma raison l'en desdist
Ce qu'alors vne femme dist
Et qui fut escrit sur le sable.

Diana, Book I., canción de Sireno:

St. 5: Sobre el arena sentada
de aquel río la ví yo
do con el dedo escribió:
"antes muerta que mudada."
Mira el amor lo que ordena,
que os viene hacer creer
cosas dichas por mujer
y escritas en el arena.

Cf. also *Astrée*, Part I, Book 4: *Madrigal qu'il ne doit point esperer d'estre aymé*, where the same thought occurs.—In *Retour*, st. 201-210, Sireine's long monologue corresponds exactly to his complaint in *Diana*, Book I, p. 16: "¡Ay memoria mia!" etc. Other conceits betray a strong influence of the Italian Petrarchists, as *Abs.*, st. 51: Silvano wonders why the paper of Diana's letter is not consumed by the flames which it conceals!

ized the Spanish original or Nicolas Colin's French translation of the *Diana*, first published in 1572.¹⁵ A comparison with Urfé's text shows the two translations are independent. A slight resemblance might be found in the metre of Doride's *canción*: Colin also chose *sizains*, but in heptasyllabics and with irregular alternation of masculine and feminine rimes; the *redondillas* are rendered by him in quatrains. The literary merits or demerits of both translations are almost equal; ¹⁶ *chevilles* abound in Colin as well as in Urfé, only the regular stanzaic structure of the *Sireine* might perhaps be considered as an improvement.

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MAX HALBE

My first acquaintance with Halbe on the stage goes back to a performance of his *Strom* by a company of German barn-stormers in this country; the last opportunity to continue it was furnished by the representation of his *Ring des Gauklers* at the royal theater in Munich about a year ago. Between these two events and beginning before the first of them lay the reading of his printed plays. This is but another way

¹⁵ Through the kindness of Professor Rennert of the University of Pennsylvania, I was enabled to use his very rare copy of 1592: *La Diane de Georges de Montemayor*, etc., Tours (G. Drobet), MDXCII.

¹⁶ As a specimen of Colin's art of translation, we quote *sizains* 3-4, corresponding to *Diana*, déc. 2, and *Despart*, st. 17-18, as given above:

Ce pasteur se consumoit
Pour Diane qui passoit
En grand beauté toutes celles
Qu'on estime les plus belles,
Dont la divine facture
Fut miracle de nature.

Diane en qui nulle chose
Ne fut de nature enclose
Qui ne fust tres-singuliere,
Ne pouuant estre appellée
Peu belle ou peu aduisée,
Estant en tout la premiere.

of saying that his earlier work had stirred up a faint hope that the short list of great German dramatists was to have another name added to it. That hope was doomed to disappointment, but the interest thus aroused has by no means vanished, for, after all, Halbe has qualities which have won a place for him on the stage. Unlike some of the recent German dramatists he is never wholly trivial. He deserves respectful consideration and a good measure of appreciation.

Halbe was born at Guettland, a village of West Prussia, in 1865. He comes from a line of gentlemen farmers, but deserting the calling of his fathers, he studied at two or three German universities, emerged from his scholastic career with his Ph. D., and turned man of letters. His published works are almost entirely dramatic. Beginning with *Emporkömmeling* in 1889, he has come near to producing a play annually. Two of his dramas, *Jugend* in 1893 and *Strom* in 1904, caused a genuine sensation in their day, and the latter is probably the most effective on the stage of all his work.

It still remains true that Hauptmann and Sudermann, in spite of their failure to fulfil all the hopes aroused by their earlier works, are the most potent names in contemporary German dramatic literature. The newer school has other aims, but its achievements are so far woefully disappointing. The men shaped by the forces of two or three decades ago remain the really dominant figures for the public, if not for the oncoming generation of playwrights. This explains, in part, why Halbe, who is a younger contemporary of Hauptmann and Sudermann, has won and holds a reasonably prominent place on the stage, though he has not had the luck to gain international fame.

It would have perhaps been better for him if he had been born earlier or later. He is not the great genius who forms his own public and who, though undoubtedly belonging to his own country and age, is something above and beyond them. Halbe seems rather essentially an idealist born in a naturalistic age and unable to live in harmony with his age or to go his own way in obedience to his nature's promptings. He furnishes in this regard a curious contrast

to Hauptmann, who is least himself when he forgets the world. We probably find here the explanation of Halbe's failure to bring his dramas to a really conclusive ending. He has first-rate technic and seems to know the stage well. The underlying idea is generally good, and his power of expression is not to be despised. But when the end of the play comes, we see no overwhelming reason either in the character of the persons or in the events portrayed to draw the same conclusion. This lack of motivation must lie in the clash of the poet's own nature with the literary theories according to which he proceeds. For the same reason his personages seldom seem wholly human for good or for ill. Perhaps we also find here the cause of the jarring contrast between his dialogue at its best and at its worst. The German naturalist is very apt to be merely vulgar and nasty when he prides himself most on speaking the language of actual life.

It required no gift of prophecy to be able to say that Halbe's *Ring des Gauklers* would probably score no great triumph. It falls between the two stools of seventeenth century superstition and twentieth century rationalism. Its starting point is a supposedly magic ring. Now, a modern dramatist can, of course, use the supernatural as the background or even the moving force of his drama, but he can hardly do it in other than one of two ways. He can either transport us into a world of magic where we willingly forego the ordinary rules of cause and effect or he can make a mistaken belief in the supernatural the compelling influence of the play. Halbe has done neither of these two things. He has instead given us a hero who turns rationalist at the beginning of the play after ten years of belief in a magic ring and, what is still more improbable, a heroine who becomes all self-sacrifice and devotion after quite as many years of experience as a camp follower in the Thirty Years' War. This is a fundamental matter, quite aside from other defects which make the play inferior to the best of his older work.

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NOTES ON HAUPTMANN'S *ATLANTIS*

Hauptmann has woven into his latest novel various experiences which he had on his journey to America in 1894, although the truth is occasionally somewhat violently twisted for personal or artistic reasons, especially in connection with the hero's relations to his wife. Hauptmann sailed for America on the ill-fated *S. S. Elbe* (Captain von Goessel) of the North German Lloyd the end of January, 1894, arriving in New York on February fourth. In *Atlantis*, Dr. Friedrich von Kammacher, the hero, sails on the *S. S. Roland* (Captain von Kessel) of the North German Lloyd, which leaves Bremen on January 23, 1892. The *Elbe* went to its watery grave on January 30, 1895, and Hauptmann's *Roland*, too, is swallowed up by the waves of the Atlantic, the graphic description of the shipwreck constituting the most striking feature of the novel. It would be interesting to know what prompted Hauptmann to select the name *Roland*, in view of the fact that a Hamburg ocean-going tug named *Roland* sank recently in the mouth of the Elbe River in the vicinity of the lightship *Elbe II*, as the result of a collision with a Danish steamer (see *Der Tag*, Berlin, January 17, 1913), more than half of the crew of the real *Roland* being lost.

Dr. Kammacher's views no doubt frequently reflect those of the author, and there are many details in which Kammacher suggests Hauptmann, although it would be foolish to go so far as to insist upon a complete identification of the author with his hero. We learn that Kammacher was the youngest son of the family, so was Gerhart; when Kammacher was sixteen years of age, he wanted to become a painter, he studied at Breslau and became a physician who specializes in bacteriology and later wishes to become a writer. Hauptmann's early vacillation between the muses of sculpture and poetry (see *Promethidenloos*) is well known; he attended an art academy in Breslau, and became deeply interested in pure science in Jena and Zürich. On his American visit Hauptmann spent some time with his friend Dr. Alfred Plötz in Meriden, Connecticut. In *Atlantis*

Plötz becomes Peter Schmidt, a physician practicing in Meriden. Schmidt is a Frisian; Plötz was born in Swinemünde. The latter's interests lie in the field of race hygiene (see Alfred Loth in "Before Dawn")¹ and similarly Dr. Schmidt discusses the problem of eugenics (*Atlantis*, pp. 239-240). While in New York Kammacher visits the studio of Bonifazius Ritter, an Austrian sculptor, whom we may identify as Karl Bitter, the well-known New York sculptor, who was born in Vienna. In Ritter's studio Kammacher makes models in clay and speaks of having watched sculptors at work in Rome—both of these things Hauptmann also did. The difficulties experienced by Hauptmann in connection with the performance of *Hannele* (see article by James Taft Hatfield in the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, 1912) are reflected in the troubles of Ingigerd Hahlström, the late Mayor Gilroy of New York becoming Ilroy, an "Irish Catholic," and Elbridge T. Gerry, president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, becoming Mr. Barry.²

In an article on the variation in the orthography and inflection of English loanwords in German in *Modern Philology*, October, 1911, I called attention to the large number of English words in current use in German speech at the present day. *Atlantis* teems with English expressions, for which, in a great many instances, the German equivalent would have satisfied all demands. The local color is surely not improved by the addition of English expressions, especially when they are incorrectly employed, as, for example, the use of *forward!* as a translation of the German *Vorwärts!*, which in this instance should have been rendered by *go on* or its equivalent. Of course a number of English words have become part and parcel of the German vocabulary of the day, but in a great many instances the German expression or a foreign equivalent long in use need not have been

avoided. Why *Readingroom* in place of *Lesezimmer*, *Steamer* in place of *Dampfer*, *Mayor* in place of *Bürgermeister*, *City Hall* in place of *Rathaus*, *Drinks* in place of *Getränke*, *Icewater* in place of *Eiswasser*, *New England States* in place of *Neu England Staaten*, *Meeting* in place of *Sitzung*, *Speech* in place of *Rede*, *Cab* in place of *Droschke*, *Office* in place of *Büro*, *Society* in place of *Gesellschaft*, *Boardinghouse* in place of *Pension*, *Newspaper* in place of *Zeitung*, etc., etc.? Some of the other words of English origin employed in *Atlantis* are the following: *Bar*, *Barkeeper*, *chartern*, *City*, *Cocktail*, *Compoundmaschine*, *Cricket*, *Dandy*, *Detektiv*, *Dollar*, *Farm*, *Farmer*, *Ferry-Boat*, *Flirt*, *flirten*, *Gentleman*, *Gig*, *Goddam(!)*, *Grog*, *Hotelboy*, *Humbug*, *interviewen*, *Jingo*, *Jockeis*, *Lift*, *Lord*, *Lunch*, *Mailcoach*, *Miss*, *Mister*, *Pier*, *Pony*, *Propeller*, *Rekord*, *Reporter*, *Revolver*, *Roastbeef*, *Sandwich*, *smart*, *das Smarte*, *Smoking* (Tuxedo), *Spleen*, *Star*, *Steward*, *Stewardess*, *das Stoppen*, *Tender*, *Tennis*, *Trainer*, *Tram*, *Tramway*, *Trick*, *Whisky*, *Yankee*.

There are also various words and expressions like *Cheers*, *high life*, *Waterspout*, *last not least*, *Upper four hundred*, *champion of the world*, *ham and eggs*, *first call for dinner*, etc., which are given in Roman type, but why not *Schinken und Eier* and *Der erste Ruf zum Essen*, since it was a German steamer?

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MIDDLE ENGLISH

Patience, A West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century. Edited with Introduction, Bibliography, Notes, and Glossary, by HARTLEY BATESON, B.A. Manchester University Press, 1912. 8vo., pp. x, 149.

It is pleasant to have an edition of *Patience* in a form for handy class-use. Yet the book before us leaves much to be desired. The editor is a young man whose enthusiasm is to be commended. But the poems of the West Midland alliterative group present many difficulties. Especially do they require a fairly wide

¹ Dr. Plötz is also the *Vorbild* of Dr. Rasmussen in "Gabriel Schilling's Flight."

² In my contribution to the January issue on "The Identity of The Hassenpflugs in Hauptmann's *Fool in Christ*" read Vater Vockerat for Pastor Vockerat.

acquaintance not only with the large and varied Middle English vocabulary, but also with considerable Old Norse and Old French elements of the period. Besides, wide reading is necessary to solve some of the apparent puzzles in syntax, occasionally in inflectional forms, which these poems contain. Perhaps these are some of the reasons why Mr. Bateson has not succeeded so well as we might wish in a difficult task.

Mr. Bateson does not tell us explicitly the source of his text, or whether he has collated the ms., though he does imply that he has seen it. He has apparently followed Morris's second edition (1869), published by the Early English Text Society, except for a few indicated emendations. Yet in following Morris he has been unnecessarily slavish in details. He usually retains the faulty capitalization of the ms. He keeps the sign for 'and,' to the disfigurement of the page. He prints the ms. *u* (sometimes *w*) for *v*, and *v* for *u*, where there can be no question of the sound intended. He indicates by italics the expansion of the simplest abbreviations. Not one of these things is necessary even to the highest conception of sound learning, and not one of them is done by either Zupitza or Kluge in their scholarly books of selections. Besides, Mr. Bateson retains the ms. sign *ȝ* for both the Middle English spirant (Modern English *gh*) and the final *s*(=*z*). Unfortunately, too, he has used for this character one wholly at variance in size with his other type, so that again the eye is unnecessarily offended. For this character, when indicating *z*, Zupitza and Kluge use that sign, and, whether one agrees with their usage or not, some differentiation between two such different sounds should be made. Inconsistently with his other practice, Mr. Bateson prints *j* for ms. *i=j*. A slighter matter is his retention of Morris's numbering of the lines in fours, with a note (p. 94) that seems to indicate that the poet had more or less fully chosen this arrangement. There is, I believe, no proof of the latter, and the numbering by fives is to be preferred.

In criticising these matters, I have less desire to find fault with this young editor than to plead for less pedantry in editing all Middle English texts. The study of Old English in schools has been greatly aided by the general practice of using modern type for the peculiar letters of the older period, and of expanding, without special indication in the print, all ordinary abbreviations. In Middle English, however, for no good reason it seems to me, the practice has too often been quite

different. I refer now, not to reprints for scholars such as those by the Early English Text and Chaucer Societies, but those for the beginner and general reader. In these, too often, there has seemed to be a special virtue in needlessly following the scribal peculiarities of a long past age. For my part I hope that such close adherence to the Middle English spelling in ordinary reading texts will become more honored in the breach than the observance.

I said Mr. Bateson had in general followed the readings of Morris. In addition to indicated emendations he has departed from Morris in the following particulars. He sometimes capitalizes proper names, though without consistency even in this. He reads *alle* for *alle* (20); *destyne* for *destyné* (49); *Ninivie* with the edition of 1864 for *Nunive* (76, 95); *quoth* for *quod* (85, 205, 347, 493); *schomerly* for *schomely* (128); *scape* for *schape* (160); *serlych* for *serelych* (193); *seches* with ed. of '64, and perhaps rightly, for *seches* (197); *on-slepe* for *on slepe* (200); *py* for *pyn* (202), again a reading of the ed. of '64; *I wysse* for *Iwysse* (206); *tottered* for *toteréd* (233); *his* for *hit* (267); *And* for *Ande* (297); *Lord* for *Lord* (305); *entré* (ed. of '64) for *entre* (328); *trauth* for *trauthe* (336); *bar* for *bare* (374); *And* for *&* (378), with ed. of '64; *sattled* for *satteled* (409), and he makes no division at this point corresponding to Morris's part V; *þe* for *he* (411); *I-wyse* for *I-wysse* (464); *not so* for *not be so* (522). Most of these, I take it, are unintentional departures from the edition of Morris. The punctuation of the earlier edition has also been altered for the worse sometimes, and at least needs careful revision in many places.

Mr. Bateson prints his text with few emendations. He adopts Mr. G. C. Macaulay's suggestion of adding *nobel* before *poynt* in the first line, but he states his reason much too strongly when he says: "The author in his poems generally repeats the first line in the last" (p. 94). He does so in only one of the three remaining pieces, the *Sir Gawayne*. He has nothing of the sort in *Cleanness*, and he repeats but two words in *The Pearl*. Yet the reading is a good one, and perhaps to be accepted. He retains the accented *poverté* in line 13, though he quotes Luick to show that the word must be *poverté* without final *e* sounded. He emends l. 56 to read *þe[n]* *had* [*I*] *bowed*, where Morris emends *þe[t]* *had bowed*, making the clause explain *I* of the preceding line. The passage is a difficult one, especially as the first half of line 54 is not

clear. I suggest, however, the possibility of keeping Morris's reading and connecting with lines 54-56 the following line also. The general sense of the passage would then be: "If he did not make me great, and then I who had been obedient to his command had to endure trouble and displeasure for a reward, did not Jonah in Judea such a foolish thing at one time?" Perhaps also a negative *ne* has disappeared from line 56.

In rejecting Kluge's addition of *if* at the beginning of line 78 as unnecessary, it seems to me Mr. Bateson is right. In his rapid speaking Jonah does not take time to subordinate one clause to another. He names each action to be expected as it comes to his mind. On the other hand, Mr. Bateson has added *þe* before *drygtyn* quite as unnecessarily, though it occurs in Morris's first edition as if it were part of the ms. This name for deity is regularly used without the article. Mr. Bateson also rejects Zupitza's emendation of *ge* for *he* in line 122, though he is wrong, as was Morris, in breaking the line with a semicolon after *umbe-stounde*. Lines 121-22 merely translate *Psalm* 94 (Vulgate 93), 8, and a comma only should occur after *umbe-stounde*, a semicolon at the end of the line. See my note in a forthcoming article on *Patience* in *Englische Studien*.

Mr. Bateson might well have accepted *breed-fysches* as a compound in 143. It was so printed by Kluge, and plausibly explained by Otto Ritter in *Archiv* 119, 463. He might even more readily have adopted *slepe* for ms. *selepe* in 186, as he does adopt Ekwall's proposal (*Englische Studien* 44, 165) to treat this word as the second part of a compound here and in 466. He might have made a similar compound of *honde-mygt* in 257; cf. OE. *hand-mægen*. There can be little question that Morris's conjecture in his glossary of *wanlez* 'hopeless' for ms. *waulez* (262) is correct. It is naturally a pleasure to note that this new editor has accepted my emendation *as sayled* for *assayled* of ms. and my altered punctuation of 301, a reading which clears up the whole passage. In 310 he should have adopted another conjecture of Morris's glossary, *guterres* 'gutters, water courses,' for ms. *guferes*. Mr. Bateson has the proposal in his glossary, but this was needlessly modest.

In missing the late Professor Skeat's article on "Some Rare Words in Middle English" (*Philological Society's Transactions*, '91-94, 371), Mr. Bateson has missed one of the best emendations ever proposed, *þe acces* for ms. *pacces* (325). This simple change restores the

alliteration as well as the sense, and returns another ghost word to the realms of unreality. Pretty certainly, also, one more suggestion by Morris might have been used, that of *hem* for *hym* in 331. There was no need to emend 456 by reading *mount[n]ance* instead of *mount-ance*; see a note on etymology of the ms. word later. In altering ms. *haf* of 460 to *hatz* Mr. Bateson has perhaps made an unnecessary change, since *haf he rozt* could be read 'would he have cared.' The passage would then mean, not that Jonah ate nothing that day, but that he was so happy he might have gone without food.

The fifteen pages of Notes contain some good ones, but a few are forced and ineffective. Much more might have been done, especially by fuller comparison of word-usage and construction in other alliterative poems or in Middle English generally. Besides, Mr. Bateson has depended too much upon Ekwall's article in *Englische Studien* 44, 165, some of the conclusions in which can not be accepted. A note that seems forced is that on *under hachches* (179), where it is scarcely necessary to tell us at length that the expression is a nautical term and means 'below deck,' or to define deck and hatch. An ineffective note is that on *bapes* (211), where a comparison of the word in Old English, or its sense of 'immerse' in *Cleanness* 1248 and in any number of Modern English instances, would have shown that the Middle English poet has taken no unusual liberty. So the note on *Lorde* (264) is unnecessary for any reader of any part of our older literature, while it does not explain the disuse of such imprecations in polite speech. The note on *theme* (358) does not explain the orthographic variation noted in *Pearl* (944), or the modern pronunciation.

In addition to ineffective notes some might be corrected or greatly improved. Such is the one on *typped* (77), as I have shown in the article referred to above. So also the notes on the vivid description of the ship (101 f.), the subject of which I have dealt with in the same article, are at least partly incorrect. Compare especially the note on *gaderen to þe gyde-ropes* (105). For the long note on 141-44 a brief one would have sufficed, if Mr. Bateson had noted Kluge's reading *breed-fysches* already mentioned. On the accent of *feper-beddes* (158) attention might better have been called to the modern stress of the word as compared with other compounds of *feather*. Trautmann's note in *Anglia* 18 gives no real explanation. It is difficult, too, to see how the next note on *caraldes* (159) could have been written, if Mr.

Bateson had known Ekwall's explanation in *Archiv* 119, 442 f. To this explanation Ekwall himself refers in his article on "Patience" (*Engl. Stud.* 44, 165), upon which Mr. Bateson more than once depends.

Nearly a page and a half is devoted to lines 165-67 and the names of heathen divinities. It is scarcely necessary to tell us that Tertulian is not responsible for this list of gods, since he could scarcely have known Vernagu, Mahoun, and Mergot. Nor does a telling of the story of *Roland and Vernagu* explain how the transfer of a giant's name to a heathen god was made. That it was made is natural enough. Besides, Mr. Bateson bases his note on *Mahoun & Mergot* upon Morris's marginal translation which implies that the one is the sun and the other the moon. In this I believe Morris was in error, for the last half of 167 does not necessarily explain the first half. I take it "þe mone and þe sunne" are just as much gods as "Mahoun and Mergot," the order of words in the last half-line being determined by the alliteration. In his *errata* Mr. Bateson has himself corrected his explanation of *Mergot*, citing *Margot*, a Saracen god, from *Charles the Great* (EETS. 36, 125), but he has not indicated any change in the rest of the note. Again, has he not misconceived 168, which he translates "Each sailor 'called on each man (i. e., god—lede)'"? Is it not better to make *lede* mean 'man' (here 'sailor'), not 'god,' and the subject of *vouched avowe* supplied from 165?

The note on *lodes-man* (179) should be rewritten or repunctuated so as not to say "O. E. *lādmann*, 'lodesman' is an altered form of 'lodeman,' etc." In 184 Mr. Bateson's acceptance of Ekwall's *hurrok*=O.E. *þurrucc* is unfortunate, and unnecessary as I have shown in the article already mentioned as soon to appear. Still more unfortunate is his rejection of Ekwall's explanation of *Ragnel* (188) as that of a heathen divinity, and his reading of *rag nel* "fellow will not," etc. His attempt is ingenious, but his reasoning and conclusion unsatisfactory. On *ferk* (187) might well be noted the uses of the word in *Cleanness* 133, 897, *Sir Gawayne* 1072, 1973, as well as in other writers.

A note on *haspede* (189) is almost demanded. I suggest that the first half of the line is too short and that an alliterative word is needed. The word *heved* 'head' would make sense and is perhaps as good as another. *Haspede* is then a past participle, modifying *hym*. Jonah is in the bottom of the ship when the sailor "seizes him, clasped by the head, and brought him up by the breast," etc. That

is, he first seizes him by the head and pulls him up, then clasps him about the breast and drags him on deck.

The note on *hef & hele* (219) makes unnecessary difficulty of an expression which is good sailor language now as formerly. *Heave and haul* may still be used of almost any action implying movement of sailors together. No doubt they did rise upon the oars as they dipped them in the water, and 'hailed' as they pulled against the waves. The note on *serve* (255) and the glossary do not wholly agree. Why not keep the ms. reading, and assume the meaning 'be subservient to, be in the power of'? A note on 240 should explain *unto* as governing *hym*; 'and granted unto him [to] be God.' The frequent use of the whale in medieval literature as a symbol of hell, as well as of Jonah's three days in the fish as symbolic of Christ's descent into the lower world, should have suggested a note on *swolȝ* (250). Ordinarily the word means 'whirlpool, abyss, pit,' but here something like 'yawning jaws, abyss (of hell).' See for the former, OE. usage and for the latter the Wyclif Bible, *Prov.* 13, 15, as well as the references in *Bradley-Stratmann*; cf. also Jonah's words in 306.

The note on *hourlande* (270) makes unnecessary difficulty with the word. The sense of 'whirl, turn rapidly' certainly belongs to it naturally, for an examination of Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* would have shown Swed. *hurra* 'whirl, whirl about,' E. Fries. *hurrel-wind* 'whirl-wind.' The word even remained to Modern English in this sense, as in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, "For they runne hurling in heapes," quoted in the *Cent. Dict.* With this may be mentioned the noun *hurle* (319) which Mr. Bateson, following Morris and Bradley-Stratmann, glosses 'wave.' The true meaning is 'whirlpool,' and notice might have been taken of the similar line in *King Alexander* (1154):

The pure populand hurle passes it umbe.

On 406 space is wasted in discussing Morris's suggestion of *ded evil*, but Mr. Bateson rightly opposes Ekwall's idea of omitting *haf* altogether; see above under discussion of the text. On *Ermonnes* (463) might have been mentioned Chaucer's *Ermonny* in *Anelida* 72. As a last suggestion, should not *for madde* be read as a compound in 509, with the meaning 'very foolish'? This keeps the adjective use of *madde*, as otherwise in Old and Middle English, and makes smoother the connection with the next line.

Mr. Bateson's glossary needs revision in many particulars. It does not contain quite

all the words, it explains some of them incorrectly, and it is often faulty in its derivations. For example, the following entries are omitted entirely. *A, an, art.* 'a, an.' *Acces, sb.* 'approach, attack, access' from OF. *acces*, made necessary by Professor Skeat's emendation of 325. *Bulk, sb.* 'cargo, hold,' 292. *For-bi*, put under *for*, and *fully* put under *ful* deserve separate places. *Lof, sb.* 'love,' 448. *Losse, sb.* 'loss, ruin, destruction,' 174. *Nagt, sb.*, placed under *nigt*, should have separate entry with explanation of form. *Spakly, adv.* 'quickly,' 338. *Syde, adj.* 'wide,' 353. *Wroþeloker, adv.* comp. of *wroþelik* 'wrathfully, angrily,' 132, and *wroþely, adv.* 'angrily, ill' of the same line. In addition, the forms *blosched* (343), *boute* (523), *by* (117), *bylyve* (224), *cowþe* (5, 421), *gowd* (286), *þink* (332), *sor* (507), should be entered with cross references to *blusch*, *bot*, *be*, *bilyve*, *can*, *gode*, *sorge*, *þyng*. *Blober* should have been referred to *bluber*, the first of the forms to occur and the better for the principal place in the glossary. On phonetic grounds initial *þ* deserves a separate position, rather than a place under *t*.

Under meanings may be noted a number of corrections and additions. Such extensive use of alliteration as the poem shows leads to a considerable modification of ordinary meanings. It would be better, therefore, to give the ordinary meaning of the word first, and then the derived use in the particular case. At least any reliance on the contextual sense alone is likely to lead to error. Under *abyde* add 'endure' for 7, 70. *Ascry* means 'cry out upon,' rather than 'call upon' in 195. *Baft* is sb., not adv., as Morris seems to imply by citing OE. *bæfta* 'after part, back' in derivation. *Bidde* (51) does not mean 'bide, wait,' but belongs under the preceding entry, *bidde* 'order, bid, command.' *Blo* means 'dark blue, black,' 'livid' perhaps but not 'pale.' 'Pale waters' would hardly be appropriate to a storm, and 'pale' is not the meaning of ON. *blār*. *Blober* (*bluber*) means 'bubbling, boiling, surging.' It is difficult to believe that *blunt* (272) means 'rushed.' Jonah is 'reeling' into the whale's gullet, 'whirling about heels over head,' until he 'blunders, or staggers' 'into a space as broad as a hall,' see the entry in Bradley-Stratmann. Or possibly the word may be a weak verb derived from OE. *blinnen*—*blan* 'cease, come to a stop.' *Broþely* means rather 'quickly' than 'violently' in 474, and this is the sense of the ON. adv. *bräþliga*. The two words *bur* should be placed together with meanings 'strong wind, blow, assault.' *Busy* (157) is adj. used as sb., hence 'activity, bustle, haste.'

Under *can* should be placed *cowþe* (5, 421), and 'know how to' should precede 'be able' for the meaning. In glossing *cowþe* as adj. Mr. Bateson shows he has mistaken both meaning and syntax. *Carald* means 'cask, keg,' as Ekwall showed in *Archiv* 119:442 ff. *Con=gon* (10) is correct enough, but the meaning 'gan, did' should be added. *Dase* (383) means 'grow dizzy, or numb.' *Deme* means 'judge, deem,' then 'decree.' *Derfly* means 'boldly, bravely,' not 'quickly.' *Drege* should have the added meaning 'suffer to the end, carry through.' *Drye* (338) adj. is here used as a sb. 'dry land,' cf. *Cleanness* 472 with its variant of the word, *druye*. Here *spare drye* translate the Vulgate in *aridam*; see later upon *spare*. *Dryglych* is 'incessantly, continually,' with emphasis upon the meaning of OE. *drēogan*. Miss E. M. Wright has called attention to this meaning of the word in *Sir Gawayne* 1026, *Cleanness* 476; see her "Notes on Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight," *Engl. Stud.* 36, 209. Cf. also *drege* above. *Dumpa* (362) means 'fall, tumble,' rather than 'drive,' cf. Dan. *dumpa*. Morris's rendering of *fale* (92), followed by Bateson in his 'true, faithful,' seems to me to miss the point. Is it not just the opposite idea 'careless of, hostile to'? Can we have here a form of OE. *fæle* (*felo*) 'fell, hostile to' (cf. *al-fæle*, *Andreas* 771), or perhaps better OE. *fel* (*fail, fal*) 'unmerciful.' *Farandly* 'pleasantly' might better be 'complacently.' *Feche* (58) means 'bring to or upon,' rather than 'seek, take,' for *unsounde he hym feches* means 'evil (misfortune) he brings upon himself,' cf. Morris's rendering of *unsounde*.

Forwrogt (163) needs a stronger meaning than 'laboured, weary,' such as 'worn out, exhausted.' *Founde* (126) means 'seek to find, hasten,' the latter an OE. meaning and suiting exactly. In my forthcoming article in *Engl. Stud.*, I have proposed to divide *glaymande* (269) into *glaym* sb. and *ande* conj. For the sb. *glaym* cf. *gleyme* or *rewme* 'reuma' in *Prompt. Parv.* *Godly* is adj. 'good, goodly,' not adv. 'well.' *Grame* (53) should have 'trouble' as a secondary meaning, again an OE. sense of the word. *Happen* (11) means 'fortunate, blessed.' 'Happy' is too weak for a place in the beatitudes. On *haspede* see my note above. Does not *hapel* (228) mean 'nobility,' the abstract from the concrete meaning?

Mr. Bateson places *hellen* (306) as "gen." under *hell*, apparently not having noticed the Maetzner, Bradley-Stratmann *hellen* adj. At least some note on the form should have been given. For *hitte* 'hit upon, meet with, find' would keep nearer to ON. *hitta*. *Hurrok* I be-

lieve I have better explained in the article already referred to. *Hygt* (219) means 'hope,' OE. *hyht*, not 'height' in spite of Morris's rendering. Had Mr. Bateson seen this his note on the line need not have been written. *Joyne* (62) means 'enjoin, appoint,' not 'add, appoint.' *Lechche* means 'catch, seize, reach for,' and *lach out* (425) 'snatch away,' a stronger expression than 'take away.' *Lance* is 'utter, declare,' not 'take;' cf. the modern parallel in the doublet *launch out* for vigorous expression on a subject. *Lave* (154) means 'lade out, bail out,' not 'pour out;' cf. examples in *NED*. or *Cent. Dict.*

Under *lay* (two words) and *layde* Mr. Bateson has made some curious errors. *Lys* (458) is indic. 3 sg. of *lyge* (*lyge*) stv., OE. *licgan*; cf. *Pearl* and *Sir Gawayne* for other forms. *Lyggede* presents difficulties. To avoid them Kölbing in *Germania* 20, 369-70 proposed to read *lyggende* pres. part., assuming the macron over *e* had been omitted, but apparently not considering that the pres. part. would be *lyggande*. If made a weak pret., as by most authorities, it probably belongs to a pres. *lygge* from ON. *liggia* 'lie.' *Layden* (106) can not be 'load' from OE. *hlādan*, but is pret. pl. to *lay*, as Kluge gives it in his *Mittelenglisches Lesebuch* under *leggen*. Cf. also Skeat's *Etymological Dict.* under *larboard* for meaning, as better than Kluge's 'stiessen ab (d. schiff).' *Layk* (401) is used too seriously to mean 'sport,' and is rather 'exercise, activity.' *Lede* (428) is 'lead, carry, be a messenger of,' meanings handed down from OE. usage. *Lede* 'man' is also 'prince, god,' for 281.

Lode (504) means 'leading, guiding,' rather than 'path, course' which, with 'burden, load,' belong to the second *lode*. *Loge* (230) means 'water, lake, sea,' not 'depth' which would not do for *Cleanness* 336, 441, 1031. *Losynger* means 'deceiver, traitor,' stronger and nearer the original sense than 'liar.' *Lot, lote* might be glossed together, since they spring from the same ON. *lāt*, with the meanings of the two words Mr. Bateson gives. To the meaning 'sound' should be added 'howling, uproar.' *Lovne* (173) means 'offer, propose,' rather than 'advise,' the advice here being in the proposal as a whole; cf. English dialectal *lofe, loave*. For *lur* (419) the meaning 'misfortune, evil' should be given. To *lurkke* should be added the meanings 'move about stealthily, peer about;' cf. Norw. *lurka* 'sneak away,' MHG. *lūren* 'examine.' For 'peer furtively or slyly' see *Towneley Myst.* xxix, 107. To *lygtly* 'easily' should be added 'quickly' for 88, not 'perchance.' *Lygtloker* adv. means

'easier, more profitable' in 47, not 'sooner.' The meaning of *merciabie* is 'having mercy, merciful' in 238, not 'venerable.' Mr. Bateson has been misled by supposing that the poet is translating literally Tertullian's *venerando Domino*. But alliteration requires an *m*-word, as *Moyses* in the last half-line was doubtless already in mind. The gloss of *mote* 'abode' would suit all places in the poems better if it were 'moat, castle, dwelling-place.' The meaning 'nose' for *nos* (451) is inadequate without further explanation. A modern architectural use of nose 'a downward projection or cornice to throw off rain water' gives a hint, and perhaps 'projection for protection, opening' are best. An opening on the north, as shielded from the sun, would be most appropriate, though there is nothing in the original on which this idea is based.

Note (220) means 'use, occupation, labor,' rather than 'device, advantage.' The meaning 'inflame' for *on-hit*, suggested by Morris who thought the word might be from OE. *onhætan*, is not probable. ME. *anhitten* 'hit, strike' is found elsewhere; cf. Maetzner who places *anhitten* and this *on-hit* together. *Play* 'play' should have a second meaning 'exercise oneself.' *Playn* sb. should be adj. 'plain, even, clear of' for 439. The line means "For it was clear in that place of (*for*=in respect to, as to) bending groves;" that is briefly "there were no groves for shade." *Poplande* means 'bubbling, boiling, surging' rather than 'rushing;' cf. *popple* 'bubble, boil, toss up' in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*. *Pure* (319) is certainly inadequately glossed by 'pure.' Is it not rather an adv. 'wholly, completely,' perhaps 'briskly, fiercely' here as modifying *poplande*, not *hurle*; cf. *pure litille* 'very little' in *Mandeville*, *pure selde* 'very seldom' in *Piers Plowman* (C) viii, 20, *pure suffrant* 'wholly tolerant' in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* 1010. For *pyne* (423) perhaps 'penance' should be added. The long gloss on *rag* disappears with the retention of *Ragnel* in the text; see note above.

Ramelande (279), like *glaymande* (198), should be separated, I believe, into *ramel* 'refuse,' and *ande* 'and;' see note on *glaymande* above. *Reme* means 'cry out, bewail, lament for.' *Renay* (344) means 'renounce, abandon.' *Ronk* sb. (298) is merely the adj. so used, as often in these poems. *Rops* should be given *rop* (270), there being no special reason for citing the plural here. *Rych* (136) should be 'powerful, rich,' the first being the probable sense in the passage. *Sake* (84, 172) should have the stronger meaning 'fault, guilt.'

Schape (160, 247) means 'take shape, form, shape,' not 'appoint, shape.' *Sege* (93) is 'seat, throne,' not 'siege' now obsolete in this sense. To the meaning of *selly* add 'wondrous' for l. 353. On *serve* (235) see note above. *Schage* means only 'a stalk with leaves,' translating *hedera* of the *Vulgate*. 'Wood, thicket' would be impossible in the connection; cf. 439-40, *bynde* (444), *wodbynde* (474), and especially 479-80. Is not *soghe* (67), which Morris first glossed 'sow,' to be placed with *soghe* 'moan, sigh as wind' with the added meaning 'cry in mournful manner,' as in proclaiming a message of evil? As to *sorge* (275) I agree with Ekwall (*Engl. Stud.* 44, 171) that we should have a word meaning 'filth, pollution,' and I think the word should be so glossed. In addition to the Scandinavian words he cites I would compare ON. *saurgan* 'pollution, defilement,' *saurigr* 'filthy, foul.' Some connection with these words seems more than probable.

Spare 'spar' (338) should disappear, as the word is nothing but the adj. below. *Spare drye* translates the *Vulgate* in *aridam*, with *spare* in sense of 'waste, empty,' which should be added to 'thin, spare' under the adjective. *Sput* should have suggested 'spout' before 'spit' or in place of it. *Stape-fole* 'high' (122) should disappear as a compound, as I have noted above. *Stape* adj. should remain, glossed 'steep, excessive, great.' *Stele* means 'upright of a ladder,' not 'step' or 'rung'; it is from OE. *stela* 'stalk, support'; cf. Skeat, "Rare Words in Middle English" (*Transactions of Phil. Soc.* '91-94). It is thus, as Professor Skeat points out, that there is apt contrast in *betwene þe stele and þe stayre*. *Stygtle* (402) means 'order, ordain,' as well as 'arrange' which is not so suitable to the passage. *Swenge* means 'swing, move rapidly, dash,' not 'waft, toss.' For *swayve*, 'glide, move swiftly' are better than 'swim.' *Swey* should have 'bow, bend, sway, swing' instead of the colorless 'walk.' On *swolge* 'gullet, yawning gulf,' see note above. Ought not *teme* (37), which Mr. Bateson glosses 'team,' to be placed under *teme* 'theme'? With *in teme layde* (37) cf. *Pearl* (944), *in theme con take*, with much the same sense. *Teme*, wkv. should be glossed 'attend upon, minister,' rather than 'lead, approach'; see my article above mentioned.

Pacce must disappear after what has already been noted on *acces* above. *pat* (118) should be put under *pat* rel. pro., and "Rel. pro. 411" under *þe* should disappear; the ms. reads *he*. *pikke* (6) is an adv. meaning 'more frequently.' *pret* (267) is 'vexation, violence, ill-treatment,' as *prat* above. *pro* means 'struggle, stubborn

resistance,' which should precede 'impatience.' To *tryste* should be added 'trust.' *Unsounde* (58, 527) is sb., not adv., and means 'misfortune, evil,' cf. Morris's glossary. *Unwar* is 'unwary, incautious,' then 'foolish.' *Venym* (71) means 'malice, evil,' as in Chaucer and often, not 'filth.' *Wale* should have 'distinguish' added to 'choose' for 511. *Wamel* (300) means 'be nauseated, be faint or sick,' as in Wright's *Dial. Dict.* If applied to food in the stomach 'roll' would be quite appropriate, but here the whale itself is the subject. *Warpe* 'throw out' comes to mean 'utter' as *kest* 'cast' above, and the original meaning should be recognized in each case. *Waymot* means 'angry' in 492. *Wayne* is 'obtain, provide, procure,' translating the *Vulgate* *paravit* of *Jonah* 4, 7, and 'send' is not a correct meaning. *Wayte* means 'watch, observe, look after' as well as 'search.' *Wo* is adj. 'woful, evil' in 317. *Won* means 'dwelling-place' hence 'city' in 69, for which Mr. Bateson's 'dwelling' will not suit.

Derivation becomes especially important for the words of alliterative verse, because of the variation from ordinary sense which the poet allowed himself in order to fit his alliterative scheme. I shall therefore call special attention to this matter in Mr. Bateson's vocabulary, suggesting also that he has much to learn in the application of phonetic principles. For example, under *abyrne* OF. *abime* as well as *abisme* should be cited for obvious reasons. So under *ame* should be placed *asme* (*aime*), both of which are nearer than OF. *esme*. From either of them the English word is a possible derivative. *Ascape* comes from NF. *escaper*, not OF. *eschaper*. *Aslypped* is from OE. *slýpan* with prefixed *a an* (*and*), not from OE. (*tō*)*slīpan*. For *balter*, Björkman (*Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English*) gives Dan. *boltre*, Dan. dial. *baltre*. *Bogted* comes from ON. *bugt* 'bending, bowing, arch,' connected with OE. *būgan* 'bend,' cf. OE. *byht*, and Spenser's *bought* 'serpent's coil.'

Both words *bur* are derived from ON. *byrr*, the vowel being due to the influence of *r* as in many other words; cf. Knigge, *Die Sprache des Dichters von Sir Gawain*, etc. Under *chawl* the OM. form should be *cafl*. For *derfly* it might have been noted that already in Old Northumbrian *dearf* is found. *Dedayn*, *desert*, *devoyde* are from OF. forms in which *des-* had become *de-*. *Dore* is from OE. *dor*, not *duru*. There should be some explanation of how *dote* and OF. *redoter*, not *radoter*, are connected if at all. For *drowne* a Scandinavian **drugna* < *drunkna* is to be cited; cf. Björkman. *Dryg-*

lych can not come directly from ON. *drjuqr*, and a form based on the root of OE. *drēogan* is probable. *Dust* is from OE. *dūst* by shortening.

Of *fasten* OE. *fæstnian* is the direct source. *Ferde* is from OM. **fērde*; cf. MLG. (*ge*)*värde*, but *fertu*, *fyrtu* are impossible. Mr. Bateson follows Maetzner in assuming *flem* is a dialectal form of OF. *flum*. This seems to me unlikely and I propose OE. *flēam* 'flight,' perhaps 'rushing movement, as of water;' cf. ON. *flaumr* 'an eddy,' *flaumosi* 'rushing as of torrent.' From such an OE. form ME. *flēm* (*flem*, *flim*) are easily possible. Björkman does not support the derivation of *happe* from OE. *gehæp*, but insists on Scandinavian origin. *Happen*, adj., from ON. *heppinn*, has been influenced by *hap*, sb., *happen*, vb., ON. *happa*. For *heter*, MLG. *hetter* is better than MHG. *hette*. Wall's suggestion of ON. *heitr* is scarcely to be considered. *Holde* is from OM. *haldan*, *hāldan*, WS. *healdan*.

Joylez has nothing to do directly with OE. *-lēas*, and ME. *-les(s)* should have been given for the suffix. *Joyne*, as its meaning shows, is probably from OF. (*en*)*joindre*. *Jude* is from the OF. form of the name, rather than Lat. *Judea*. *Kever* is AN. (*re*)*cēvrir*, OF. (*re*)*cōvrir* (*cuevrir*) by shortening. *Kyp* is OE. *cyð*, not *cyð(ðe)*. For *lad* reference might well have been made to Bradley's explanation (*Athen.*, June 1, 1894) as perhaps connected with the vb. *ledan-ledde* (*ladde*) and meaning 'one led,' that is 'servant.' In citing an OM. form, as under *hlage* 'laugh,' the WS. equivalent should be given for comparison. Under *laste*, sb. O. Swed. *last*, *lasta* should have been put beside ON. *löstr*. With the explanation in note above of *lede*, wkv., the need for connecting it with ON. *hljōpa*, *hljōp*, as Knigge had done, disappears. *Lene* is OE. *lænan*, not ON. *lēna*. For *lepe*, vb., Mr. Bateson should have said cf. ON. *līpa*, for the ME. vb. must come from an OE. **læðan*, causative to a **liðan*. Similarly *lepe*, sb. must be a mutated form of the **læð* root allied to *liðe* 'mild.' *Leve* is from OM. (*ge*)*lēvan*, WS. (*ge*)*lievan*. The first *lode* is from OE. (*ge*)*lād*.

Mountance, not *mountnance* as Mr. Bateson incorrectly emends, is AN. *mūntance*, OF. *mōntance* 'amount.' Under *nok* it would seem as if Mr. Bateson had misread Skeat. At least the latter suggests in his latest revision of the *Dict.* that Ir. and Gaelic *niuk* may be from Low Scotch *neuk*. He then conjectures an OE. **noc*, with which he compares Norw. *nakke* 'corner cut off.' *Non* is OE. *ne* + *ān*. *On-round* is made up of OE. *on-* and AN. *rūnd*, OF. *rōnd*.

Payne, vb., for which no source is given, is OF. *peiner* (*painer*). *Pyne*, vb. is OE. *pennian* 'fasten with a pin.' *Quikken* comes from ON. *kvikna*. *Quoynt* is OF. *quoint*, *coint*. *Rak* is OE. *racu*. *Reme* is OM. *hrēman*, WS. *hrieman*. *Route* is OE. *hrūtan* 'snore,' not ON. *rauta* 'roar.' With *runyschly* might have been compared *renyschly* 'fiercely' of *Cleanness* 1724. Under *scapel* cf. ON. *skapi* 'harm,' but delete OE. *scapel*, which if it had existed would have given *schapel*. Under *schage* the OE. form should be *sceaga*. The OE. form of *schape* might be **sceapian*, not found, but not *scapan*. The ME. vb. is a new formation from the noun, or possibly a modification of an old weak verb.

It is difficult to understand Mr. Bateson's OE. *scāmlīce* as the original of *schomely*. He can hardly suppose *o* long in ME., while *scāmlice* could hardly be a misprint for *sceamlīce*, the true form. *Stele* is OE. *stela*, not *stel*; see note above. *Stygile* is an *l*-formation based on OE. *stihtan*. The original of *swepte* is OE. *swifte*, not *swepte*, possibly a misprint. *Swelme* doubtless comes from an unrecorded OE. **swālm* from OE. *swālan* 'burn.' *Swenge*, wkv., is from OE. *swengan*, as its meaning and forms show, not the strong *swingan*. The derivation of the two verbs *swepe* is asserted too confidently, to say the least. With *swolze*, sb., should be compared Dan. *swalg* 'gullet, gulf, whirlpool.' Under *swowe*, OE. *swōwan* should be *swōgan*. The source of *teme*, wkv., is ON. *tæma*, not OE. *tēman*, as shown above.

The form from which *pikke* comes is ON. *pikkr*. For *prenge* presumably Mr. Bateson means to cite ON. *þrengja*, a late form of *þrōngva*, but see Björkman (as above) p. 157. *Pro* is from the ON. sb. *þrā*, not the adj. *þrār*. *Torne* may be directly from OF. *torner*. *Towe*, wkv., can not come directly from OE. *tēon*. For *tramme* no satisfactory etymology has been found, but possibly it is from ON. *trafn*, *tramn*, 'beam' referring to the mast; cf. the fuller discussion in my article for *Engl. Stud.*, mentioned above. For *truly*, OE. *trēowlice* is the natural source. The OE. form from which *tulte* may come is *tealtian*, not *tieltan*, but both *tulte* and *tylte* are possibly Scandinavian; cf. Swed. *tulta*, Norw. *tylta*, ON. *tolta*. *Unsounde* is a sb. from OE. *un-* and (*ge*)*sund*. *Walter*, wkv., can be ON. *velta* only indirectly as the latter is strong, but may be from the same root influenced by the sb. *valtr* 'a rolling;' cf. *wale* and the ON. sb. *val*. On *waulez* see emendation above. *Waymot* is OE. *wēamod* 'angry,' with unvoiced final consonant and the first part influenced by ON. *vei*. *Welde* is not from OE. *wealdan*, stv., but from a weak derivative; cf.

OE. *geweldan* with lengthened vowel, and see Kluge-Lutz, *English Etymology*. *Welwe* is probably from a mutated form of the root appearing in OE. *wealwian* 'fade.'

I can not leave this glossary without expressing the belief that quantities of the long vowels should have been marked, and the quality of long *e*'s and *o*'s. With one or two exceptions, also, proper names are not given, an omission too common in glossaries of all kinds.

Mr. Bateson's Introduction has been left to the last to emphasize the great importance which I think should now attach to well-edited texts of these little-known poems. When they have been thoroughly edited and studied in detail, we may be able to approach the writer's life and purposes more fully. As to these, it seems to me, Mr. Bateson has not added much to our knowledge. He devotes thirty-two pages to the date of the poems, following the divisions "Relative Date" and "Positive Date" of Miss Thomas's dissertation on Sir Gawayne, eight pages to Dialect, Language and Manuscript, fourteen pages to Subject Matter and Sources, eight pages to a Hypothetical Sketch of the Poet, and six pages to two appendixes. The discussion of date has added little to what was known, and all we do know might have been put into a few paragraphs. The hypothetical sketch of the poet might have been considerably reduced by a frank admission that we know little of the externals of his life. Such reduction would have left space for an adequate discussion of the poet's power in expression, and of his art in using this quaint old form of verse.

It seems to me, also, that we might have expected some fuller treatment of the language of the poem. It is more than a quarter century since the studies of Knigge and Schwahn, and nearly half a century since the admirable work of Morris. At least such treatment of the language as would have assisted the reader was essential, and this has by no means been given. The best portion of the Introduction is that dealing with the subject-matter of the poem and its sources. Perhaps it might be thought the writer is partial to the latter because Mr. Bateson accepts the dependence of parts of *Patience* upon the pseudo-Tertullian *De Jona*, a dependence which I pointed out in the tenth volume of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*. Mr. Bateson's independent discovery and use of this source would seem to confirm the idea, in spite of a recent expression of skepticism by an *Athenaeum* reviewer of Bateson (Oct. 26, 1912).

In exhibiting the parallelism between parts

of *Patience* and the *De Jona*, Mr. Bateson might have made more of the *De Jona*—*Patience* treatment and the Vulgate, the original source. The table, too, showing the dependence of other parts of *Patience* upon the Vulgate might have been considerably extended either in Introduction or Notes. Thus, in lines 15–18 the poet follows the Vulgate order of the beatitudes, placing "the meek" before "those that mourn." So in the prayer of Jonah from the whale's belly,

Lorde, to þe haf I cleped in careȝ ful stronge,

translates very closely "clamavi de tribulatione mea ad Dominum." In 307 "and þou knew myn uncler steven" translates "exaudisti (heard from a distance, not clearly) vocem meam." So the next line,

þou dipteg me of þe depe se into þe dymme hert,

is the *Vulgate* "et projecisti me in profundum in corde maris." Again the poet used "and" in 322 to correspond with Lat. "et," where we should expect "yet or but." It is one of a good many examples indicating that a disjunctive meaning of OE., ME. *and* should be more clearly recognized. So also "her mercy" (332) translates "inisericordiam suam" 'mercy of or for themselves,' showing that the *her* is used in an objective sense.

A similar parallelism of expression might have been noted through the remainder of the poem, while a close reading of the *Vulgate* would also have revealed the poet's originality in his departures from his source. Thus lines 73–88 are based on nothing in the Bible, though perhaps suggested by lines 15–18 of the *De Jona*. The curious elaboration of the conversion of the sailors (237–340 compared with 164–68) calls for a note. It is based, it is true, upon *Jonah* 1, 5, "et clamaverunt viri ad deum suum," compared with *Jonah* 1, 14, "et clamaverunt ad Dominum." Yet the transformation of the sailors from heathen shrews into good Israelites of the old dispensation, to sacrifice and make vows "on Moyses wyse," and to accept Jehovah as the true God, is wholly the work of the English poet. So the vividness of the poem in lines 341–348, especially the making of Jonah land at Nineveh, as well as the question of the Lord and the answer of Jonah, are based on nothing in the *Vulgate*. These are at least a few points in which the Introduction to this interesting poem might be improved.

The misprints in the book are far too many, even for a first edition. Mr. Bateson has corrected a few. I summarize others as follows.

In the forty-three lines of English poems quoted between pages 8 to 26 there are twenty-three typographical errors. In the fifty-two lines or part lines of English and Latin verse in pages 44 to 50 there are sixteen errors, eleven in the twenty-six Latin lines. On p. 53, in sixteen lines or part lines from *Patience* itself, there are seventeen misprints. Some other misprints of the Introduction follow in detail. P. 13, fifth line from bottom, read Cleanness 116-117. P. 15, ninth l. from bottom, read l. 120. P. 21, l. 13, at end, read denuncia-. P. 51, l. 6, moreover for "however" would be truer to fact. Last line, read Oeniponte. P. 76, last l., should ms. be placed before the reading? P. 104, l. 4 from bottom, read domino . . . venerando, not venerando deo.

Misprints in glossary. P. 110, under *Abyde* read abyde 70; under *And*, read 322 for 522; under *Anon*, read an + ān. P. 111, under *Ask* read āscian(ācsian); under *Balter*, read 459. P. 112, under *Bite*, read wk. for kw.; so *Blok* for *Bloc*. P. 114, under *Busche* read onomatopoeic. P. 115, under *Can*, read cunen 513, not cunnen; under *Con*, read gon, not gon, or if intended for meaning, gan. P. 117, under *Dumpe*, read fall; so *Dyngne* for *Dynge*. P. 118, under *Enmye*, read OF. enemis. P. 122, under *Haspe* read OE. hæpsian; under *Haspede*, read OE. hæpse. P. 123, under *Herk*, sign for "from" is reversed. P. 124, under *Hitte*, read 289. P. 125, *I.wysse*, should be *Iwysse*; under *Ilyche*, read ever-ilyche. P. 128, after *Hytloker*, add adv. P. 131, under *Navel* read OE. nafela. P. 132, under *Pitosly*, read OF. piteus + ME. ly. P. 133, under *Poplande*, read Du. popelen = bubble. P. 134, read *Rakel*, not *Rakle*. P. 139, under *Sorge* read 507 for 509; under *Stayre*, read round for rund. P. 145, read *Upynyoun* for *Upynoun*.

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Autour de Flaubert, par RENÉ DESCHARMES et RENÉ DUMESNIL. Paris: Mercure de France, 1912. 2 vols., 349 and 352 pp.

Les mânes de Gustave Flaubert ne doivent pas être contents. Lui qui avait en horreur tout ce qui sentait la réclame, qui disait: "L'idée de la publicité me paralyse," qui, s'indignant à la pensée qu'on écrivît sa biographie, s'écriait:

L'écrivain ne doit laisser de lui que ses œuvres. Sa vie importe peu. Arrière la guenille!

le voilà en ces derniers temps livré, et par ses admirateurs, aux curiosités du public bourgeois qu'il appelait avec mépris "messieurs les épiciers, vérificateurs d'enregistrement, commis de la douane, bottiers en chambre et autres." Depuis quelques années, les articles sur lui, sa vie, ses amitiés, sa maladie, ses correspondantes, abondent dans les revues; on en a même tiré la matière de deux ou trois thèses de doctorat. Cet intérêt général s'accroît considérablement à l'apparition d'une édition nouvelle des *Œuvres complètes de Flaubert*,¹ laquelle, si elle ne mérite pas pleinement le titre de définitive qu'elle se décerne, et si les notes qu'on y a ajoutées sont souvent plus curieuses que critiques, rend accessibles, du moins, nombre de lettres et de documents restés jusqu'ici enfermés dans les archives de la Villa Tanit.

Une des plus récentes publications sur le grand romancier est un ouvrage en deux volumes dû aux actives recherches de MM. Descharmes et Dumesnil, bien connus comme flaubertistes. C'est un recueil de neuf articles, presque tous déjà parus en diverses revues depuis 1909. Anecdотiques plutôt que critiques, ils concernent principalement la vie littéraire de Flaubert et les circonstances de la composition et de la publication de ses ouvrages, depuis la première apparition de *Madame Bovary* en 1856 jusqu'à sa mort, vingt-quatre ans plus tard.

Découragés, semble-t-il, par tout ce qu'on avait déjà publié sur leur écrivain au point de vue littéraire, les auteurs de ces études disent avoir renoncé à l'idée d'aborder la critique proprement dite de ses œuvres, et s'être contentés de tourner, pour ainsi dire, autour de quelques-unes, pour en décrire l'origine, la genèse ou les conséquences. Même en passant ainsi en revue ce qu'ils appellent les *à-côtés* de la vie et de l'œuvre de Flaubert, ils n'ont pas essayé d'en faire une étude systématique et approfondie. Ce sont, comme ils le disent, les hasards des recherches, l'occasion des matériaux accumulés,

¹ Paris, Louis Conard, 1910-1912. Tous nos renvois seront faits d'après cette édition.

qui ont dicté le choix des sujets. Groupés cependant, par ordre chronologique, autour des ouvrages successifs, ces articles laissent une certaine impression d'unité que n'aurait pas eue autrement pareil recueil d'études détachées.

Certains chapitres, ou parties de chapitre, ne représentent guère, il faut l'avouer, qu'un habile remaniement d'éléments déjà connus. Tel un chapitre sur *Flaubert et le théâtre*, tiré presque exclusivement de sa correspondance, de mémoires contemporains et des notes de l'édition Conard. Il contient cependant, sur l'antagonisme fondamental entre l'esthétique de Flaubert et les exigences de la composition dramatique, quelques pages excellentes, se terminant par cette conclusion que le critique aurait pu affirmer avec moins de réserves : En écrivant ces deux comédies [*Le Sexe faible* et *le Candidat*] sur le tard de son existence, si Flaubert réalisait un rêve, une hantise de sa jeunesse, peut-être n'avait-il pas alors acquis, et même n'avait-il jamais possédé, au fond, les qualités d'un auteur comique.

Rien de très nouveau non plus dans le quatrième chapitre consacré aux vicissitudes du livret de *Salammbô*, et dont l'apport le plus intéressant est emprunté à un article de M. Georges Dubosc, paru il y a quelques années dans *le Journal de Rouen*.¹ C'est un curieux embryon de scénario préparé par Flaubert lui-même sur la demande de Gautier, qui s'était offert dès la publication du roman pour en tirer un opéra. Le reste du chapitre détaille les péripéties du projet jusqu'à sa complète réalisation entre les mains de Camille Du Locle, mais deux ans après la mort de Flaubert.

Le chapitre III, portant le titre ambitieux de *Salammbô en 1862-1863, devant la critique et dans l'actualité*, n'est, après tout, que le résumé d'une parodie du roman, précédé de la rapide énumération d'une dizaine de comptes rendus, avec quelques citations de caricatures contemporaines. Quant à la parodie, elle fut,

¹ L'auteur de ce chapitre ignorait, semble-t-il, que Spoelberch de Lovenjoul avait déjà publié ce scénario, avec le billet de Flaubert qui l'accompagnait, dans son volume *les Lundis d'un chercheur*, Paris, 1894, pp. 77-87. (Il faudrait, donc, ajouter cette mention à la bibliographie de MM. D. et D. et rectifier la note qui suit leur No. 722, vol. II, p. 288.)

d'après M. Descharmes lui-même, *une piètre élucubration qui tomba dès les premières représentations, dont Flaubert ne semble même pas avoir connu l'existence éphémère*, et qui . . . ne méritait guère l'honneur que M. Descharmes lui a fait.

Pareil désaccord entre le titre et le contenu du chapitre II sur *les Connaissances médicales de Flaubert*. Ce titre semblerait promettre une analyse des fortes pages médicales de *Madame Bovary*, et de *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, sans parler de *l'Education sentimentale* et d'*Un Cœur simple*. On trouve, au contraire, des extraits de trois études sur la faim et la soif qui auraient pu fournir quelques détails pour le passage du *Défilé de la Hache* dans *Salammbô*. Le critique écarte très justement la première de ces études, mentionnée par Flaubert dans une lettre aux Goncourt²; quant aux deux autres,³ elles offrent des ressemblances fort suggestives avec la fameuse description de Flaubert. Cependant, M. Descharmes s'interdit d'en conclure à quoi que ce soit,⁴ et raille *la critique d'épluchage*, c'est-à-dire la recherche des sources :

Si . . . nous apprenions demain, par une preuve indiscutable, que Flaubert s'est inspiré [des deux susdits ouvrages] en composant ce chapitre, en serions-nous vraiment plus avancés?

Le critique lui-même fournit involontairement la réfutation de son objection. Il faudrait seulement qu'un esprit plus téméraire veuille *aller plus loin, dégager toutes les conséquences*, et démontrer en quoi consiste la vraie originalité de l'artiste.

Cette extrême prudence, qui se refuse à tirer une conclusion toutes les fois que, faute de *preuves indiscutables*, il faudrait s'en rapporter

² *Corresp.* III, 312.

³ *Le Naufrage de la frégate "la Méduse,"* par Corréard et Savigny, Paris 1818 et une thèse de doctorat en médecine: *Observations sur les effets de la faim et de la soif éprouvés après le naufrage de la frégate du roi "la Méduse,"* par H. Savigny, Paris 1818.

⁴ Flaubert n'avait-il pas dit lui-même: "Une conclusion n'appartient qu'à Dieu seul," et ailleurs: "Aucun grand génie n'a conclu et aucun grand livre ne conclut"?

au bon sens et s'en tenir aux probabilités, se montre à un plus haut degré encore dans un chapitre sur *les Ancêtres de "Bouvard et Pécuchet."* Guidés par une indication de Mme Alphonse Daudet, les deux collaborateurs avaient découvert un conte, *les Deux Greffiers*, publié au moins trois fois entre 1841 et 1858, qui offre, pour le fond, des rapprochements significatifs avec le roman posthume de Flaubert. Ils ont ensuite élevé fort ingénieusement tout un échafaudage d'hypothèses plus probables les unes que les autres, pour prouver que ce conte ne put guère ne pas tomber sous les yeux de Flaubert, après quoi ils s'esquivent, en reniant les conclusions de leurs propres arguments:

Mais dans l'entourage de Flaubert on évitait avec soin d'y faire allusion. Et Daudet lui-même aimait le maître d'une affection trop sincère, trop loyale, pour risquer de lui suggérer un tardif scrupule, en lui laissant soupçonner une ressemblance qu'il jugeait purement fortuite. Tenons donc, à son exemple, qu'il s'agit d'une coïncidence curieuse, et rien de plus.

Il est pourtant à craindre que le lecteur, après une si habile exposition des ressemblances et des probabilités, ne se montre moins délicat que Daudet et moins scrupuleux que les auteurs de cet article, et qu'il n'attache à leur excellent travail une autre valeur que celle d'une simple *curiosité*.

On accordera volontiers un intérêt analogue à la découverte d'une comédie politique antérieure au *Candidat* et basée sur les mêmes données (chapitre VI). Ici cependant, bien que les rapprochements à faire soient du même genre, on peut moins bien établir la probabilité que Flaubert connût cette comédie publiée en 1837, mais qui ne fut jamais représentée. Par conséquent, le critique, et cette fois avec raison, laisse au lecteur le soin de juger "si les ressemblances méritent . . . qu'on tienne la première pièce pour l'origine, même très indirecte et très lointaine, de la seconde."

Les auteurs de ces deux volumes ont été assez heureux pour pouvoir entrer en relations avec les détenteurs de *flaubertiana* inédits, qu'ils ont su mettre en valeur grâce à leurs connaissances spéciales. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont pu donner aux

trois chapitres qui nous restent à considérer, un intérêt qui, sans cela, leur aurait manqué.

Le premier article de la collection, sur "*Madame Bovary*" et son temps, réunit à des citations tirées de la nouvelle édition du roman et de la correspondance du romancier, plusieurs lettres inédites adressées à Flaubert par ses confrères après la publication de son ouvrage, ou lors de son fameux procès pour outrage aux bonnes mœurs. On remarquera particulièrement un curieux reproche de la part de Champfleury, "père du réalisme," qui trouvait certains détails dans *Madame Bovary* trop réalistes; aussi une longue lettre de Sainte-Beuve, qui est presque une ébauche de son compte rendu officiel. La seconde partie de cet article passe en revue la critique contemporaine. Sa documentation est ample, mais l'absence d'idée directrice laisse le lecteur ébloui comme par un effet de kaléidoscope. C'eût été chose facile et instructive que de montrer, dans la corporation des *abrutis* du feuilleton, la division très nette en deux camps qui fut provoquée par l'apparition en bolide de cet ouvrage d'un jeune écrivain inconnu.

On aurait même pu *égayer la matière* en recueillant quelques spécimens des stupides prophéties, des jugements ineptes émis à cette occasion, une sorte de galerie de ce qu'Aubryet aurait appelé *les niaiseries de la critique*. Pour Duranty, par exemple, dans *le Réalisme* du 15 mars 1857, il n'y avait "ni émotion, ni sentiment, ni vie dans ce roman . . . auquel les défauts . . . enlèvent tout intérêt." On en voulut non seulement aux mœurs et à l'observation réaliste, mais aussi, détail curieux, au style du roman, reproche auquel Flaubert se montra singulièrement sensible.⁵ Cuvillier-Fleury, le critique attitré du *Journal des Débats*, dans le numéro du 26 mai 1857, consacra à cette question une étude qui fit les délices du parti orthodoxe. Il trouva le style *étrangement mêlé de vulgarité et de prétention*, jugement renforcé dans *le Figaro* du 28 juin: "Descriptions à part, son style est indécis, incorrect, vulgaire."⁶ Charles de Mazade, dans *la Revue*

⁵ *Corresp.*, III, 117, 141.

⁶ Cf. aussi *l'Univers* du 26 juin, et *la Gazette de France* du 26 juillet 1857.

des Deux Mondes du 1er mai avait déjà dit: "Style Champfleury (c'est tout dire), commun à plaisir, trivial, sans force ni ampleur, sans grâce et sans finesse."

Malgré ces observations, il est indiscutable que cette collection d'extraits sera intéressante, peut-être même utile. Il y aurait cependant à faire plusieurs rectifications de détail dont voici quelques-unes:

P. 68: "Xavier Aubryet a beau protester [en note: *l'Artiste* du 20 septembre 1857] contre cette incroyable attaque . . . Pontmartin récidive [en note: *l'Assemblée Nationale* du 4 juillet 1857]." Aubryet protesta, en effet, mais *après* la récidive, lorsque l'article de Pontmartin, déjà publié par *le Correspondant*, numéro du 25 juin 1857, fut reproduit dans *le Spectateur* des 12 et 13 septembre 1857.⁷ (Cf. *Corresp.* III, 135. Voir aussi *Autour de Flaubert*, II, 266.)

P. 86: "J'ai savouré le Cuvillier-Fleury." La mention dans cette lettre (*Corresp.* III, 210) d'un livre et de trois articles publiés tous en octobre 1859 montre que l'allusion ici n'est point à l'article en question (*Journal des Débats*, 14 novembre 1858), mais bien à un compte rendu de *Daniel* fait pour les *Débats* du 29 octobre 1859.

P. 88: "Hippolyte Rigault, dans ses *Conversations littéraires et morales*, fait en 1859, lui aussi, la comparaison obligée de Fanny et d'Emma." Il la fit même de son vivant (il est mort le 21 décembre 1858), dans le *Journal des Débats* du 5 août 1858.⁸

Le dernier chapitre du tome premier, *Flaubert et ses éditeurs*, tel qu'il parut dans la *Revue d'Histoire littéraire*, avril-juin et juillet-septembre 1911, contenait soixante-quatorze lettres inédites de Flaubert à Georges Charpen-

tier. Celles-ci n'ont pas pu être reproduites dans le présent volume, par suite de quoi l'article reste forcément tronqué. La première partie retrace avec force détails l'histoire des rapports de Flaubert avec l'éditeur des trois romans publiés de son vivant. Elle est tirée de la correspondance publiée de l'écrivain, et suivie d'un récit de la rupture finale, éclairci par quelques lettres de Flaubert à Philippe Le-parfait au sujet de la publication des *Dernières Chansons* de Bouilhet. La seconde partie de ce chapitre est plutôt une étude littéraire du *Château des Coeurs*, avec l'histoire anecdotique de sa publication,—le tout précédé d'une fort habile reconstitution du salon de M. et Mme Charpentier, d'après les mémoires des Goncourt et des Daudet. Ce n'est que tout à la fin du chapitre qu'il est, et alors fort peu, question de Flaubert et de son dernier éditeur.

La série de ces études se termine très à propos par un chapitre sur *les Dernières années de Flaubert*. C'est surtout une histoire extrêmement sympathique de son amitié avec Edmond Laporte, sa *sœur de charité*, et de leur long effort commun pour avancer le conte des "deux bonshommes," *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, lequel devait cependant rester inachevé. Ici encore, MM. Descharmes et Dumesnil nous offrent du nouveau, sous la forme de lettres inédites de Flaubert à Laporte, dont ils auraient dépouillé *près de deux cents*. "Billets de trois lignes ou lettres de quatre pages, de tous ces papiers se dégage le même élan de tendresse, la même camaraderie sincère et loyale." Les toutes dernières années de Flaubert sont ensuite racontées à l'aide de lettres en partie inédites, qui montrent l'estime et la tendre affection qu'avaient pour l'écrivain les quelques amis qui devaient lui survivre.

Des trois appendices ajoutés au second volume, le premier, *les Variantes de "Par les Champs et par les Grèves"*, est une ingénieuse étude des trois versions accessibles de cette œuvre de jeunesse. Les conclusions qui en découlent sont inquiétantes pour qui doit travailler sur les textes de Flaubert publiés jusqu'à présent, et indiquent à nouveau le besoin qu'aurait cet écrivain d'un éditeur aussi consciencieux qu'intelligent. Les amateurs de Flaubert

⁷ Ne faudrait-il pas corriger dans le même sens, tome I, p. 51, note 2, le renvoi à *la causerie du samedi* au "*National*" (le 14 juillet)? Nous n'avons pu découvrir aucun journal de ce nom existant à cette époque. (Le 14 juillet 1857, d'ailleurs, fut un mardi.)

⁸ Cf. du reste, tome II, p. 266, de l'ouvrage même que nous étudions.

souscriront de tout cœur à la plainte formulée par M. Descharmes :

N'est-il pas en tout cas regrettable que, faute de garanties suffisantes, il puisse subsister, même dans l'édition la plus récente et la plus complète des œuvres de Flaubert, de telles incertitudes ?

Le second appendice, une biographie chronologique, est sans doute le travail de M. Dumesnil, qui en avait publié comme une première ébauche à la fin de sa thèse sur Flaubert.⁹ Ici la biographie est considérablement revue, augmentée et corrigée. Il semblerait néanmoins y avoir encore des corrections à opérer, à en juger par les années 1857 à 1862, où se sont glissées, parmi beaucoup d'autres, les erreurs suivantes :¹⁰

1857

"Avril (fin).—*Madame Bovary* paraît." Cf. vol. I, p. 44 : "*Madame Bovary* parut . . . au début d'avril." Ce fut plutôt entre ces deux dates, peut-être le lundi 13 avril. La dédicace est datée du 12, et le volume est annoncé le 18, dans le *Journal de la Librairie*.¹¹

"Mai.—Il a des velléités de reprendre la *Tentation de Saint Antoine*." Au contraire, dans le passage en question (*Corresp.* III, 140-141), il répond à Duplan : "Non, mon bon vieux, malgré votre conseil, je ne vais pas abandonner *Carthage* pour reprendre *Saint-Antoine*, parce que je ne suis plus dans ce cercle d'idées et qu'il faudrait m'y remettre, ce qui n'est pas pour moi une petite besogne. . . .

⁹ *Flaubert, son hérité, son milieu, sa méthode*, Paris, 1905.

¹⁰ Nous nous permettons de renvoyer d'avance, pour d'autres corrections, à une étude sur la correspondance de Flaubert de 1857-1862 que nous comptons faire paraître incessamment.

¹¹ Voir aussi tome I, p. 292 : "Deux mois s'étaient à peine écoulés que Lévy avait déjà vendu 15,000 exemplaires du roman et commençait un nouveau tirage." D'après une lettre de Flaubert à Mlle Leroyer de Chantepie (*Corresp.* III, 133), la réimpression du livre fut non seulement commencée, mais faite, vers le 1er juin, c.-à-d. environ six semaines après le premier tirage,—petit détail, mais qui a son importance comme indiquant le succès initial du roman.

Je suis dans *Carthage* et je vais tâcher, au contraire, de m'y enfoncer le plus possible."

1858

"Mai.—Sousse, Sfax." Flaubert avait, en effet, projeté d'y aller,¹² mais dut en abandonner l'idée, ainsi qu'il l'annonça à Feydeau le 8 mai :¹³ "Quant à la côte Est, je n'ai ni le temps ni l'argent, hélas !" ¹⁴

"Mai 20.—Pour la première fois, dans une lettre à sa nièce, *Salammbô* apparaît comme titre de son roman." La lettre (*Corresp.* III, 177) est adressée à Jules Duplan.¹⁵

"Juillet.—Il repasse à l'encre ses notes de voyage." D'après la phrase inscrite à la fin de son cahier, il termina ce travail la nuit du samedi 12 au dimanche 13 juin, minuit.¹⁶

"Décembre. Paris. Il assiste aux répétitions d'*Hélène Peyron*." La première de cette pièce eut lieu le 11 novembre.

"Retour à Croisset." Ce fut en novembre, vu qu'il ne resta que dix jours à Paris lors de la susdite première représentation.¹⁷

1859

Juillet.—Cette lettre (*Corresp.* III, 229) doit être placée au moins quatre mois plus tard, puisque Flaubert vient de lire ce soir "*la Femme*" de Michelet, annoncée dans le *Journal de la Librairie* du 26 novembre 1859.

1860

"Avril.—Croisset. Il assiste au mariage de sa nièce Juliette . . . (*Corresp.* III, 238.)" Lire : Avril 17.—Rouen, etc. (*Corresp.* III, 242).

"Décembre.— . . . (*Corresp.* III, 270)." Pourquoi rejeter la date imprimée du 1er janvier 1861, d'autant plus que Flaubert souhaite à Duplan la bonne année ?

¹² *Corresp.* III, 174.

¹³ *Corresp.* III, 176.

¹⁴ M. Léon Abrami (*Salammbô*, Notes, p. 468), le fait aller aussi à El-Jem, qu'il ne visita point non plus.

¹⁵ Même erreur dans *Salammbô*, Notes, p. 468.

¹⁶ *Notes de Voyages* II, 347. Cf., aussi, *Corresp.* III, 178.

¹⁷ *Corresp.* III, 202.

1861

"Mars.—Croisset. Préparation du chapitre suivant [XIII] . . . (*Corresp.* III, 286 et 290)." La lettre de la page 286 est postérieure à la publication de *Sylvie*, parue à la fin de mai.¹⁸ Quant à celle de la page 290, M. Weil avait déjà fait remarquer qu'elle est de 1859.¹⁹

Mai.—Lecture de *Salammô* devant les frères de Goncourt, le 6 mai 1861. Le compilateur de cette chronologie voudrait renvoyer cette solennité à un an plus tard. Il se base pour cela sur deux faits: 1° "Les critiques formulées par les Goncourt portent sur l'ensemble du roman," tandis que, en mai 1861, *Salammô* n'était point achevée. 2° "On trouve à cette époque [mai 1862] dans la correspondance de Flaubert" une lettre invitant les Goncourt à une *gueulade punique*. Quant au second de ces arguments, on sait ce que vaut le hasard des juxtapositions dans les deux éditions de cette correspondance.

Pour ce qui est des *critiques formulées par les Goncourt*, même si elles ne furent pas ajoutées après coup, elles ne portent que sur le style et l'effet général, et ne prouvent point que l'ouvrage était entièrement fini. Au contraire, les Goncourt disent: "Nous allons de lectures en résumés de morceaux qu'il analyse, et dont quelques-uns ne sont pas complètement terminés." Or, l'on sait que *Salammô* fut achevée dès avril 1862, et que, le 20 mai, Flaubert devait tout avoir de sa copiste.²⁰ L'hypothèse du 6 mai 1862 est donc impossible.

"Mai.—Il recommande, à Mme. Cornu, Pouchet père, qui pose sa candidature à l'Académie des Sciences (fauteuil de Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire)." Un tel empressement est fort improbable, ce fauteuil n'étant devenu vacant que par la mort du titulaire, le 10 novembre 1861.

1862

"Avril.—Paris. *Salammô*, achevée, est donnée à copier." La lettre citée (*Corresp.* V, 24) nous apprend seulement que, le 19 mai, la

copiste n'avait fait que quatre-vingts pages. Il est plus vraisemblable que le manuscrit ne lui fut remis que vers le milieu de mai.²¹

"Août.—Discussions avec Michel Lévy," etc. Les trois lettres citées (*Corresp.* III, 326, 324, 318) sont du mois de juin 1862.²²

Une copieuse bibliographie, comptant près d'un millier de titres, termine ces deux volumes. Malgré une disposition typographique qui n'est pas des plus heureuses, elle constitue la contribution la plus précieuse de l'ouvrage. Sans en avoir essayé aucun contrôle, nous avons cependant noté quelques omissions sous la rubrique *Madame Bovary (critique)*²³:

Deschamps: Livres français.—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 mai 1857, supplément hors pages: *Librairie et Beaux Arts*, pp. 73-75. (Voir *Corresp.* III, 126, 133, 141, 143.)

Dumas, père: Correspondance et nouvelles diverses.—*Le Monte-Cristo*, 28 mai 1857. (Voir *Corresp.* III, 125.)

Lescure, M. de: Le Roman contemporain. *Madame Bovary*.—*La Gazette de France*, 26 juillet 1857. (Un éreintement à la Cuvillier-Fleury, mais faible.)

Rigault, Hippolyte. Son article du 5 août 1858 fut réimprimé aussi dans ses *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1859, vol. IV, pp. 528-541.

Ulbach, Louis: La Quinzaine littéraire.—*Le Courrier de Paris*, 16 mai 1857. (Un des meilleurs articles contemporains, d'une remarquable perspicacité.)

Il doit ressortir de ce qui a été dit plus haut que ces études mettent à la portée du public,

¹⁸ Cf. aussi, d'ailleurs, *Lettres à sa nièce*, XV.

¹⁹ Cf., du reste, *Autour de Flaubert*, I, 300.

²⁰ Il y aurait aussi à ajouter deux articles sur *Salammô* que l'on sait exister, mais que nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion de chercher. Le premier, par Louis de Cormenin, est mentionné dans une lettre de Théophile Gautier reproduite par M. Bergerat, *Théophile Gautier*, Paris 1911, p. 298. (Il serait intéressant de savoir si Flaubert eut lieu d'être aussi content de cet article que de celui du même critique sur son premier roman; voir *Corresp.* III, 123, et Du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires* II, 152-153.) Le second fut l'œuvre d'un critique nommé Silvestre et, d'après Du Camp, piqua vivement Flaubert (*Souvenirs littéraires* II, 343).

²¹ Cf. le *Journal de la Librairie*, 1er juin 1861.

²² Cf. *la Revue universitaire*, 1902, I, p. 358, n. 6.

²³ *Lettres à sa nièce*, p. 24.

sous une forme agréable, bien des renseignements sur la vie et l'œuvre de Flaubert.²⁴ Composées presque toutes comme articles de revue, elles en gardent forcément le caractère un peu superficiel et éphémère, et le ton familier. S'il y en a quelques-unes qu'on ne se serait guère attendu à voir reparaître en volume, d'autres apportent à nos connaissances sur Flaubert une contribution plus importante que les auteurs eux-mêmes ne semblent vouloir admettre.

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Faust-Studien. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis Goethes in seiner Dichtung. Von HENRY WOOD. Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1912. vi + 294 pp.

It gives unmixed pleasure to deal with so solid and thoroughly seasoned a work as this, moving in so high an atmosphere of thought, and showing so free and masterly a control of its whole subject. After contemplating the many distressing yeasty ferments for which immature scholars are responsible, there is great consolation in the assurance,

Es gibt zuletzt doch noch e' Wein.

One rests in the comfortable conviction that this is the product of a life-time's concentration upon a work of the deepest human significance. The book has just that characteristic of going to the bottom of things which gains our immediate interest and confidence. It impresses the present reader as a performance which goes back to the ampler traditions of the best American scholarship: it is essentially dignified; it is closely and elegantly reasoned; it wastes no time upon the merely obvious; it is done in large strokes and with a comprehensive outlook, with a full appreciation of the

pulsing life which lies back of the letter; its general spirit is wholly liberal. Along with this, there is a fine perception of most delicate indications and subtle symbols, a tracing of the almost hidden threads in Goethe's weaving.

Equally clear is Professor Wood's supreme piety toward the aged Goethe. He works from the principle that even the most phantasmagoric episode in *Faust* contains some adequate, worthy meaning, which he purposes to chase to its capture, though the hunt should lead around Robin Hood's barn; he will let go of no hint until he has harried it to quiescence.

Nothing less than a deep purpose can be assumed as worthy of Goethe, who came to repudiate without tolerance Rousseau's romantic ideas of an existence of mere contemplation. Every heaven-appointed seer who writes for his own satisfaction must needs be cryptic to his own age,—not intentionally, but in the nature of things. "*Der Dichter*," in Goethe's own words, "*verwandelt das Leben in ein Bild. Die Menge will das Bild wieder zu Stoff erniedrigen*." Our author is concerned solely with psychical, never with physical identifications, and it must be freely admitted that he plows deep! The book is a monument of sound research: fine-spun, ingenious, recondite, but not deduced from the Inner Consciousness, and by no means limited (as in so much critical work in this field) to autobiographical data supplied by the poet himself. Startling conjectures are backed up by a trooping host of very refractory instances. Professor Wood's cultural stock-in-trade is immeasurably fresher for being derived from a wider field than merely conventional German training, and he draws upon an imposing wealth of material

From Homer down to Thackeray, and Swedenborg on "Hell."

Philip Sidney and Albertus Magnus; Harnack and *Home Sweet Home*; Burns and Crebillon, Nonnus and Stedman—all must stand and deliver. One is especially glad to find Whitman and Emerson put into connection with general vital problems in the field of German letters.

In view of all that lies back of this work, the present reviewer is free to state that he

²⁴ Il y aurait cependant à corriger, pour une réédition, de nombreuses coquilles et même quelques renvois inexacts, tel que la note 2, tome I, page 149.

chooses not to pass judgment on the main problems which Professor Wood has studied with such profundity and acumen: suffice it to say that all is suggestive and stimulating. In the ultimate interpretation of dark passages in *Faust*, the reviewer is prepared to make the largest admissions in regard to what such lines may contain—provided that the principle be ultimately conceded: Goethe did not “mean” such-and-such things, but he probably had them in mind when writing such-and-such verses.

The upshot of Professor Wood's thoughtful studies is all in the direction of asserting a constructive, progressive, “social” spirit in Goethe's evening of life: he is discovered as a most interested spectator and participant in the great march of events, occupied in expressing these major concerns in the general terms which belong to the equipment of poetry, rather than of history.

As regards the abundant wealth of interpretations and suggestions, we may mention: the theme of the aging poet in the *Vorspiel auf dem Theater* is shown to be closely related to materials in Hans Sachs; Goethe's sonnet-cycle is rescued from a “feministic point of view,” and presented in a double sense, as giving a generalization of his whole heart-history, so that the heroine is by no means merely Minna Herzlieb, but, in far larger measure, the fair saint, Renunciation. The cycle, again, is brought into very close relation to the *Einschlüferungslied* (*Faust*, 1447 ff.). We are offered (pp. 249-250) a very ingenious theory as to the reason for Goethe's reticence on the subject of *Faust* in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.

A large amount of material is brought forward under the principle of the poet's “fondness for relieving his wrath in dramatic scenes of satiric character.” Professor Wood makes it appear that Goethe was engaged to the very end in a war of extinction with Lavaterism, which was not brought to any truce by the tragic passing of that smooth pietist. The iron had entered deeply into Goethe's soul (such dicta, for example, as Lavater's categorical alternative, “Either Christian or Atheist!” never ceased to rankle); the *sæva indignatio* of the poet against the sweetish sensuousness of this

religionist makes, according to Professor Wood, the whole motive of the figure of the witch in her kitchen. This thesis is certainly defended with strong, juridical proofs and argued with subtle ingenuity. We look forward with interest to the redemption of the author's promise that in another division of these studies he “will make the female figure, which Faust discovers in the magic mirror, the subject of more particular observations.”

The chief thesis of the latter part of the work is: Goethe, as a Frederician from his boyish days, is dealing with Prussia when treating the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation in the second part of *Faust*. Frederic the Great had stamped his personality into Goethe's soul: a disheartening disillusion occurred when Friedrich Wilhelm II., “*ein verspieltes königliches Leben*,” assumed the reins of government. This situation, made more exasperating in Goethe's mind by the influence of Lavaterism in the Prussian court, recurs in *Faust*, and it is this ruler who is excoriated under the guise of the feeble and futile “Emperor.”

Sixty pages are devoted to Klinger, who, by his series of philosophical Faust-novels entered into competition with Goethe upon his most important field. Professor Wood gives a fascinating study of the collision of these two essentially antipathetic natures. Klinger was the victim of Rousseau, whereas Goethe derived profitable stimulus from him. Klinger had a distracting synchronous leaning toward freedom and orientalism, Goethe loathed arbitrary power. Klinger, with his rationalistic radicalism, wished to destroy the continuity of human history, Goethe, supersensuous in his philosophy of life and nature, was a foe to inorganic change. Klinger is represented as the superserviceable fetcher-and-carrier of despotism. While Professor Wood admits some sterling gifts, he seems to make too much and too little of Klinger, and hardly does full justice to this exponent of “moral energy.” His actual career is, in a measure, a refutation of the more compromising charges. Did not, indeed, the late venerable and pious Professor Dr. Hilty (Germany's Orison Swett Marden), whose genial orthodox-philosophical works en-

joy a sale of hundreds of thousands at the present moment, devote a whole chapter of his recent Practical Philosophy of the Happy Life to a revival of Klinger's *Wie es möglich ist, ohne Intrigue, selbst im beständigen Kampfe mit Schlechten, durch die Welt zu kommen?* Klinger's sincere religiousness, his force of character and moral courage, his quietistic aloofness from the vulgar scramble, have gained him genuine respect from many others than Goethe.

As regards its general logical method, we should be inclined to urge that at times more convincing arguments as to Goethe's knowledge of certain literary facts seem to be indicated as desirable. Similar phenomena are set forth with striking effect—*Parallelen und kein Ende!*—but in some cases the causal relations (perhaps necessarily) are matters of pure inference. With all honor to the solvent acumen and the inexorable cumulative juristic logic of the author, certain connections seem to consist of highly tenuous constructions and unsupported bridge-work; a pregnant phrase from the work itself might be more often applied with profit: "*Ob . . . jedoch . . . ist sehr die Frage.*" Possibly the exigencies of Goethe-philology, like the state of things during Wallenstein's siege of Nuremberg, necessarily compel the forgers to seek for scantier spoils from a territory continuously more remote. One sometimes feels that speculative criticism, having betaken itself from text to Paralipomena, has no recourse left than to proceed from Paralipomena to laundry-lists.

The ingenuity shown in connecting the magic-mirror scene with *Troilus and Cressida* seems of slight value, which reduces itself to zero when presenting the proportion, "Helena": Cressida::Mephistopheles:Pandarus. Hardly more remunerative is the clothing of the *Meerkater* in the garments of the Inquisitive Traveler of Berlin; the pernicious activities of the *Rosenkreuzer* in Berlin may have remained irritant in Goethe's system up to the very close of his life, but they may also be overworked as a continually recurrent motive.

Of minor matters, hardly calling for attention, may be mentioned the constant printing

of elegiacs without indenting the shorter line—contradictory to the invariable usage of Goethe and Schiller. A number of infelicitous misprints (such as "*Gas*" for *Das* on page 100) appear.¹ One is acquainted with "Klamer" or "Clamor" Schmidt, but the recurrent form "Clamer" has the note of unfamiliarity. Even that tiresome *lectio facillior* "*Erdentagen*" (*Faust* 11583) occurs on page 211; the term *Beth*' (p. 201) belongs to *Faust* 10947 and not to 10945. Piety towards Goethe's verse requires the reading, *einer Ewigkeit* (p. 163) in place of *eine Ewigkeit*, while the rhythm of the hexameter line in Xenion No. 35 (p. 122) is done to death by the omission of the entire word *wahrlich*.

Too high praise cannot be awarded the author for his vigorous, captivating, individual, adequate style, his fitly-chosen words,—more worthy of remark when we remind ourselves that he is working in an alien idiom. The pages coruscate with a diffused wit which glows and lights up the firmament, rather than offers fulminating or pyrotechnic spectacles. The covert allusions and half-concealed side-thrusts are delightfully effective, although the author can also land swinging blows where they will tell most directly. Some of his phrases deserve to live as *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*: "Klinger, the stormy-petrel of Nihilism;" "that moral-hospital of humanity, falsely termed 'the state of nature'"; "*Es ist gleichsam eine Walpurgisnacht bei Tage*;" "as a unity, the scene in the Witch's Kitchen encounters us in full plastic form, with indignant countenance, a Nemesis carved out of the living rock of German fanaticism."

We welcome most heartily so vital and important a book, and shall look forward with unusual anticipation to others from the same richly-equipped author: *Vivant sequentes!*

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¹ P. 10, 2. and 3. line from bottom; p. 68 (passage for note 2); p. 86, 1. 12; p. 108, 2. and 3. l. from bottom; p. 125, last line.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER, ESQUIRE

Chaucer's Official Life, by JAMES ROOT HULBERT. Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Co., 1912. 75 pp.

Although it is not probable that any large number of new facts about Chaucer will be discovered by his future biographers, much work needs to be done in the way of interpreting correctly the facts we already know. The Chaucer records have too often been studied as if each recorded a unique fact, whereas we ought to study them in their context, so to speak, ascertaining their significance with reference to Chaucer by comparing them with other records of the same kind relating to other men. It is this method of investigation that Dr. Hulbert has pursued in his valuable monograph on Chaucer's official life. The exact scope of the investigation, which, to a great extent, is based upon documents that have never been printed, is best stated in the author's own words:

"I shall attempt first to discover the relative importance of Chaucer's place in the court, and the significance of his varied employments, and secondly to find out the certain connections between Chaucer and John of Gaunt. The means which I shall employ is that of a study of the lives of Chaucer's associates—his fellow esquires, and justices of the peace, and his friends—and a comparison of their careers with that of Chaucer to determine whether or not the grants he received indicate special favor or patronage, and whether it is necessary to assume the patronage of John of Gaunt in particular to explain any step in his career" (p. 5).

Dr. Hulbert's comparison of Chaucer's career with those of his fellow-esquires is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Chaucer's life, in that it makes clear the true significance of facts that have too often been misinterpreted. The annuities Chaucer received are proved to have been no extraordinary favor, but a perfectly normal allowance to esquires of the king. Of the thirty-seven esquires named in the household list of 1368, all but six are shown to have received annuities of varying amounts. The inference to be drawn from this fact is clear; it is not reasonable to assume that, while thirty

of his colleagues received annuities as payment for their performance of the ordinary duties of their office, Chaucer received *his* annuity for writing poetry. The case is similar with reference to Chaucer's controllerships, for Dr. Hulbert shows that some thirteen of Chaucer's fellow-esquires held similar positions at the appointment of the king. He might also have cited from the Household Book of Edward IV the express statement that it was the policy of Edward III to reward the members of his household by such means. The passage is as follows:

"This King [Edward III] appointid of officis outwarde to reward his housold servises after thair desertes, to be parkers, some forsters, warreners, keepers of manners, Balywikes, Constables, porterships, Receiuers, Corrodeys, Wardis, marriagis, and many othir thinges of valure in portis and townes, Citties &c."¹

The wardships that Chaucer received were also among the rewards frequently granted to esquires of the king, as is proved by the parallel cases cited by Dr. Hulbert, as well as by the passage quoted above. Diplomatic commissions of the kind received by Chaucer, although a less normal feature of the esquire's career than annuities and appointments in the civil service, were by no means an extraordinary incident of such a career.² "Apparently," says Dr. Hulbert, "certain individuals were assigned especially to this kind of business and many of these were kept almost constantly engaged in it" (pp. 19, 20). He cites as examples three of Chaucer's colleagues, George Felbrig, Geoffrey Stucle, and Stephen Romylowe, who were repeatedly charged with commissions abroad. It is clear, therefore, that we have no ground for construing such appointments in the case of Chaucer as acts of literary patronage on the part of Edward III or Richard II. Even Chaucer's marriage is paralleled by many other

¹ *Life-Records*, Part II, p. xvi.

² This is proved by the very words of Chaucer's account for expenses on his first journey to Italy, the statement that he received "*talia vadia per diem, qualia aliis scutiferis eiusdem status similiter eundo in nuncio Regis ante hec tempora allocata fuerunt.*" (*Life-Records*, Doc. 72, p. 184.)

marriages between esquires of the king and *damoiselles* of the queen. Dr. Hulbert has proved beyond the possibility of dispute his main thesis, "that Chaucer received no exceptional favors, and that his career was in practically every respect a typical esquire's career" (p. 58).³

The conclusions at which Dr. Hulbert arrives in his discussion of Chaucer's relations with John of Gaunt, however, are less reliable. The author performs a useful service in exploding the time-honored theory that Chaucer's fortunes "rose and fell with those of John of Gaunt," proving conclusively, by an examination of Chaucer's career in comparison with that of John of Gaunt, the baselessness of the assumption that the latter was Chaucer's political patron or backer. It is unfortunate, however, that Dr. Hulbert has combined this argument with a discussion of John of Gaunt's activity as a literary patron of Chaucer. The concluding paragraph of the author's discussion of Chaucer's relations with John of Gaunt is as follows:

"From all these facts, I do not see how it can be maintained that John of Gaunt was Chaucer's 'great patron.' The evidence, so far as I can make out at present, leads one to the conclusion that Chaucer must have received his offices and royal annuities from the king rather than from John of Gaunt, at times when John of Gaunt's influence would have been harmful rather than beneficial,⁴ or when John of Gaunt was not in England to exercise it" (p. 63).

³ In an article entitled "Studies in the Life-Records of Chaucer", *Anglia* XXXVII, pp. 1f., I have stated my reasons for believing that Chaucer's privilege of executing his controllerships by deputy was an uncommon one. It is Dr. Hulbert's opinion, however, that the privilege was one that "could be had almost for the asking" (p. 66), and he cites several examples of other esquires who enjoyed the same privilege. But all of these examples (except that of John Hermesthorpe, which I have discussed in the article mentioned above) are of Edward III's reign, whereas Chaucer's case is of Richard II's reign.

⁴ It is worth noting that Chaucer received permission to appoint a deputy in his controllership of the custom and subsidy at the very time when the king's favorites (with the king himself as an accomplice, according to Walsingham and the continuator of Higden) were plotting against John of Gaunt's life.

The objection that I take to this paragraph is its ambiguous use of the word "patron" in the double sense of "political patron" and "patron of letters." The proof of the proposition that John of Gaunt was not Chaucer's political backer does not prove, or even tend towards proving, that he was not Chaucer's literary patron. Nor could we prove that John of Gaunt was Chaucer's literary patron, on the other hand, by demonstrating that he was his political backer. The two kinds of activity are quite distinct from each other and each must be proved or disproved independently of the other. In our inquiry as to whether John of Gaunt was Chaucer's literary patron, we must set aside such evidence as relates exclusively to John of Gaunt's political patronage of Chaucer. Cleared of irrelevant material, Dr. Hulbert's argument in regard to John of Gaunt's activity as a literary patron of Chaucer is as follows. He begins by pointing out that "we have two pieces of definite evidence of a connection between Chaucer and John of Gaunt; Chaucer's writing (probably shortly after 1369) of the *Book of the Duchess*, and John of Gaunt's grant [to Chaucer] of an annuity of ten pounds in June, 1374" (p. 58). As to the latter fact we may grant (for simplicity) Dr. Hulbert's contention that the annuity to Geoffrey Chaucer "was made merely in order to increase the sum given to Philippa" (p. 59), for John of Gaunt's literary patronage of Chaucer is not dependent upon proving that this grant was a reward for literary labors. As to the *Book of the Duchess*, Dr. Hulbert says that it "does not prove anything with regard to a definite relation; such complimentary poems were commonly written for nobles who were not special patrons of the poets" (p. 58). What meaning are we to attach to the terms "definite relation" and "special patron"?

The plot is said to have been hatched on the night of 14 February, 1385, and the patent permitting Chaucer to employ a deputy is dated 17 February of the same year. See Sydney Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 289 ff., and the authorities there cited. Dr. Hulbert would doubtless have called attention to this coincidence if he had attached more importance to this incident in Chaucer's career.

Are we to assume that Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess* on a venture, not knowing whether it would be acceptable or not, and that John of Gaunt ignored the work that was presented to him? To assume this would be, as it seems to me, to beg the question; moreover, it is improbable that Chaucer, with his facilities for knowing the duke's tastes, would have expended his labor on a work that was not likely to be acceptable. But on any other assumption than the one I have stated, we must admit that John of Gaunt was, with respect to the *Book of the Duchess*, Chaucer's literary patron. And after all, though the *Book of the Duchess* is our most important evidence of a literary connection between Chaucer and John of Gaunt, it is not our only evidence. We have also Shirley's statement that Chaucer wrote the *Complaint of Mars* at the duke's command.⁵ Moreover, we know that Chaucer planned to use in his *Treatise on the Astrolabe* the kalendar which had been composed in 1386 at the request of John of Gaunt by the Carmelite friar, Nicholas of Lynne.⁶ The eulogistic apostrophe of John of Gaunt's father-in-law, Pedro the Cruel, which Chaucer included among the tragedies of the *Monk's Tale*,⁷ also, leads one to suspect that the poet had in mind as a possible reader of his work the personage to whom, of all men in England, the allusion would have been the most acceptable. These three pieces of evidence ought not to be ignored in an investigation of Chaucer's literary relations with John of Gaunt. To nullify the force of all the evidence for John of Gaunt's literary patronage of Chaucer, more is required than the *a priori* argument Dr. Hulbert uses at the end of his discussion:

"One other suggestion—was John of Gaunt likely to have had enough interest in poetry to patronise a poet? I have found no evidence that he did patronise other poets or artists of any kind, and the impression of his character which a careful scholar like Mr. Trevelyan has gained from a study of his career, is not that he was such a man as would be interested in the arts" (p. 63).⁸

For the question is not, was John of Gaunt interested in poetry in general, or in the arts, but, did he care anything about Chaucer's poetry? The evidence that we have leads us to infer that he did. In protesting against exaggerated and baseless assertions as to John of Gaunt's importance as a literary patron of Chaucer, Dr. Hulbert has done good service, but he goes too far in the direction of minimising the importance (and almost denying the reality) of the duke's literary connections with the author of the *Book of the Duchess*. If he means only to deny that John of Gaunt was Chaucer's *Mæcenas*, we must assent heartily, for medieval patronage of letters seldom took the form of lavish gifts and personal dependence of the poet upon his patron. But if he intends to assert that John of Gaunt gave Chaucer no encouragement whatever in his literary work, but was completely indifferent, or even that his interest in Chaucer's writings is to be limited strictly to a lukewarm and condescending acceptance of the *Book of the Duchess*, we must protest. In regard to the extent of John of Gaunt's interest in Chaucer's work, we must confess our ignorance. The probabilities, however, seem to me to favor the opinion that Chaucer would as a matter of course present some of his later works to the patron for whom he had composed the first important work that we know him to have produced.

Dr. Hulbert shows also a desire to minimise

⁵ See Shirley's note, as printed by Hammond, p. 384. This statement of Shirley's (made in a note that precedes the poem) is not discredited by the other statement (made in a note at the end of the poem) to the effect that the Mars and Venus of the *Complaint* were the Earl of Huntingdon and Isabel of York. Shirley makes the former statement without qualification; he gives the latter statement merely as a piece of gossip, what "some men sayne."

⁶ See my note on the date of Chaucer's *Astrolabe*, *Modern Philology* X, pp. 204 ff.

⁷ C. T., B. 3565 ff.

⁸ Mr. Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, valuable as it is, gives but an incomplete view of John of Gaunt's character, for its treatment of the general history of the period extends only to the year 1385. A more comprehensive study of the duke's life and character is made by Armitage-Smith in the work previously cited. The latter work leaves one with the impression that a good deal of Chaucer's work might have found a sympathetic reader in John of Gaunt.

Richard II's literary patronage of Chaucer. It is true that "we have no right from the circumstances of his rewards and appointments to suppose that Richard even knew that he [Chaucer] was a poet, certainly none to suppose that Richard enjoyed his poetry and patronized him because of it" (p. 64). But to offer this statement as evidence that Richard was not Chaucer's literary patron is again to confuse the literary patron with the political backer. To prove anything with regard to Richard's literary patronage of Chaucer requires evidence of a different kind, and such evidence is by no means lacking. We know that Chaucer was distinctly a court writer and that Richard liked the poetry of Chaucer's contemporary, Froissart. We know also that Richard was the first English sovereign after the Conquest who is known to have encouraged the writing of poetry in English, and that at least one of Chaucer's works, the *Legend*, was written for Queen Anne. Finally, although Dr. Hulbert has overlooked the fact,⁹ we know that Chaucer addressed to Richard himself at least one poem, *Lack of Steadfastness*. Surely, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary,¹⁰ these facts are sufficient justification for the opinion that Richard II was one of Chaucer's literary patrons.

But this discussion of Chaucer's literary patronage forms, after all, but a very small part of Dr. Hulbert's monograph, a very much smaller part than might be supposed from the emphasis it receives in the present review. Dr. Hulbert's real subject, as the title of his book indicates, is Chaucer's official life. Upon this side of Chaucer's career his investigation throws

a flood of light. In proving that Chaucer's was a typical esquire's career, Dr. Hulbert has (by implication) refuted the theory that Edward III was Chaucer's literary patron.¹¹ In matters of detail, also, Dr. Hulbert has made some welcome contributions to our knowledge of Chaucer's life. His analysis of the lists of esquires contained in the household accounts provides us with more accurate information as to the members of the household with whom Chaucer was most closely associated (pp. 13-18).¹² The facts cited (p. 33) in regard to Geoffrey Stucle's entrance into the king's household lend some additional probability to the opinion that Chaucer became a member of the household only a short time before the date at which he received the grant of his first annuity, 20 June, 1367.¹³ The account (pp. 50-52) of William de Beauchamp's custody of the estates of the Earl of Pembroke gives new meaning to the record of Chaucer's becoming surety for Beauchamp in 1378. Dr. Hulbert shows (p. 68) that Chaucer's transfer of his annuities was not (as Kirk stated) an extraordinary thing, but in accord with a common practice of the time, and, with much probability, identifies John Scalby as one of the esquires of Richard II. He also (p. 67) identifies the Adam Yardley who succeeded Chaucer as controller of the custom and subsidy in 1386. Finally (p. 67), he identifies Henry Gisors, who succeeded Chaucer as controller of the petty custom, as the person who had formerly been

⁹ See p. 64.

¹⁰ No conclusive argument against Richard's patronage of Chaucer can be based on the fact that we have no records of rewards given to Chaucer *qua* poet. Too many records have been lost to make the *argumentum a silentio* of much value here. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that we have no record of any lands held by Chaucer in the county of Kent, although (as Dr. Hulbert says, p. 64) it seems almost certain that he must have had property there. So long as we have good grounds for believing that Chaucer presented books of poetry to Richard and Anne, we need not doubt that he received his reward, even though the Exchequer Rolls furnish no evidence of the fact.

¹¹ The case of Edward III is quite different from that of John of Gaunt and Richard II, because Chaucer's pensions and appointments were the sole basis of the theory that Edward III was Chaucer's patron. Evidence of a literary connection between Chaucer and Edward III is absolutely lacking. It seems no longer worth while, in view of what Dr. Hulbert has done, to develop in detail the argument I once made against the theory that Edward was Chaucer's patron. An abstract of the argument may be found in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVI, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

¹² Some statements on p. 13 in regard to names found in the list of 1369 but not in that of 1368, however, are not quite correct, though the inaccuracies do not appear to affect the main results of the analysis.

¹³ See *Anglia*, XXXVII, pp. 8 ff.

Chaucer's deputy in that office. It is to be regretted that Dr. Hulbert did not print the document relating to Gisors, for the fact is an entirely new one, and the document is needed to supplement those contained in the *Life-Records*.

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The Masters of Modern French Criticism, by IRVING BABBITT. Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912. xiii + 427 pp.¹

Mr. Irving Babbitt is a representative of a type never common in America, and perhaps rarer to-day than formerly: the professor who is at the same time a man of letters. He is an able stylist, a penetrating critic, and a forceful thinker. His latest book is the first he has written upon an exclusively French theme. As such, it claims and deserves the careful attention of all who are interested in French literature.

The point of view from which the subject is treated is indicated by a motto from Renan: "La critique universelle est le seul caractère qu'on puisse assigner à la pensée délicate, fuyante, insaisissable du XIXe siècle." Mr. Babbitt studies the literary ideas which have dominated the nineteenth century, rather than the individuals who have expressed authoritative judgments upon literary productions. In addition to a brief preface and an extended conclusion, the book contains ten chapters, dealing respectively with Madame de Staël, Joubert, Chateaubriand, The Transition to Sainte-Beuve (Cousin—Villemain—Nisard), Sainte-Beuve (before 1848), Sainte-Beuve (after 1848), Schérer, Taine, Renan, and Brunetière, the chapter last mentioned containing excursions upon Lemaître and Anatole

France. From the point of view indicated the choice of authors discussed seems quite judicious. One might perhaps question the inclusion of Joubert, whose fertility and influence were hardly equal to his charm. Sympathy with Joubert's point of view perhaps leads Mr. Babbitt to overestimate the importance of his work. If he does overestimate it, however, he sins in the illustrious company of Sainte-Beuve and Matthew Arnold.

Mr. Babbitt regards his subject from a viewpoint entirely different from that of his two principal predecessors in English, Mr. Dowden² and Mr. Saintsbury,³ who restrict themselves to literary critics in the narrower sense.⁴ Mr. Dowden is sound, solid, and pleasing; he lacks Mr. Babbitt's originality and grasp of general ideas. Mr. Saintsbury's taste is more catholic than Mr. Babbitt's, though still discriminating; his lapses are well known. Mr. Babbitt of course undertakes a much more thorough and detailed study of the theme than his predecessors attempted. Like them, and like most critics, he is probably most successful with the less important writers—Schérer, Nisard, Brunetière. Highly remarkable likewise is the study of Renan, originally published in substantially its present form as an introduction to the *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse* (Boston, 1902)—one of the few editions of French texts of which American scholarship has a right to be proud.

Mr. Babbitt's book is not concerned entirely with the past. It also endeavors to fix critical standards by which to judge literature. The expediency of this attempt in a work of the kind is open to question. The book also embodies an effort to fix intellectual and moral standards. Many readers will find this second purpose alien to the principal theme. Mr. Bab-

² *Literary Criticism in France*, in *New Studies in Literature* (Boston, 1895), 388-418.

³ Corresponding sections in the *History of Criticism*, Vol. III (New York, 1904). Professor Comfort's careful and unpretending little text-book, *Les Maîtres de la critique littéraire au XIXe siècle* (Boston, 1909), likewise deserves mention.

⁴ Saintsbury (pp. 133, 439-40) denies that either Cousin or Renan was a literary critic, properly speaking.

¹ A number of suggestions made by colleagues have been used in this review. Detailed acknowledgments are omitted as the gentlemen referred to are not responsible for the public expression of their ideas here.

bitt justifies it half jestingly by the remark that as philosophers of late have been becoming literary, literary men should return the compliment and become philosophers. The real reason for his course, however, lies deeper. He thinks, as does Matthew Arnold, that literature is a criticism of life, and hence concludes that a theory of literature must be at the same time a theory of life. He has propounded such a theory in a system called "humanism," in contradistinction to "naturalism," which he regards as the dominant tendency of the nineteenth century. A large part of the present book is devoted to the discussion of "humanism." Mr. Babbitt's two previous books have made his views fairly familiar. Some of the terminology in the *Masters of Modern French Criticism* is new, but the fundamental ideas are unchanged. Occasionally one notices an attitude more hopeful than the pessimistic but unflinching courage characteristic of the *New Laokoon*.

Whatever one may think of the philosophy set forth—and Mr. Babbitt's strongest opponents cannot deny that his views are interesting and stimulating—one cannot but regret that the author did not disengage the philosophic portions of the book from their literary context and set them forth in a separate work. In such a work he would have found an opportunity, for instance, to make clearer the distinction between what he calls intuitions that are below the intellect, and intuitions that are above it, and to define more precisely his view of the relations between literature and life. One feels somewhat as Sainte-Beuve did (*Lundis*, XIII, 137): "j'aurais préféré que cet esprit si littéraire, laissant tous ces gros et peut-être insolubles problèmes à ses collègues de la philosophie, se bornant à les bien comprendre, ne les eût envisagés que par les ouvertures fréquentes que lui procurait son joli sujet, déjà bien assez spacieux." In the present form of the book, its contents are too philosophic to be literary, and too literary to be philosophical. Mr. Babbitt includes, for example, considerable extracts from his article on Bergson. Interesting as this study is—and it has attracted attention upon two continents

—it has no proper place in the volume. A somewhat similar objection may be made to the careful and extended discussions of the ideas of Emerson and Goethe. Mr. Babbitt himself seems to have felt some doubt on this point, for he is at pains to explain twice (pp. 368, 381) that the inclusion of these studies is entirely appropriate.

That a separation of the literary and philosophic portions of the book is possible and desirable is indicated by the essay on Renan. This study, apparently written before Mr. Babbitt's system had been definitely formulated, takes virtually no dogmatic attitude whatever towards the question of literary or other standards. Consequently, though written from precisely the same point of view as the other chapters, its value as literary criticism is much more likely to be appreciated by those who are not "humanists" in Mr. Babbitt's sense.

The analysis of the literary tendencies of the various critics from the author's distinctive point of view lends to the present work its most remarkable novelty. Though the volume hardly contains an essay as illuminating as that on Lessing in the *New Laokoon*, the study of "Rousseauism" and "Baconianism" as exemplified by Madame de Staël and Sainte-Beuve, Schérer and Taine, frequently yields profitable results. Remarks characterized by real insight are common. They frequently take the form of thumb-nail sketches. Barbey d'Aurevilly, for instance, is well hit off (p. 396) as "a master of flamboyant paradox," and Anatole France (p. 321) as a "humanistic aesthete."⁵

The uniform excellence of the style of the book calls for a repetition of oft-heard encomia. There are numerous passages of really admirable prose, such as the brilliant though biased

⁵Mr. Babbitt suggestively compares M. France with Walter Pater, whom he likewise describes as a "humanistic aesthete." In remarking, however, that "Pater's prose has . . . less purity of contour than M. France's," he hardly brings out sufficiently the difference between M. France's artful simplicity of style and Pater's endless elaborateness. It has also been pointed out that he fails to note the absence of irony in the work of Pater.

characterization of the nineteenth century (p. 188), and the eloquent plea for a cosmopolitanism resting upon a common discipline (pp. 26-30).

As usual, we have an abundant feast of epigram. "The romantic movement . . . is even more a renaissance of enthusiasm than a renaissance of wonder" (pp. 6-7). Sainte-Beuve is "an epicurean with a Jansenist sensibility" (p. 104). Anatole France "is fond of talking of his 'soul,' when he means in reality his nerves and sensibility" (p. 312). "M. Lemaître is ready to argue a question from two, four or six points of view, avoiding the odd number as savoring too much of a conclusion" (p. 314). ". . . If the eternal Feminine draws us upward, only the eternal Masculine can keep us up" (p. 373). The quotations are likewise happy. We are reminded (p. 347) that Rivarol defines taste as literary honor, that Sainte-Beuve is a "lay confessor" (p. 146), and that Brunetière is "the inventor of militant criticism" (p. 303). One feels occasionally, it is true, that the roast is in danger of being forgotten for the sauce, that, to speak with Madame du Deffand, we have "de l'esprit sur les critiques."

For the last decade or so, as a colleague remarks, Professor Babbitt has been playing Faust to the Wagner of most American students of modern languages. No one can deny that there was more than a little ground for much of his criticism, and beneficial results of it are already apparent. The attack upon "philology" and "mediaevalism" continues with unabated vigor. The assertion that "mediaevalism is not only likely to involve a loss of form, but a loss of ideas" (p. 25) seems rather bold; it certainly cannot be considered proved until Mr. Babbitt adduces a considerable number of "mediaevalists" possessed of ideas and a sense of form who lost them through the influence of their vocation.

Mr. Babbitt's imperfect sympathy with historical studies has left its mark upon his book. Thus the facts of the critics' lives, which would lend unity and coherence to the various aspects of their work, are relegated in briefest outline to a bio-bibliography, in itself excellent, at the

end of the volume. This circumstance accounts in part for the somewhat vague and unsatisfactory impression left by some of the studies.

The disdain for biography referred to is connected with the author's extreme idealism. When he speaks (p. 130) of "relative and contingent truth, the establishing of the facts," one is reminded of Royer-Collard: "Monsieur, il n'y a rien de plus méprisable qu'un fait." Like Guizot, Mr. Babbitt is sometimes in danger of "forcing the infinite and living complexity of the facts into a somewhat arbitrary intellectual mould" (p. 83).

As the preceding remarks indicate, the present review is written from a point of view essentially different from that which the *Masters of Modern French Criticism* represents. It is only fair to Mr. Babbitt to point out that the following criticisms of detail are based upon the idea that, for the understanding and appreciation of literature, the facts of literary history have a greater value than he attributes to them.

In connection with the illuminating remarks on the attitude of the Romantic writers toward genius (pp. 16-7) it might be noted that the word "genius," though occasionally used in its modern sense in the seventeenth century, owes its diffusion in this meaning chiefly to the men of the German *Geniezeit*. One is a little disturbed to find that in the two chapters on Sainte-Beuve no clear distinction is made between the value, as sources of illustrative material, of the works published before and after 1848. It is true that this year is chosen as the dividing line in the titles of the chapters, but the distribution of the material seems to be determined by reasons of outer rather than inner necessity. On p. 100 we are told that "the Comte d'Haussonville who belonged to this [aristocratic] society insinuates that Sainte-Beuve was himself no 'gentleman.'" The Comte d'Haussonville credits the remark, however,^a to Victor Cousin, who was the son of a watchmaker, so that the statement can derive little force from the origin of its author. The attribution (p. 100) to the influence of the ladies of the salons of Sainte-Beuve's inclina-

^a C.-A. Sainte-Beuve (Paris, 1875), p. 335.

tion after 1831 toward a style of "linked sweetness long-drawn out" seems dubious when we consider the remark made by Juste Olivier in 1830⁷ that Sainte-Beuve showed analogous traits in unconstrained conversation. It is curious that Mr. Babbitt says nothing in this or any other connection of Sainte-Beuve's greatest defect as a writer—his tendency to prolixity.⁸

It is surprising to hear nothing whatever of the Olivier family; there can be little doubt that the Swiss professor and his wife exercised a great influence upon Sainte-Beuve's life and work. In general, the importance of Sainte-Beuve's inclination toward Protestantism at Lausanne seems to be underestimated. The similarity of Arnold's *Dover Beach* to a *pensée* printed in the *Portraits littéraires* (p. 104) has already been pointed out by Professor Harper.⁹ The statement (p. 144) that Sainte-Beuve had "been influential as a naturalist rather than as a humanist" is somewhat surprising. Though it is a little difficult to be quite sure of the sense Mr. Babbitt wishes to give to the word "humanist" in this passage, one would prefer that the assertion had been even more guarded, in view of the numerous traces of Sainte-Beuve's influence upon such writers as Matthew Arnold, Brunetière,¹⁰ and Mr. Babbitt

⁷ Cited by M. Séché in the introduction to Mme. Bertrand's edition of the *Correspondance inédite de Sainte-Beuve avec M. et Mme. Juste Oliver* (Paris, 1904), p. 10.

⁸ Cf., for instance, M. Faguet, in *Petit de Julliville*, VII, 666.

⁹ *Sainte-Beuve* (New York, 1909), 347-8. My pupil and friend, Mr. J. K. Ditchy, has called my attention to this fact.

¹⁰ It is strange to hear (p. 300) that "the sense of historical development is the main point of contact between Brunetière and Sainte-Beuve," especially as nothing is said in the Brunetière essay of other points of contact. Elsewhere (p. 141) Mr. Babbitt notes that Sainte-Beuve "anticipated" the "Fureur de l'inédit" essay (which opens with a quotation from Sainte-Beuve embodying the idea of the whole study), and in *Literature and the American College* (p. 139) he states that Brunetière "repeats" Sainte-Beuve's attack upon original research. Brunetière's contempt for the Middle Ages is traceable to Sainte-Beuve; his emphasis upon literary tradition is an echo of much in the writings of the author of *Port-Royal*; his use of the "biological

himself."¹¹

In refuting (p. 163) Sainte-Beuve's theory that "Quinze ans d'ordinaire font une carrière," by the examples, among others, of Sainte-Beuve himself and Tennyson, Mr. Babbitt inadvertently fails to note that Sainte-Beuve adds, among other qualifying clauses, "Il est des genres modérés auxquels la vieillesse est surtout propre, les mémoires, les souvenirs, la critique, une poésie qui côtoie la prose. . . ." Similarly, Taine's remark, properly stigmatised (p. 245) as "blackly naturalistic," that "man is mad as the body is sick by nature . . .," is accompanied in the original by a context and a note which render the statement much less violently absurd. The chapter on Brunetière nowhere clearly states Brunetière's attitude toward the question of the relation of literature to morality. To judge from a fairly explicit passage (*Nouvelles questions de critique*, 353-4), Brunetière believed that, although the artist was not a preacher, he was answerable for the possible moral influence of his works, and under an obligation not to depict immoral actions without condemning them. It would have been worth while to note (pp. 384-5) that the campaign against "philology" in France is paralleled in Germany.¹²

analogy" in the theory of the *genres* recalls Sainte-Beuve's attitude towards natural science; and other points of resemblance might be pointed out. Brunetière himself (*Livre d'or de Sainte-Beuve*, p. xxi), in apostrophizing Sainte-Beuve, speaks of his activity "dans la voie où l'on n'avancera qu'en mettant les pieds dans vos traces et où l'on ne vous dépassera qu'en commençant par vous suivre et par vous imiter."

¹¹ Sainte-Beuve frequently advocates the cause of what he calls "l'humanisme;" compare, for example, the plea for "humanism" as opposed to "philology" contained in the *Nouveaux Lundis* (XIII, 297-9), and such remarks as the following (*Causeries du lundi*, III, 16): "Chaque siècle a sa marotte; le nôtre . . . a la marotte humanitaire," as well as that cited by Mr. Babbitt, p. 188, n. 1.

¹² American students will find food for thought in such works as L. Hatvany, *Die Wissenschaft des nicht Wissenswerten* (second edition, Berlin, 1911), as well as in such replies as Immisch, *Das Erbe der Alten* (Berlin, 1911), and Mayne, *Dichtung und Kritik* (Munich, 1912). The influence of Nietzsche, among others, is clearly traceable in the German movement.

The numerous passages translated are chosen with taste and rendered with effect. One is impressed with the contrast between Mr. Babbitt's vigorous and accurate versions and the rather spiritless translations of Professor Dowden. There are occasional inaccuracies, of course. Sainte-Beuve is credited with saying (p. 151) that "this bond between localities and their inhabitants is being forced and exaggerated even to the breaking point"; the original reads: "On a montré et accusé le lien qui les unit jusqu'à le grossir et le forcer," *forcer* being used in the sense of "forcer un talent" rather than in that of "forcer une porte." The young Taine did not believe "that absolute, concatenated, geometrical science *exists*" (p. 251); the French has "est possible." We are told (p. 262) that Renan regards the "slightest bit of scientific research" as more to the purpose than "fifty years of metaphysical meditation;" Renan speaks, however, only of the scientist, "qui, par un essai même très imparfait, contribuerait à la solution de ce problème"—that of the origins of humanity. Renan's ambition is represented as somewhat greater than it really was when we are told (p. 287) that he said: "I compute that I should need five hundred years to complete my Semitic studies, as I have planned them"; he thought it would take him that length of time "pour épuiser le cadre des études sémitiques, comme je les entends." A certain number of the references to pages are inaccurate. There is an excellent *index nominum*; when will the authors of works on literary history make it an invariable habit to add an *index rerum*?

It is natural that in a detailed review in this journal of a volume such as the *Masters of Modern French Criticism* more attention should be given to "the criticism of faults" than to "the criticism of beauties." Mr. Babbitt's book is the most extensive and profound study of the subject in existence. As such, it will be indispensable to serious students, while its spirited style, broad point of view, and suggestive analysis of nineteenth century literature will render it attractive and helpful to the general reader.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Ubi sunt—A BELATED POSTSCRIPT

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor Northup's reference in the April *Notes* to my *Ubi sunt* article of "twenty years syne" (*MLN.*, VIII, 253f.) is doubly suggestive of "les neiges d'antan," as that meagre note was almost my first contribution to the melancholy of nations. Of course I knew then a thousand things which unhappily have long since been forgotten; but, strangely enough, I do not seem to have known that the formula in question is not the exclusive possession of any period or people, but is as universal as the themes of mutability and mischance. An afternoon's ranging through modern English literature, in company with my colleague, Professor W. E. Aiken, reveals the ubiquity of *ubi sunt*.

Northup's apt citation of an Irish "Dialogue with Death" naturally recalls to any lover of Clarence Mangan his spirited rendering of the *Kinkora* of the eleventh-century Mac-Liag—in which the formula is adapted through a dozen stanzas to a score of Hibernian heroes:

"O where, Kinkora! is Brian the Great,
And where is the beauty that once was thine?
O where are the princes and nobles that sate
At the feast in thy halls, and drank the red wine?
Where, O Kinkora?"

The modern Celtic school delights in the motif. "Where are now the warring kings?" asks Yeats in a stirring stanza of *The Song of the Happy Shepherd*. "Where is she gone?" is the dirge in *A Broken Song* of Moira O'Neill (*Songs of the Glens of Antrim*). It is needless to multiply instances.

The medieval version of the formula, of which many occurrences have been recorded, apparently lingered on into the modern period. In a song at the close of Ingeland's *Interlude of the Disobedient Child* (Dodsley, II, 320) of about 1550 the familiar rhetorical curiosity is displayed concerning the fate of many biblical and classical worthies, Solomon, Samson,

Absalom, Jonathan, Caesar, Dives, Tully, Aristotle. Strip Lydgate's *Like a Midsomer Rose* of its scanty mysticism, its rather musical repeat—indeed of its slight literary pretension—and there is little to distinguish it from the verses on *Vanity of Vanities* appended by Michael Wigglesworth to the sixth edition of his *Day of Doom* in 1715. The Puritan applies the same formula as the monk and—what is certainly significant—to very similar types of vanished greatness, Scipio, Pompey, Hannibal and Alexander. Interestingly enough, Alexander is dominant in Robert Blair's fine adaptation of the *motif* in *The Grave* (lines 116–130), and in Carlyle's effective use of the device in his chapter on "Natural Supernaturalism" in *Sartor Resartus*.

Thoroughly classical is Sterne's introduction of the formula into *Tristram Shandy* (Book III, chap V.). Indeed, he is writing with his eye on "Servius Sulpicius's consolatory letter to Tully:"—"Where is Troy and Mycenae and Thebes and Delos and Persopolis and Agri-gentum,' continued my father, taking up his book of post-roads, which he had laid down. 'What is become, brother Toby, of Nineveh and Babylon, of Cizicum and Mitylenae?'"

A short search furnishes many illustrations of the formula, neither classical nor medieval. It intensifies the horror of the sleep-walking scene in *Macbeth* (V, i, 47–48): "The Thane of Fife had a wife: where is she now?" It adds immeasurably to the tender reverie of Arnold's *Thyrsis*: "Where is the girl . . . Where are the mowers . . . They all are gone and thou art gone as well." It deepens the rich reflectiveness of the *Autumn* ode of Keats: "Where are the songs of Spring? Ay, where are they?" With the formula Byron attains the climax of feeling in his stirring lyric, *The Isles of Greece*; by its means he tumbles into intentional bathos in the eleventh canto of *Don Juan*:

"Where is Napoleon the Grand? God knows.
Where little Castlereagh? The devil can tell."

Then on with these mocking queries for several stanzas (XI, lxxvii–lxxx). And Thackeray muses in his lecture on *George the Third*

over the bygone glories of Carlton House: "Where be the sentries who used to salute as the Royal chariots drove in and out?"

Strange to say, the lighter verse of a more recent time literally revels in the grim *motif*. Dr. Holmes's class-poem of 1852, *Questions and Answers*, is throughout a serio-comic song of *ubi sunt*: "Where are the Marys and Anns and Elizas, / Loving and lovely of yore?" In like mood, Thomas Hood recalls his London schoolmates (*Ode on a Distant Prospect of Clapham Academy*). The formula ranges freely from the society verse of Austin Dobson, "Where is the Pompadour, too? / This was the Pompadour's fan." (*On a Fan*) and of Andrew Lang (*On Life*) through the *Australian Ballads* of Douglas Sladen (*A Voice from the Bush*) and the New England lyrics of Bliss Carman (*Philip Savage* and *The Least Comrade*) to the negro melody of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, "Whah's de da'kies, dem dat used to be a dancin', etc." (*The Deserted Plantation*). But a truce to all this, ere the wearied editor throws down his warder! Yet there is one more noteworthy example, not classical, nor medieval, nor Celtic, which I had almost forgotten—that heart-breaking lament of the nursery:—

"O where, O where has my little dog gone?
* * * * *
O where, O where is he?"

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Serourge—Frere en Loi

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In *MLN.* for March last, Professor Patterson ("Concerning the Type *Beau-Père*, *Belle-Mère*") pointed out that *serourge* is generally the term used for *beau-frère*. It should have been mentioned that the expression "en loi" was in frequent use to designate marriage-relationship. As early as 1168 there occurs (Athis et Porphylias, v. 979) "*Ja est ele ma fame en loi*" (his own wife); and in

Jehan et Blonde d'Oxford (ca. 1270) "estre ensamble a loi" (v. 4742) means: *être marié*. It is not strange therefore that we should find "frère en loi." Guillaume de Palerme (ca. 1205) is asked by Alfonse for the hand of his sister Florence; Guillaume is delighted and answers:

Or par serons entier ami
Ami entier et frere en loi.—(v. 8303.)

This locution must have gained rapidly in favor, for it early (1300) passed into English, and remained, as did many other terms or locutions literally translated (How do you do? = O. F. Comment le faites vous? etc.). The French innate tendency toward formulas of politeness has retained the more formal *beau-frère*, *beau-père*, etc.

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THE INFLUENCE OF PETRARCH UPON EDWARD COOTE PINKNEY

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In 1816 William Pinkney, father of Edward, was appointed Minister to the Court of St. Petersburg, with some special mission to be executed at Naples. It was in that year that Edward, at the age of fourteen, entered the U. S. Navy, from which he resigned in 1822, in his twentieth year. Some portion of that six years was spent cruising in the Mediterranean Sea.

On his way to St. Petersburg, by way of Naples, William Pinkney said to a friend, "I want to see Italy. The orators of Britain I have heard, but I want to visit the classic lands of Italy, the study of whose poetry and eloquence is the charm of my life." Through his own eager eyes, then, and possibly through the eyes of his father, Edward Pinkney saw and learned to love Italy.

In *A Health*, *The Indian's Bride*, and some of Pinkney's shorter poems there are striking similarities to Petrarch. Pinkney may not

have been able to read Italian, but he could have become familiar with Petrarch's poems through *Tottel's Miscellany*. The Italian spirit and the Petrarch-touch are unmistakable. Note the following:

"Exchanging lustre with the sun,
A part of day she strays—"
—*The Indian Bride*, 15, 16.

"Uno spirto celeste, un vivo Sole
Fu quel ch'i' vidi . . ."
—Sonetto LXI—69, lines 12, 13. (From *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, . . . di Giuseppe Rigutini, Milano, 1896, p. 93. Hereafter referred to as Rigutini.)

"Ch' è sola un Sol, non pur agli occhi miei,
Ma al mondo cieco, . . ."
—Sonetto CXC—210, lines 3, 4. Rigutini, p. 221.

"Cosi costei, ch'è tra le donne un Sole,"
—Sonetto VIII—9, line 10. Rigutini, p. 8.

"Una donna più bella assai che'l Sole."
—Canzone III—24, line 1. Rigutini, p. 368.

"A glancing, living, human smile,
On nature's face she plays."—*Id.* 17, 18.

"E l'immagini lor son sì cosparte,
Che vover non mi posso ov'io non veggia
O quella o simil, indi accesa, luce."
—Sonetto LXXI—84, lines 9–11. Rigutini, p. 105.

[Her eyes shone upon his heart]
"As shines on snow the fervid sun."
—*To ———*; 'Twas eve, etc.

"Che mi struggon così, come 'l Sol neve."
—Sestina II—Canzone 7, line 21. Rigutini, p. 30.

"Look out upon the stars, my love,
And shame them with thine eyes."
—*Sernade*, 1, 2.

"Non vidi mai dopo notturna pioggia
Gir per l'aere sereno stelle erranti,
E fiammeggiar fra la rugiada e 'l gelo,
Ch'i' non avessi i begli occhi davanti,
Ove la stanca mia vita s'appoggia,
Qual io gli vidi all' ombra d'un bel velo."
—Canzone XII—28, lines 57–62. Rigutini, p. 125.

"A woman, of her gentle sex the seeming paragon."
—*A Health*, 2.

"Che sol sè stessa, e null'altra simiglia."

—Sonetto CIX—127, line 4. Rigutini, p. 152.

"Ch'ogni altra mi pareva d'onor men degna."

—Madrigale II—Canzone 12, line 3. Rigutini, p. 53.

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BRIEF MENTION

With the present issue Professor Collitz retires from the editorial board of *Modern Language Notes*. His withdrawal, which he has already postponed far beyond the time when he first proposed it, is due to the pressure of important investigations in which he is engaged, and of editorial work in connection with *Hesperia*. While his resignation is a cause of keen regret, we are fortunate in the promise of his unabated interest in the journal, not alone as a contributor, but as a friend and counsellor in the many questions where his advice and experience will continue to be invaluable.

We are glad to be able to announce that Professor Bert J. Vos, of Indiana University, has consented to take charge of the department of German. Directions concerning material for that department will be found on the second cover-page of this number.

The edition by A. Marinoni of *Selections from Carducci* (New York: Jenkins, 1913) is all the more welcome since, of Italian authors of the first importance, Carducci is the least read by English-speaking people. Of the prose extracts in this edition, the student will probably find the long paragraphs and sentences of two of the selections on literary subjects forbidding. The prose might have been reduced in favor of the poetry, and lightened advantageously with extracts on less important subjects, as was done in the *Antologia Carducciana* of Mazzoni and Picciola. The poetical part is wisely chosen chiefly from the *Odi Barbare* and the *Rime Nuove*. *Jaufrè Rudel* fails to illustrate what is said (p. xii) of the super-excellence of the *Rime e Ritmi*, and one regrets that there is no extract from the famous *Alle Fonti del Clitumno*. The notes,—mostly useful explanations of historical and literary allusions,—are not too many. One misses explanations of poetical archaisms as "*balzar nel buio*," "*pareano aspettare anche*" (p. 77); *affrettasi*

(p. 83), and writings such as "*ne l'infinito*" (p. 87). Notes on *David* (p. 5), *Cervantes* (p. 35), *Lucifer* (p. 49) seem hardly necessary. What is said about versification (pp. 64-68) is generally sufficient. The *versi brevi* (especially the *settenario*) need more than "one rhythmic accent" (p. 66). Only one form of *novenario* is given. The *Introduction*, though orderly and comprehensive, is often ineffective or obscure, partly because of those difficulties which hamper all foreigners, even when they know English well. The English *secular* (p. viii) and *genial* (p. xiii) are mistaken for equivalents of the Italian *secolare* and *geniale* (cf. also *exposing* for *esponendo*, p. 32, n. 2). This part would gain by more history and less praise. The good vocabulary ("sickly" does not interpret *scrofoloso*), adds practical value to the work, which was worth attempting, and will be well worth using.

J. E. S.

The Bartsch-Wiese *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, which started a half century ago, appears in its eleventh edition (Leipzig, Vogel, 1913) after an interval of only a little over two years. The use of new plates has permitted the substitution of more agreeable type, but only a few modifications in the text were needed, so that it has been possible to retain the pagination of the ninth and tenth editions. The most substantial alterations are in the index of proper names, where a number of the statements have been rendered more detailed or more specific. It is an ever useful volume of selections which maintains its reputation as one of the best books of its type.

Another important handbook for the student of medieval French, Voretzsch's *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur*, has also recently appeared in a new edition (2nd edition, Halle, Niemeyer, 1913). In its method of arrangement and discussion it is better adapted to the uses of the beginner than Paris' manual, and the opportunity furnished in successive editions to embody the results of later research makes it a general reference book useful as a supplement to Gröber's treatment of Old French literature in the *Grundriss*. The discussion of the epic in the new edition shows the influence of Mr. Bédier's work almost solely in modifications of phraseology—a conservatism which is equally exemplified in the unaltered bibliographical data (p. 50) regarding American periodical publications.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 7.

BYRON AND CROLY

"Pray send me *no more* poetry but what is rare and decidedly good. There is such a trash of Keats and the like upon my tables, that I am ashamed to look at them. I say nothing against your parsons, your Smedleys and your Crolys: it is all very fine; but pray dispense me from the pleasure, as also from Mrs. Hemans." So Byron wrote to Murray in September, 1820 (*Letters and Journals*, V, 94-5). In a later letter he gives the grudging praise, "Croly is superior to many, but seems to think himself inferior to Nobody" (*ibid.* V, 117). In *Don Juan* (XI, 57) the lines—

"Pegasus has a psalmodic amble
Beneath the very Reverend Rowley Powley"

refer to the same "parson poet," and the phrase "Cambyeses' roaring Romans" in the next stanza is an indication that Byron had read Croly's play *Catiline*. This dramatic version of the conspiracy and death of Catiline is infinitely inferior to that of Ben Jonson, to which, however, it owes little, though the debt to Shakespeare, especially to *Julius Caesar*, is enormous. It shows the influence of Byron in its celebration of liberty and in its curious mingling of aristocratic and democratic sentiments, but it is on the whole a production of very little consequence. Croly's debt to Byron is more apparent in other poems, especially in *Paris in 1815*, which, particularly in the second part, is an imitation of *Childe Harold*, and in *The Modern Orlando*, a rather tame copy of *Don Juan*. This debt, however, he shared with many other poetasters and it is quite commonplace. The interest of his work lies in the fact that to certain portions of it Byron was under reciprocal obligations.

Kölbing, following out in detail a chance remark in Darmesteter's edition of *Childe Harold*, has pointed out the resemblances between certain passages in Dupaty's *Lettres sur l'Italie* and portions of the fourth canto of *Childe*

Harold (*Englische Studien* XVII, 448, f). Mr. E. H. Coleridge has noted the resemblances between stanzas xlix, cxl, cxli, clx, and *Don Juan* IV, 61. He suggests a passage from Thomson's *Liberty* (IV, 131-206) as their probable source (*Poetry*, VI, 200). The possible influence upon this canto exerted by Croly's *Paris in 1815* (*Poetical Works of the Rev. George Croly*, vol. I, pp. 1-147) has, I think, never been pointed out. On September 4, 1817, Byron wrote to Murray with proposals for the publication of "the new Canto." "It concludes the poem, and consists of 144 stanzas." (*Letters and Journals*, IV, 164.) Later he added forty-two more stanzas. In the same letter there occurs the following paragraph: "By Mr. Rose I received safely, though tardily, magnesia and tooth-powder, *Phrosine* and *Alashtar*! I shall clean my teeth with one, and wipe my shoes with the other. Why do you send me such trash—worse than trash, the Sublime of Mediocrity? Thanks for *Lallah*, however, which is good; and thanks for the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly*, both very amusing and well written. *Paris in 1815*, etc.—good. *Modern Greece*—good for nothing." From this it is evident that Byron read with approval Croly's poem at the same time that he was at work upon the last canto of *Childe Harold*.

Paris in 1815 was published in 1817. It sketches various aspects of the French capital as seen during the occupation by the allies following Waterloo. The second part of the poem (p. 79, f.), written entirely in the Spenserian stanza, is full of superficial Byronism. It draws its subject matter largely from the vast collection of treasures of art of which Napoleon had rifled Italy and which, at the time of the occupation of Paris, were still in the Louvre. The typically Bryonic themes—"the glory that was Greece," the triumph of time, the futility of fame, detestation of war, the immortality of mind, etc.—are tokens of the inspiration of the piece. The important fact is the choice of individual subjects.

Upon the *Arc de Triumph* the poet sees the

"glorious Grecian steeds" (stanza iv) stolen from Venice. With this compare *Childe Harold*, IV, xiii. Croly has a long note on the horses of St. Mark. "After Venice had sustained herself for thirteen hundred years," he says, "her constitution was totally subverted by Napoleon, and her territory made a province." Compare Byron's line "Her thirteen hundred years of freedom done." The past glory and present lowliness of Venice is lamented through several stanzas (iv-xviii), with especial emphasis upon the degenerate nature of the modern Venetian. The days of that

"Warrior who his ninetieth year has seen, . . .
As if to War grown old, immortal Dandolo"

are recalled with regret (stanza xiv), with which compare Byron's "Oh for one hour of blind old Dandolo!" (stanza xii).

At stanza xxiii Croly turns to the treasures of the Louvre. Several stanzas are devoted to various paintings by Salvator Rosa, Raphael, and Titian. To these there is nothing corresponding in *Childe Harold*. This is not surprising. In a letter of Byron's (IV, 107) there is this passage: "You must recollect . . . that I know nothing of painting; and that I detest it. . . . I spit upon and abhor all the Saints and subjects of one-half the impostures I see in the churches and palaces. . . . Depend upon it, of all the arts, it is the most artificial and unnatural, and that by which the nonsense of mankind is the most imposed upon." Throughout this part of *Paris in 1815* the sense of the pathos of despoiled Italy is keenest; but the resemblance to *Childe Harold* is of a general nature only.

The Apollo of the Belvedere is the subject of stanzas xlv-xlix. Compare Byron's description in stanzas clxi-clxiii, especially these phrases:

"High scorn, instinctive power are in his gaze"
(Croly)

"In his eye

And nostril beautiful Disdain and Might."

(Byron)

"His bow is scarce relax'd, his shaft scarce flown"
(Croly)

"The shaft hath just been shot"

(Byron)

"Arch'd by the sunset with a burst of rays . . .
King of the sun-beams." (Croly)
"The God of Life, and Poesy, and Light—
The Sun in human limbs arrayed." (Byron)

Croly's fiftieth stanza describes the Laocoön. Compare *Childe Harold*, IV, clx. The idea of the two stanzas is identical, but there are no verbal reminiscences, though Byron's principal rime (pain—vain—strain—chain) is the same as Croly's (chain—pain—drain—brain).

Stanzas li-lv of *Paris in 1815* are a long description of the Dying Gladiator. Compare *Childe Harold*, IV, cxi-cxli. Croly accepts the interpretation that the statue represents not a gladiator but a dying German upon the field of battle. Byron's description, though better, closely resembles Croly's. Compare:

"His heavy forehead glooms, bends, plunges, to the
ground." (Croly.)

"His drooped head sinks gradually low."

(Byron.)

"The blood-drops steal

Slow from his breast."

(Croly.)

"Through his side the last drops, ebbing slow

From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one.

(Byron.)

In each poet's mind the sight of the dying "barbarian" calls up ideas of vengeance.

Last of the captured works of art, Croly describes the Venus de Medici (stanzas lvi-lviii). The parallel passage occurs early in *Childe Harold*, IV, for Byron saw the statue in Florence before visiting Rome, when, as E. H. Coleridge says, "the lovely Lady, thanks to the much-abused 'Powers,' was once more in her proper shrine." Byron's stanzas (xlix-liii) lead up to the blessing bestowed upon Paris and Anchises; Croly's to the birth of Venus of the sea. There is but one parallel in expression between the two descriptions:

"There stands the goddess, by the Grecian seen
In the mind's lonely, deep idolatry." (Croly.)

"We stand, and in that form and face behold
What Mind can make, when Nature's self would
fail;

And to the fond Idolaters of old

Envy the innate flash which such a soul could
mould." (Byron.)

There are other resemblances besides the descriptions of works of art. The introduction of many references to the French Revolution and to Napoleon is only natural in Croly's poem, but in *Childe Harold* is, at least, unexpected. With *Paris in 1815*, stanza iii, compare *Childe Harold*, IV, xcii. With Croly's

"the feast

Where guilty France got drunk, but not with wine,"
(stanza lxxii)

compare Byron's

"France got drunk with blood to vomit crime;
And fatal have her Saturnalia been" (stanza
xcvii).

Towards the end of his poem (stanza xcvi) Croly pays a tribute of regret to the Princess Charlotte, even as towards the end of *his* (stanzas clxvii-clxxii) Byron voices the national grief at the same loss.

If the above series of parallels be considered, especially with due regard to the fact that Byron read *Paris in 1815* while composing his fourth canto, it will, I think, be admitted that Croly's poem must be numbered among Byron's sources.

Paris in 1815 ends with a loyal, high Tory eulogy of George III. The description of the funeral (stanzas xcix-ci) evidently influenced Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, stanzas ix and x. With Croly's references to the "pomp," "the Gothic maze," "the silken banners," "thousand torches blaze," "gorgeous catacomb," "gilding," "gold," etc., compare Byron's "pomp," "Gothic manners," "banners," "torches," "gorgeous coffins," "gilding," "gold," etc. Croly's tribute was certainly part of that "due infusion" of purchased "elegy" at which Byron aimed his satire.

Another poem of Croly's, while not a direct source, is closely related to Byron. This is *the Angel of the World* (*Poetical Works* I, 177-225), published in 1820, the earliest of four poems, all published within two or three years of each other, on the subject of the love of the "sons of God" for the "daughters of men." The other poems are Moore's *Loves of*

the Angels, Byron's *Heaven and Earth*, and Thomas Dale's *Irak and Adah*. Croly's poem, like the story of the first angel in Moore's poem, is on the subject of the Rabbinical legend of the angels Haruth and Maruth. In an article on "Die Engel Hârût und Mârût in der englischen Dichtung" (*Englische Studien*, XXXVII, 461, f.), Koeppel discusses Moore's version and William Basse's *Woman in the Moon*, but does not refer to Croly. Nor is the poem mentioned in Mayn's monograph *Über Lord Byrons "Heaven and Earth,"* Breslau, 1887. Croly follows the legend loosely, but preserves the central incident of the drunken angel, who is beguiled by a fair maiden into revealing the charm which causes his wings to appear when he desires to return to Heaven. The maiden, having tempted him into betrayal of the secret, changes into the awful form of the fallen Eblis, who had assumed the seductive shape in order to compass the ruin of the angel. This catastrophe is very different from the sentimental conclusion of Moore's story, in which the maiden, pronouncing the charm, escapes from the importunities of her angel-lover and takes up her chaste abode in a star. Croly shows the influence of Byron in his choice of the Spenserian stanza and, possibly, in the Oriental theme. The introduction of Eblis suggests Beckford's *Vathek* as well as *The Giaour*, and references to the ruins of Palmyra recall Volney and *Queen Mab*. The poem is of little intrinsic worth, but is of some interest as the first of the group of poems on the same general theme.

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THE STORY OF TROY IN ORDERIC VITAL

There are three allusions to the Trojan War in Orderic's history. The first simply affirms Dares' authority in the matter.¹ The second is quite explicit, and proves Orderic's complete reliance on Dares, to the exclusion of other

writers with whom he must have been acquainted. It is brought in at the moment when Bishop Guitmund, of Aversa, is admonishing William of Normandy concerning the vanity of human affairs. As an instance in point the bishop cites the memorable siege: "Greci sub Agamemnone et Palamede Trojam obsederunt, et Priamum regem Laomedontis filium ac liberos ejus: Hectorem et Troilum, Paridem et Deiphobum, Amphimacumque trucidaverunt, et famosum Phrygiae regnum post decennem obsidionem flamma et ferro depopulati destruxerunt."²

We said that Orderic accepts Dares completely. So he does, yet in this passage he is not following him to the letter. Palamedes, according to Dares, was in supreme command of the Greeks at a certain moment of the campaign. It is also Dares who makes Amphimachus a son of Priam, and brings him forward at the last to protest against the unpatriotic advice of Aeneas and Antenor.³ But he leaves his fate entirely in the dark.⁴ This silence seems to have worried Orderic, and he reckons Amphimachus among the victims of the catastrophe. At least we must suppose that Amphimachus' death was Orderic's invention. Had it been in tradition, independent of Dares, we should expect to find it in Benoît's poem. Inasmuch as few Trojans escaped the sack of their city, and Amphimachus is not named among the few, Orderic's conclusion in regard to him, if it was Orderic's, is a perfectly logical one.⁴

But apart from the question of Amphimachus' end, did any tradition about the Trojan war exist in France in the early twelfth century, outside the indications contained in

Dares? We have no evidence that it did, and yet another passage in Orderic, our third allusion, would seem to point in that direction. Orderic is speaking about Baldwin II of Jerusalem, his imprisonment with his comrades in a Turkish fortress, their capture of the fortress, the siege they underwent in it by the Emir, and the armistice he finally proposed to them. But while they were hesitating over accepting the truce and its terms, Fatumia, the Emir's wife, whose residence was this very stronghold, came in on them, urging them to refuse her husband's offer. The castle was strong, she said, and well provisioned. They could still hold out a long time, and their endurance should be fortified by the memory of the wars before Troy, so familiar to them: "Decennem Troiae obsidionem recolite, et miros heroum eventus, quos histriones vestri quotidie concrepant, recensete, et inde vires resumite, animosque corroborate." And they should emulate these brave deeds all the more because they were Frenchmen and the tradition of French valor was in their keeping: "More Gallorum fortiter certate, et usque ad victoriam perseverate, ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe."⁵

The weakness of Moslem princesses for French captives was thoroughly understood, even in Orderic's day (—1125–1142). But they rarely added to their susceptibility such a surprising acquaintance with the history and manners of the French. The "histriones," whom Fatumia introduces here, were public and private amusers, mountebanks perhaps—to judge from Orderic's use of the word. In this particular connection they must have been story-tellers also. There is little likelihood of their being minstrels, since Orderic is not sparing of "cantilena," when he means a song. Therefore we would assume that the story of Troy was colported among the French in the form of prose narratives, a notion which would place the "histriones" of our text in the same class with the "conteurs" of Thomas or Chrétien. That listening to tales of the Trojan war was a frequent diversion in North France fol-

² *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Prologus (in the edition of the "Société de l'Histoire de France," vol. I, p. 1).

³ *Op. cit.*, IV, c. 6 (edition cited, vol. II, p. 229).

⁴ Benoît de Sainte-Maure, as we know, blindly imitates Dares at this point. He counts Amphimachus among the sons of Priam, makes him oppose the traitors' advice, and then drops him out of his narrative.

⁵ Of course the introduction of Amphimachus into Priam's household may date from Dares' sources, and not from Dares himself. Still one would expect further mention of him by Dares.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, XI, c. 26 (edition cited, vol. IV, pp. 254, 255).

lows almost without question from these remarks of Orderic.

But to go further and risk a conjecture as to the content of these tales is another matter. We should suppose that the clement of romantic adventure entered into them, at least into some of the situations which Dares outlines, the story of Briscida, of Achilles' passion. At all events the tales were there, they were undoubtedly semi-popular in tenor, perhaps wholly popular. They must have been perfectly familiar to Benoît, who was born and brought up in the region with which Orderic was best acquainted (Normandy, Ile-de-France, Orléanais), and to the patrons for whom Benoît wrote his *Troie*. And they could not have failed to influence him as he composed and recited his poem from day to day. Indeed, it may have been the inspiration derived from these humbler narratives, and not the arid annals of a Dares, that first suggested to the French poet the idea of recreating the story of Troy in literature.⁸

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FURTHER TRACES OF GLEIM'S GRENADIERLIEDER

Of all the songs in Gleim's series on the events of the Seven Years War, the first, "Bey Eröffnung des Feldzuges 1756,"¹ seems to contain the gist of all the themes which the author—in the guise of a Prussian grenadier—has worked over, with varying success, in the ten following songs. And it looks as tho this

⁸ A by-product of Fatumia's enthusiasm may be a hint as to the popularity of the *Chanson de Roland* (the Oxford version). Her "More Gallorum fortiter certate, et usque ad victoriam perseverate, ne turpis cantilena de vobis cantetur in orbe" recalls the spirit and, in part, the words of Roland concerning the swords Durendal and Haltecler:

En tantes teres les avum nus portées!
Tantes batailles en avum afinées!
Male cançun n'en deit estre cantée.

Roland, ll. 1464-1466.

¹ See Vol. 4 of *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1882, p. 7 ff.

same song became more popular than any other of the series and did, therefore, much toward creating the so-called "Gleim'sche Manier" in soldiers' songs of later decades. For it is from this song more than from any other, or I might say, from all the others, that most of the later imitations seem to come.

I called attention recently² to some striking resemblances in some of the songs sung at the time of the Napoleonic wars, to Gleim's Grenadier songs. The most important of them pointed unmistakably to the song referred to above, as their model. At that time it seemed to me remarkable that Gleim's influence had lived so long among the soldiers. But I now find another anonymous soldiers' song, this time in the *Liederhort*³ which was sung in Germany as late as 1880, and which shows unmistakable evidence of the persistence of the Halberstädter's influence, and indeed of that same most popular song, "Bey Eröffnung &c."

Böhme, by including this last song in his great collection, stamps it as a "Volkslied." And it seems really to be such, if we judge it by the usual definitions of that rather evasive genre. At any rate, it was sung very widely and for a great many years by the German soldiers.⁴ So we have at last definite proof of how, after a hundred and more years, the Grenadier's spirit has completed his gradual descent from his original position as an exalted, strutting, boastful, "muse of war," and has become a lusty comrade of the common soldier.

At the left, p. 206, stands Gleim's song; next to it, extracts from the anonymous songs of the Napoleonic wars,⁵ and at the right the newer song, sung between 1866 and 1880 and probably even later.

² *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1911.

³ *Deutscher Liederhort* von Ludwig Erk, fortgesetzt von Franz M. Böhme. 3 Vols. Leipzig, 1894. See Vol. III, No. 1348.

⁴ Böhme thinks (*Liederhort*, Vol. III, p. 226) that it was first sung as early as 1866.

⁵ Quoted from "Achtzehnhundertneun, die politische Lyrik des Kriegsjahres" von Robert F. Arnold und Karl Wagner. Being Vol. XI of the *Schriften des Literarischen Vereins in Wien*. Wien, 1909.

Gleim

*Krieg ist mein Lied! Weil alle Welt
Krieg will, so sey es Krieg!
Berlin sey Sparta! Preussens Held
Gekrönt mit Ruhm und Sieg!*

Gern will ich seine Thaten thun;
Die Leyer in der Hand,
Wenn meine blutigen Waffen ruhn,
Und hangen an der Wand.

*Auch stimm ich hohen Schlachtgesang
Mit seinen Helden an,
Bey Paucken und Trompeten Klang,
Im Lärm von Ross und Mann;*

*Und streit' ein tapfrer Grenadier,
Von Friedrichs Muth erfüllt!
Was acht ich es, wenn über mir
Kanonen Donner brüllt?*

*Ein Held fall ich; noch sterbend droht
Mein Säbel in der Hand!
Unsterblich macht der Helden Tod,
Der Tod fürs Vaterland!*

*Auch kommt man aus der Welt davon,
Geschwinder wie der Blitz;
Und wer ihn stirbt, bekömmt zum Lohn,
Im Himmel hohen Sitz!*

Wenn aber ich, als solch ein Held,
Dir, Mars, nicht sterben soll,
Nicht glänzen soll im Sternensitz:
So leb' ich dem Apoll!

(Two more strophes.)

Achtzehnhundertneun

No. XXXIX—2d Strophe.
*Krieg will der Feind, so sey denn Krieg!
Wohlan, zum Kampf—zur Schlacht!
Mit Gott erfechten wir den Sieg
Und spotten fremder Macht.*

Liederhort
No. 1348

(Third strophe omitted.)
Es giebt nichts Schöneres auf der Welt,
Es kann nichts schöner sein,
Als wenn Soldaten ziehn ins Feld,
Wenn sie beisammen sein.

*Wenns blitzt, wenns donnert und wenns kracht,
Wir schlessen rosenroth;
Wenn das Blut von unsren Säbeln rinnt,
Dann haben wir frohen Muth.*

*Wie mancher deutsche Kamerad
Muss bleiben in dem Streit:
Wir Deutsche fragen nichts danach,
Wir sind dazu bereit.*

No. XL—6th Strophe.
*Und fällt im Kampf der brave Mann
In diesem edlen Streit;
So sank er auf der Siegesbahn,
Wo Ostreich Lorbeern streut!*

*Als Held fiel er,—noch sterbend droht
Das Schwert in seiner Hand:
Unsterblich macht der Helden Tod,
Der Tod fürs Vaterland.*

No. LIII—11th Strophe.
*Und Brüdern, die als Helden fallen
Für's Vaterland den Tod,
Lohnt über Sternen, wo sie wallen,
Mit tausend Freuden Gott.*

Ditto, 12th Strophe.
(Compare with 5th strophe of Gleim's song.)
Drum frisch zum Kampf mit frohen Herzen!
Uns schützt der Allmacht Hand!
Der Heldentod macht keine Schmerzen,
Er ist für's Vaterland.

Den Leib begräbt man in die Gruft,
Der Ruhm bleibt auf der Welt.
Die Seele schwingt sich durch die Luft
Ins blaue Himmelszelt.

Gleim's references to Berlin and Prussia's Hero as well as all those non-popular references to the lyre, the exalted war song, Sparta, Mars and Apollo were dropt by the revampers and singers. Note what has persisted:

If the world demands it, let there be war! The din of battle inspires the soldier to do courageous deeds and leads to a feeling of indifference to danger and death. And if death does come, it takes only the body of the brave victorious soldier, whereas his soul goes upward to its reward in Heaven for the sacrifice to the Fatherland.

This mention of the soul's going to Heaven is non-popular and is fathered by Gleim alone. The idea is practically never met with in soldiers' songs other than these. A typical example of how the soldier himself treats his comrade's death, occurs in the *Liederhort* No. 1356, 3d strophe:

Ist einer geschossen, zu Boden gestreckt,
So wird er von uns begraben,
Drei Schuss, drei Schuss ins kühle Grab,
Die giebt man dem Krieger mit hinab.

Notice, further, the themes which are *not* found in this song of Gleim's—nor, for that matter, in his other songs—but which appear in other strophes, not reproduced here, of these later songs and in nearly all soldier songs. They are those which have to do with the real soldier as a human being. He remembers home, the parting, the sweetheart's kiss, etc. He sings of the less ideal enjoyments of army life—his pay, food and drink; and he looks forward to the end of the war and the return home.

The song reproduced above from the *Liederhort* is the direct descendant of a very similar one from the last decade of the eighteenth century,⁶ a version of which appeared in the *Wunderhorn*.⁷ It seems as tho the *Achtzehnhundertneun* song (No. XL, reproduced in part, p. 206), also borrowed the first half of its sixth strophe from this source. In this connection it seems remarkabl, that Goethe, in his characterization of the *Wunderhorn* songs, failed to

note that the "Halberstädter Grenadier spukt" in this song, a condition which he did note in connection with, "Auf, auf! ihr Brüder und seydt stark!"⁸—a song which contains no concrete borrowings, and which has a different strophic form from that of Gleim's songs.

Even tho the above song of Gleim's exerted the greatest influence on war lyrics, still, certain parts of others of this same series seem also to have struck a responsiv chord. Compare, for instance, the following, successively:

Gleim No. 10, l. 169 ff.

Auch folgt uns in Gefahr und Streit
Dein tapfrer Ferdinand,
Zu sterben, Held! mit dir bereit
Den Tod fürs Vaterland.

Achtzehnhundertneun No. XL, 1st Strophe

O Östreich, teures Vaterland!
Für dich sind wir bereit
Zu siegen, sterben Hand in Hand
In dem gerechten Streit!

Ditto, 6th Strophe

Und fällt im Kampf der brave Mann,
In diesem edlen Streit;
So sank er auf der Siegesbahn,
Wo Östreich Lorbeern streut!

Liederhort No. 1348, 4th Strophe

Wie mancher deutsche Kamerad
Muss bleiben in dem Streit:
Wir Deutsche fragen nicht danach,
Wir sind dazu bereit.

and note how idea and rime-words have endured hand in hand. For a similar tendency compare also, successively:

Gleim No. III, l. 21 ff.

Und böt uns in der achten Schlacht
Franzos und Russe Trutz,
So lachten wir doch ihrer Macht,
Denn Gott ist unser Schutz.

Achtzehnhundertneun No. LV, 7th Strophe

Der Name Franz sei unser Schutz,
Den raubt uns nicht der Tod;
So bieten wir den Feinden Trutz;
Denn wir vertraun auf Gott!

Ditto No. LI, 2d Strophe

Wir sind des Vaterlandes Schutz,
Wenn es der Feind bedroht;
Wir bieten seinen Scharen Trutz
Und achten nicht den Tod.

⁶ Böhme, who prints it in his *Liederhort*, No. 1346, dates it as early as 1793.

⁷ See Boxberger's edition, Berlin, Hempel, p. 86.

⁸ See Boxberger's edition, p. 345.

In addition to these *Schutz Trutz, bedroht Tod, Schlacht Macht, Streit bereit, and Hand Vaterland* rimes; the pairs *droht Gott* and *Feld Held*,—all of them used repeatedly by Gleim—appear time and again in the songs of his imitators.

Another example of plagiarism, this time of a less noble inspiration of the Grenadiers, follows:

Gleim No. 2, l. 81 ff.

Zu muthig jagte sie, zu weit,
Den zweymal flüchtigen Feind,
Der mehr durch Trug, als Tapferkeit,
Uns zu bezwingen meint.

Achtzehnhundertneun No. XLI, 4th Strophe

Gerecht fürwahr ist unser Streit
Mit diesem stolzen Feind,
Der mehr durch List als Tapferkeit
Uns zu bezwingen meint.

I might adduce, finally, an example which shows how Wilhelm Müller in one of his earliest songs, "Morgenlied am Tage der ersten Schlacht,"* written ca. 1814, cribbed from the Grenadier:

Müller, 5th Str.

Aus Franzenschädeln trinken wir
Dort unsern deutschen Trank
Und feiern Wilhelms Siegeszier
Mit altem Bardensang.

Müller, 10th Str.

Frisch auf zum Streite, Ross und Mann!
Die Schlachttrummete klingt.
Uns führen gute Engel an:
Drum, Brüder, kämpft und singt!

With this compare the following:

Gleim No. 3, l. 9 ff.

Aus deinem Schädel trinken wir
Bald deinen süßen Wein,
Du Ungar! Unser Feldpanier
Soll solche Flasche sein.

* See "The Earliest Poems of Wilhelm Müller" in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.

Gleim No. 1, l. 9 ff.

Auch stimme ich hohen Schlachtgesang
Mit seinen Helden an,
Bey Paucken und Trompeten Klang,
Im Lärm von Ross und Mann;

It seems pretty clear then, that while "Vater" Gleim's war songs themselves have probably never been very widely sung, they contained many elements—ideas, catch-phrases, rime couplets, and meter—that have in many instances become part and parcel of other songs, and these have indeed been sung widely down to very recent years,—perhaps to the present day.

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NIGHT IN THE POETRY OF HENRY VAUGHAN

The poetry of Henry Vaughan (1621?–1695) illustrates the conflicting ideals of a period of transition. In his religious poems, in particular, the spirit of the Renaissance, just before, is marked by the influence of classical paganism; the spirit of the Puritan Reformation, immediately at hand, by the influence of the Bible; and a more modern spirit, by an attitude toward nature both personal and scientific, anticipating, to some extent, the conceptions current at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Discussion of the indebtedness of Vaughan to George Herbert, or of their mutual indebtedness, must confine itself to similarities in material and technique, often to be credited to the common historical position of the two poets; the differences between them, however, involve this modern spirit apparent in Vaughan's poetry: the mystical and intimate love of nature which allies him to later Romanticists quite alien to Herbert in temper.

One of the most characteristic phases of Vaughan's poetry, which exhibits this complexity of influences under which he worked,

is his love of night; an interest indicated by many titles in his collection of religious poems, *Silex Scintillans*; e. g., *Midnight Stars*, *The Evening Watch*, *The Dawning*, *The Constellation*, *The Night*. This interest he develops through conventional figures and phrases of poetic diction drawn from both Biblical and classical sources, and through more individual expression of personal observation and feeling, which marks the third aspect of his work.

The Biblical influence may be traced in the figures employing light. John's frequent allusions to "The Light of the World," and the "Children of Light," and such verses as "Ye are the children of the light and the children of the day; we are not of the night nor of darkness" (I *Thess.* V, 5), are suggested by such lines in Vaughan as the following:

- (a) "O fools, said I, thus to prefer dark night,
Before true light!"

(*The World.*)

- (b) "Spirits without Thee die
And blackness sets
On the divinest wits,
As on the sun eclipses lie,
But that great darkness at Thy death
When the veil broke at Thy lost breath
Did make us see
The way to Thee."

(*The Holy Communion.*)

- (c) "O lose it not! look up. Wilt change those
lights

For chains of darkness and eternal night?"

(*Rules and Lessons.*)

Scriptural verses such as "Arise, shine, for thy Light is come" (*Is.* 60, 1), and "Ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the daystar arise in your heart" (II *Peter*, 1, 19), are suggested by Vaughan's many references to Christ at his birth and resurrection as the Rising Sun, the Daystar, the Dawn, etc., as in the following:

- (a) "The first glad tidings of the early light,
And resurrection from the earth and night."

(*Ascension Day.*)

- (b) "Awake! awake! and like the Sun, disperse
All mists that would usurp the day."

(*Easter Day.*)

- (c) "The Law and Ceremonies made
A glorious night
When stars, and clouds, both light and shade
Had equal right;
But as in Nature, when the day
Breaks, night adjourns,
Stars shut up shop, mists pack away
And the moon mourns,
Lo, when the Sun of Righteousness
Did once appear,
That scene was chang'd, and a new dress
Left for us here."

(*Faith.*)

Thus Vaughan adopts the Biblical use of light as a symbol of truth, and darkness as prefiguring error and ignorance; but he also uses darkness and night with another significance, frequently making them symbolize death and the grave; as, for example:

- (a) "Darkness and daylight, life and death,
Are but mere leaves turn'd by thy breath."

(*Holy Communion.*)

- (b) "Death and darkness get you packing,

Graves are beds now for the weary,
Death a nap to make more merry."

(*Easter Hymn.*)

- (c) "Scatter those shades of death and give
Light to my soul that it may live."

(*Repentance.*)

- (d) "Man is a summer's day; whose youth and fire
Cool to a glorious evening and expire."

(*Rules and Lessons.*)

A small concordance to the Bible shows no use of night and darkness in this sense; this figure, then, may be traced to classical influence, to a pagan philosophy conceiving of death as the extinction of the light of life, and the entrance into Stygian darkness.

Finally, the modern spirit in Vaughan's work is expressed in a personal attitude toward nature, reflecting exact observation worked upon by an interested imagination. Both the minuteness and the imaginative quality of his observation are illustrated by such intense scrutiny of the stars as is revealed in the following lines:

- (a) "Thine host of spies,
The stars, shine in their watches.
I do survey
Each busy ray,
And how they work and wind."
(*Midnight.*)
- (b) "Whatever 'tis, whose beauty here below
Attracts thee thus, and makes thee *stream* and
flow
And *wind* and *curl*, and *wink* and *smile*,
Shifting thy gait and guile."
(*The Star.*)

A sense of scientific law growing out of this minuteness of observation is shown in these stanzas from *The Constellation*:

"With what exact obedience do you move
Now beneath and now above,
And in your vast progressions overlook
The darkest night and closest nook.

Some nights I see you in the gladsome East
And others in the West,
And when I cannot see yet do you shine
And beat about your endless line."

This sense of law carries over into one of Vaughan's favorite figures, that of the star as a symbol of fixity, used repeatedly in varying contexts, the emphasis falling now on the abstract and now on the concrete aspect of the figure, as in the following stanzas:

- (a) "For each inclosed spirit is a star
Inlightning his own little sphere
Whose light tho filcht and borrowed from afar
Both morning makes and evening there."
(*The Bird.*)
- (b) "It glows and glitters in my cloudy breast
Like stars upon some gloomy grove
Or those faint beams in which this hill is
dress'd,
Mere glimmerings and decay."
(*Departed Friends.*)
- (c) "The pious soul by night
Is like a clouded star whose beams though said
To shed their light
Under some cloud
Yet are above
And shine and move
Beyond that mystic shroud."
(*The Morning Watch.*)

This symbolism may be traced, in some degree, to Biblical sources, to the story of the Star of Bethlehem, and to such verses as "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the star forever and ever" (*Daniel*, 2, 3); but to a large extent it seems to reflect the poet's personal observation, tinged by the spirit of religious mysticism natural to him.

Vaughan's idea of the star as a symbol of fixity may be compared to the feeling of later poets as expressed, for instance, in Keats' sonnet beginning, "Bright star! would I were steadfast as thou art," and in Arnold's *Self-Dependence*, and *A Summer Night*. The three poets have a similar sense of the moral significance of natural law, but the conceptions of the two nineteenth century poets lack the vitalizing warmth of the mysticism of Vaughan, which makes scientific law but a manifestation of spiritual wisdom.

In this commingling of an intimate love of nature for its own sake, and an intelligent reverence for the natural as a symbol of the divine, Vaughan anticipates the spirit of Wordsworth. "The world is to him no less than a veil of the Eternal Spirit, whose presence may be felt in any, even the smallest, part," Canon Beeching says.¹ The same critic goes on to point out interesting resemblances in thought and spirit between Vaughan's poetry and lines in Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*, *The Afflictions of Margaret*, and *The Excursion*.²

A poem entitled *The Night* sums up various aspects of Vaughan's practice, with the exception of the classical influence. Personal observation of nature is suggested in the first stanza:

"Through that pure virgin shrine,
That sacred veil drawn o'er Thy glorious noon,
That men might look and live, as glow-worms shine,
And face the moon."

¹ *Poems of Henry Vaughan*, Muse's Library. Intro. p. xliii.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xlv, 1-li.

The theological symbolism appears in the lines:

"Who in that land of darkness and blind eyes
Thy long-expected healing wings could see
When Thou didst rise!
And, what can never more be done,
Did at midnight speak with the Sun!"

Combined with this theological symbolism, there appears in the following stanza an intimate love of the solemnity of the night:

"Dear Night! this world's defeat;
The stop to busy fools; care's check and curb;
The day of spirits; my soul's calm retreat
Which none disturb!
Christ's progress, and his prayer-time;
The hours to which high Heaven doth chime."

The poem concludes with a paradoxical burst of mystical feeling which combines the theological and personal points of view:

"There's a God—some say—
A deep, but dazzling darkness; as men here
Say it is late and dusky, because they
See not all clear.
O for that night! where I in Him
Might live invisible and dim!"

It appears, then, that the form of Vaughan's allusions to nature at night indicates a fondness for traditional figures and conventional diction drawn from both Christian and classical sources, together with a tendency toward the more exact and intimate expression of modern nature poets. The material itself, however, doubtless grew out of Vaughan's personal fondness for the night, which led him not only to careful observation of its phenomena but also made him sensitive to Biblical and classical analogies in the same field, so that all three sources of influence carried over into his poetry and became fixed in the diction of his own meditations upon religious themes.

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VITZLIPUTZLI

The following passage in Hebel's *Der Karfunkel* (*Allemanische Gedichte*)

Chasch mi witors bruuche, so rtlef mer nummen!
I hör di.

Heissi nit Vizli Buzli, und hani d'Ohre nit bymer?

deserves perhaps a few words of comment in connection with the origin and significance of the name Vizli Buzli.

Vizli Buzli (or Vitzliputzli) is identical with Huitzilopochtli or Huitziloposchtli (pronounce: wē-tsēl-ō-pōsh-tlē), the name of a figure in Mexican mythology. Brockhaus' *Konversations-Lexikon*, however, is evidently in error when, referring to the Mexican name, it declares: "Heine hat daraus Vitzliputzli gemacht." In view of the occurrence of Vizli Buzli in Hebel's poem, Heine can hardly be said to have coined the form Vitzliputzli, since his poem of that name in the *Romanzero* did not appear until after Hebel's publication of *Der Karfunkel*.

Moreover, Heinsius in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1822) records the name Vitzliputzli, stating that it is "ein Höllengott der Mexikaner, der Teufel; im gemeinen Leben scherzhaft aber unpassend ein Liebkosungswort kleiner Kinder," from which it is obvious that the form Vitzliputzli, for Huitzilopochtli, was known prior to Heine's use of the name, his *Romanzero* not having been published until 1853.

Again, not only Heine's but also Hebel's poem is antedated by Friedrich Müller's *Faust* (1778) in which one of the devils is called Vizlipuzli. The lexicographers fail to mention either Müller or Hebel in this connection though Sanders cites Michaelis as using the name.¹

Finally, in a still earlier work, viz., Chris-

¹J. Hübner's *Staats-Zeitungen und Conversations-Lexicon* has (e. g., in the *allerneueste Auflage*, Regensburg, 1742) the following article: "Vizli Puzli, so nennen die Einwohner in Neu-Spanien den Teufel, welchen sie in den prächtig aufgebauten, und mit vielen Zierrathen, sonderlich aber mit Federn gezierten Tempeln anbeten. Es soll dieses Wort so viel als eine schöne Feder heissen."—H. C.

tian Weise's *Die drei ärgsten Erznarren* (1672), we come upon the form Pizlipuzli, which looks strikingly like a corruption of the Mexican name, though no attempt appears to have been made to connect the two forms; in fact, so far as noted, the name Pizlipuzli is not to be found in any of the standard works of reference.

Huitzilopochtli, it may be remarked in conclusion, is variously stated to be a Mexican god of war, a god of the lower world, a god of fire, a sun-god, and a spirit of the clouds. Heine represents him to be a god of war who, enraged at the shameful treatment of the Mexicans at the hands of the faithless Spaniards, desires to be transformed into a devil that he may wreak dire vengeance on the enemy; to quote the closing stanzas of his effective poem:

Ja, ein Teufel will ich werden,
Und als Kameraden grüss' ich
Satanas und Belial,
Astaroth und Belzebub.

Dieh zumal begrüss' ich, Lilis,
Sündenmutter, glatte Schlange!
Lehr mich deine Grausamkeiten
Und die schöne Kunst der Lüge!

Mein geliebtes Mexiko,
Nimmermehr kann ich es retten,
Aber rächen will ich furchtbar
Mein geliebtes Mexiko.²

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²It is worth while adding that Vitzliputzli has found a place in Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*. His name is found in the last stanza of the poem "Süszes kind, die Perlenreihen," (e. g., Jubil.-Ausgabe, vol. 5, p. 138 or in the Weimar critical edition, vol. 6, p. 289):

Lass die Renegatenbürde
Mich in diesem Kuss verschmerzen:
Denn ein Vitzliputzli würde
Talisman an deinem Herzen.

Goethe had written this poem in 1815 and read it in the same year at Wiesbaden to G. Boisserée (see Sulpiz Boisserée, vol. I., Stuttgart, 1842, p. 264). At Boisserée's advice, however, who found it "zu bitter, hart und einseitig," he excluded it from his own edition of the *Divan*. It was first printed in 1837 in the quarto edition by Riemer and Eckermann (I., p. 357) and is now generally found in the "Buch Suleika," though (as Burdach pointed out in the Jubil.-Ausg. 5, p. 425) Goethe had intended it for the "Buch des Parsen."—H. C.

SOME NOTES ON SPENSER AND BACON

I

The editors of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* have failed to make note of a number of parallels to the interesting emblems which occur at the end of the March eclogue. This is all the more remarkable because it has been noted already that Spenser used one of these ideas later in his *Faerie Queene* (Bk. IV, 10, 1), and Upton has shown that the thought there expressed appears in several classical works.

Thomalin's emblem reads as follows:

"Of Hony and of Gaule in love there is store;
The Honye is much, but the Gaule is more."

In *The Faerie Queene*, Scudamour says,

"True be it sayde, whatever man it sayd,
That love with gall and hony doth abound:
But if the one be with the other wayd,
For every dram of hony therein found
A pound of gall doth over it redound."

Todd referred to *The Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 2295-6, and held that in this case Spenser drew from his old master, Chaucer. The lines are

"For euer of loue the siknesse
Is meynde with swete and bitternesse."¹

Upton says (*Faerie Queene*, vol. II, p. 600), "How many poets might here be cited?" and accordingly, he refers to Sappho, Musaeus, and Petrarch. None of these quotations, however, are close parallels to the emblem of Spenser, so they are relatively unimportant. Upton says further that he considers two lines in the *Cistellaria* of Plautus to be a likely source for the passage in the *Faerie Queene*. They are

"Namque ecaster Amor et melle et felle est
fecundissumus; Gustu(i) dat dulce, amarum ad
satictatem usque oggerit."—(Act 1, Sc. 1, l. 69-70.)

¹Text of the Chaucer Society, edited by Max Kaluza, p. 133. Borrowed from Guillaume de Lorris; *Le Roman de La Rose* I, 2193-4. Ed. of Michel, v. I, p. 73:

"Amans sentent les maus d'amer
Une hore dous, autre hore amer."

If we compare these lines with the two in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, a still closer resemblance is apparent. Moreover, we know that the influence of Plautus was great among the Elizabethans at this time. *Ralph Roister Doister* and *The Comedy of Errors* are ample evidence for this fact. It seems plausible, then, that Spenser may have borrowed the thought of Thomalin's emblem from the lines of this Latin comedy.

Perhaps we ought to notice in passing that Sidney has used much the same idea in his *Wooing-Shaft*:

"Faint Amorist, what, dost thou think
To taste love's honey, and not drink
One dram of gall? or to devour
A world of sweet and taste no sour?"

II

Willyes emblem is the rime:

"To be wise and eke to loue,
Is graunted scarce to God aboue."

A sentiment very much like this occurs at least three times in the works of Bacon, and reference is made by various editors to Publilius Syrus (fl. 44 B. C.) and to Plutarch's *Lives*. This quotation from Spenser may be merely a variation of the idea which Agesilaus expressed to his favorite when he said: *ὥς χαλεπὸν ἐλεεῖν ἄμα καὶ φρονεῖν*,³ "How difficult it is to show love and wisdom at the same time." Plutarch's *Lives* must have been accessible to Spenser either in the original Greek or through the translations of Amyot or North. This is all the more likely because North's translation was published only a few months before the *Calendar*. *The Stationer's Register* gives the respective dates, April 6 and December 5 (1579), to the two works.⁴

But with this source in view, I wish to point

² Ed. of Grosart, vol. II, p. 38.

³ *Plutarchus Rec. Sintenis*, vol. III, p. 156, l. 24. Plutarch concludes: "This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher." Probably Hieronymus of Rhodes (fl. circa 230 B. C.). See note in Susemihl's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, vol. I, p. 149, and reference to Plutarch's *Agesilaus*.

⁴ *Arber's Transcript of Stationer's Register*, vol. II, pp. 351 and 362.

out a line in the mimes of Publilius Syrus which shows much greater parity. It is "Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur," it is scarcely granted to God to love and be wise at the same time.⁵ It is not necessary to believe that Spenser borrowed the line directly from Publilius. This writer was quoted a great deal by Cato and Seneca, and the author of Willyes emblem may have found the Latin line in some collection of *sententiae* extant in the Elizabethan period. Yet a first-hand acquaintance was not impossible, and the identity of thought in Spenser and Publilius is strong evidence.

The expression of this thought in Bacon, on the other hand, points to Plutarch as his source rather than to Publilius, although six editors give references to the Latin author and only two suggest the Greek. One of the three passages mentioned is found in the essay *On Love*,—"It is impossible to love and to be wise."⁶ The others are in *The Advancement of Learning* (Bk. I, 3, 7): "It is a speech for a lover and not for a wise man;" and (Bk. II, 1, 15), "But my hope is, that if my extreme love of learning carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection; for that it is not granted to man to love and to be wise."⁷

It is evident that the above line from Plu-

⁵ *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis*, vol. II, p. 311, l. 22. Ed. of Otto Ribbeck, Leipsic, 1872. In two classical dictionaries—Harper's *Dict. of Classical Antiquities* and the one edited by H. T. Riley—this line has been wrongly attributed to Decimus Laberius (a contemporary of Publilius Syrus) and references given to Ribbeck's *Scaenicae Romanorum Fragmenta*. This collection of the sayings of Laberius contains no such line.

⁶ Essay X: Ed. of Wright, p. 37. I must call attention to the fact that both Miss Scott (p. 44) and Professor Northup (p. 190) have erred in translating the line (Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur) from Publilius Syrus. The former has given us the almost impossible rendering, "It is hardly granted by God to love and to be wise." The latter translates it quite as erroneously, "God scarcely grants a man both to love and to be wise."

⁷ *The Advancement of Learning*: Ed. of Wright, pp. 24 and 84. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* II, 846: "Non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur Majestas et amor." Cf. also Byron's *Don Juan* (Canto I, 117, l. 5): "But who, alas! can love, and then be wise?"

tarch's *Agésilas* furnishes much the closer parallel to these sentences from Bacon, just as the thought of Publilius Syrus is closer to that of Spenser. There is nothing to indicate that Bacon derived other thoughts from the Latin writer, since no other reference is made to him. On the other hand, it is a well-known fact that Bacon used Plutarch extensively. Miss Myrta Goodenough found 115 distinct quotations from the *Lives* and *Morals*.⁸ None of them had been noted before, although many others had been listed by Wright and Abbott in their editions of Bacon's works. That Bacon knew the *Life of Agésilas* very well indeed is proved by the fact that no less than eight allusions are made to it in his essays,—in two of them he mentions Agésilas by name.⁹

It seems certain, therefore, that Bacon was familiar with the words of Agésilas, and highly improbable that he had any other source for this idea. Spenser, on the contrary, shows such a remarkable similarity to the expression of it in the line of Publilius Syrus, that one can easily believe he had a knowledge of the Latin writer.

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IVANHOE TRANSLATED BY IMMER- MANN

In 1826, there appeared at Hamm (Wundermann) *Ivanhoe: Eine Geschichte vom Verfasser des Waverley (Walter Scott). Nach der neuesten Originalausgabe übersetzt und mit einem einleitenden Vorworte versehen von Karl Immermann*.¹ Of this rare work, Goedeke (Bd. VIII, S. 613) says: "Die Übersetzung ist, wie auch in den 'Epigonen' I, 268 und 282 angedeutet wird, von der Gräfin Ahlefeldt, aber

⁸"Bacon and Plutarch": *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XII, pp. 42-6.

⁹Essays IX and XLIV: Ed. of Wright, pp. 31 and 179.

¹It is in three volumes, not four, as Deetjen says (Immermanns Werke, Bd. I. S. xxxiii).

von Immermann, von dem die lyrischen Einlagen übertragen sind, durchgesehen und bevorwortet." There is, however, abundant reason for believing that the translation was done very largely by Immermann. He did it in 1824, when there was a slump in his law-practice and his bank-account. He wrote to Abeken as follows: "Uebrigens ist die ganze Arbeit ein *opus infaustum*, sie macht mich hypochondrisch, wenn ich daran denke, sie war mir vom Buchhändler aufgedrungen, ich habe mit dem grössten Widerwillen daran geschrieben und will froh sein, wenn davon im Publico gar nicht geredet wird." He says nothing about the help from Adolf Lützow's divorcee to be. On Feb. 22, 1824, he wrote to the Baroness: "Wenn Sie wirklich nicht im 'Ivanhoe' übersetzen, so haben Sie wohl die Güte, mir das Buch bald zu übersenden. So lieb mir Ihre Hülfe sein würde—ich glaube doch, dass ich mich nun wieder allein werde daran machen müssen." She sent him the book and he wrote on March 21, 1824, that he was sorry that she had stopped at the first chapter. On April 18, 1824, he wrote to the Baroness, telling her of the work he had to do, including "Ein und einen halben Band Ivanhoe zu übersetzen." On May 16, 1824, he closed a letter to her as follows: "Meine Arbeiten schleichen langsam fort. Der Walter Scott schwatzt mir doch fast zu breit. Ich verliere so manche breite Schilderung unter den Händen, weiss nicht, wo sie bleibt, und ich denke, die Recensenten sollen auch nichts merken." The references in the *Epigonen* are poetry, and it is to me unthinkable that any one other than Immermann translated this work. He was then trying, unsuccessfully, to marry Lützow's wife, and any references to her in connection with the work may well be accounted for on personal grounds.

The translation presents a number of points of interest. The introduction of fourteen pages is an extremely readable criticism of Scott. In the last paragraph Immermann says: "Ueber das Wagstück, nach mehreren bereits erschienenen Uebersetzungen des Ivanhoe noch eine zu liefern, vertheidige ich mich nicht." Scott's work appeared in the latter part of 1819, though the first edition is dated 1820. Is it

possible that several translations of *Ivanhoe* had already appeared in Germany within the years 1820-24? And if so, by whom? Then, Immermann speaks of omissions and condensations in his translation. An idea of how much he left out can be gotten from the following figures. In the English *Ivanhoe* there are about 199,800 words. In the translation of Otto Randolph (Reclam) there are about 176,280 words. This is the difference that will generally be found between an English original and a German translation of the same. The German will contain about seven-eighths as many words as the English on which the translation is based, although the space will be approximately the same in both. Immermann's translation, however, contains only about 138,100 words.

Immermann's *Ivanhoe* is not in the British Museum, nor is it in any one of the four largest libraries in the United States. The writer has just secured a copy in good condition. Should any one wish to make use of it as the basis of an investigation, the writer would be glad to place his copy at his or her disposal. If done in the spirit of Scott's Dr. Dryasdust, this comparative study would, to be sure, be a thankless "Ochsenarbeit." If done otherwise, it might lead on to "Ivanhoe in Germany," and that would be very much worth while.

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THE MILLER AND HIS SONS

A song which has been preserved in Celia Thaxter's *Among the Isles of Shoals* deserves attention because of its possible antiquity. It is as follows:

"The miller he called his oldest son,
Saying, 'Now my glass it is almost run,
If I to you the mill relate,
What toll do you resign to take?'

"The son replied: 'My name is Jack,
And out of a bushel I'll take a peck.'
'Go, go, you fool!' the old man cried,
And called the next to his bedside.

"The second said: 'My name is Ralph,
And out of a bushel I'll take a half.'
'Go, go, you fool!' the old man cried,
And called the next to his bedside.

"The youngest said: 'My name is Paul,
And out of a bushel I'll take it all!'
'You are my son!' the old man cried,
And shot up his eyes and died in peace."¹

Mrs. Thaxter describes the man whom she heard sing this as one who had been a sailor most of his life. He had once been "head singer" of the church, and knew ballad after ballad "of love and of war." His great peculiarity was that he spoke the last word of each verse instead of singing it.

There can be no question that this man was a genuine ballad-singer on American soil. It is equally clear that Mrs. Thaxter, although dependent on her memory, gives, on the whole, a trustworthy account of him and of his songs. We can judge of both matters from her record of the old man's singing of the popular ballad of *Young Beichan* or *Lord Bateman*.

Mrs. Thaxter evidently knew only the 1839 broadside version of the ballad, which was illustrated by Cruikshank, and pretty widely circulated in this country, while the ballad-singer knew another, and probably much older, version. Mrs. Thaxter accounted for the differences by saying that he had "remodeled" the ballad "with beautiful variations of his own." She gave as examples of his variations the forms of his proper names—Susan Fryan instead of Sophia, and Lord Bakum instead of Lord Bateman—and the passage in which the porter tells of the coming of Sophia. In the Cruikshank version the porter's message is given in two colorless lines,

"O there is the fairest young lady
As ever my two eyes did see."²

¹ Celia Thaxter, *Among the Isles of Shoals*, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, edition of 1901, p. 81.

² This is according to the American edition, New York, G. W. Carleton & Co., Publishers, Madison Square; London, Bell & Daldy; 1871. The first edition of *Among the Isles of Shoals* appeared two years later, in 1873. Professor Child reprinted a version of the ballad illustrated by Cruikshank in which the porter's speech is two stanzas and a half in length. It is probable, however, that Mrs. Thaxter knew only the shorter version, as otherwise she would hardly have been so impressed with the ballad-singer's verses.

The ballad-singer of the Isles of Shoals gave the porter's message in two stanzas, as follows:

"Seven long years have I tended your gate, sir,
Seven long years out of twenty-three,
But so fair a creetur as now stands waitin'
Never before with my eyes did see.

"O, she has rings on every finger,
And round her middle if she's one she has three;
O, I'm sure she's got more good gold about her
Than would buy your bride and her companie!"

Reference to Professor Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* shows that these two stanzas are parallel to two in Version A,³ although there are minor differences in phrasing. The most marked of these is in the last two lines, which in Version A run,

"An there's as meikle goud aboon her brow
As woud buy an earldome o lan to me."

Other versions also have the long speech, practically the same as in A.

In like fashion the ballad-singer's names approximate the commonest forms. His Bakum resembles Beichan, which is the favorite form of the hero's name, and his Susan Fryan is similar to Susan Pye, which appears in ten out of fourteen versions of the ballad.⁴ The names with which Mrs. Thaxter was familiar are, on the other hand, rare. Lord Bateman is found only in the Cruikshank version, and Sophia in only two versions.

The fact that the old singer's version corresponds with other versions which were unknown to Mrs. Thaxter proves not only that he was in possession of traditional material, but also that Mrs. Thaxter's account is essentially true.

The song of the miller and his sons seems to be, like the ballad, traditional material. In subject matter and in general structure it appears to be old. It has two ballad characteristics, namely, impersonality of narrative and incremental repetition. Minor metrical and verbal peculiarities which indicate a late date

of composition are easily accounted for, first, by possible changes on the part of the singer, and second, by the fact that Mrs. Thaxter, according to her own statement, only half remembered the song.

Two interesting parallels to the song are to be found.

The miller who takes a peck out of each bushel is referred to in Robert Greene's *James the Fourth*.⁵

"*Slipper*: Why, sir, your father was a miller that could shift for a pecke of grist in a bushell, and you a faire-spoken gentleman that can get more land by a lye then an honest man by his readie money."

The rime of the last stanza occurs in a slightly similar death-bed scene in Pope.⁶

"I give and I devise (old Euclio said,
And sigh'd) my lands and tenements to Ned."

"Your money, Sir;" "My money, Sir, what all?
Why,—if I must—(then wept) I give it Paul."

Although this may easily be mere coincidence resulting from an obvious and easy rime, there is a possibility that Pope found the rime all the more convenient to his hand because he knew the song of the miller and his sons.

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VARIATION IN THE OLD HIGH GERMAN POST-OTFRIDIAN POEMS

I. CHRISTUS UND DIE SAMARITERIN

Müllenhoff's theory that this fragment (even in an older form) was known to Otfrid and that it to a certain extent influenced him in his treatment of the same subject, has been convincingly refuted by Steinmeyer, Erdmann and Braune. Otfrid himself nowhere mentions any specific German poetry which might have served him as a model, but rather poses as a pioneer in his preface to Liutbert and in his

³ Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, p. 464.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 455.

⁵ *Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, ed. Manly, II, p. 357.

⁶ Pope, *Moral Essays*, Epistle I. ll. 256-259.

metrical introduction. Beside the proof of the later origin of at least the existing version which is furnished by the weakened final syllables and by the handwriting of the manuscript, the variation in the fragment shows unmistakable traces of Otfrid's influence. As I have attempted to show in another place (Beitr. 38, 47, ff.), Otfrid's development in style may be followed with considerable accuracy through a comparison of his use of variation in the several books. The styles of variation, for example, in I, 1 and I, 2 are so totally different as to leave no doubt as to which is the work of the experienced and which the work of the inexperienced author. In the same way it is possible to recognise in the author of the fragment the unskilled worker, who has however felt it his duty to follow the master's (Otfrid's) example.

The examples of variation in the fragment occur as follows:

(1) Lines 3, 5, *quena—uuîp*. (2) Ll. 5, 7, *sih ketrencan—thir geba trinkan*. (3) Ll. 9b, 10, *Uuîp, obe thû uuissîs, uuîelîh gotes gift ist, unte den ercantis mit themo do kôsôtis*. (4) Ll. 2, 12, *brunnon—buzza*. (5) Ll. 16, 17, *brunnan—uuazzer*. (6) Ll. 16, 17, *tranc—nuzzun*. (7) Ll. 19b, 20, *then lâzit der durst sîn: iz sprangôt im'ôn pruston in êuûôn mit luston*. (8) Ll. 23, 24, *uuirt—commen*. (9) L. 25, *Uueiz ih daz dû uuâr segist, daz dû comen ne hebist*. (10) Ll. 29, 30, *for uns êr gîborana betôtôn hiar in berega, Unser altmâga suohtôn hia genâda*.

Examination shows that six examples (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8) are mere variations of word or phrase—the simplest kind of variation. First thought might point to the conclusion that this style resembles the old epic variation and is hence a sign of early origin. Closer examination, however, proves that in no single instance do we have the typical asyndetic juxtaposition of epic variation—the hammer-like repetition so characteristic of Beowulf and Hildebrand. There is not a single instance of variation in the Christus fragment which shows even the faintest trace of epic influence. The reason for repetition is here quite another—namely the existence of identical or kindred word or phrase

pairs in the Latin source (1. *mulier, mulier*; 2. *bibere, bibere*; 4. *fons, puteus*; 8. *vir, vir*). Only in 5 and 6 is the variation independent of the source and in both cases it is doubtless dictated by metric and stylistic reasons. Such variations as those just given are typically Otfridian and point unmistakably to his influence on the author of the fragment. Equally true to the same model are the longer variations 3, 7 and 9, being mere translations of the source, made with typical monastic fidelity. Number 10, however, is an independent attempt at variation, although the similarity of phrasing to Otfrid 11, 14, 57–58 renders it probable that the monk of Weissenburg was here also carefully studied.

From the above analysis it becomes apparent that the fragment is not an inheritance from an early period of Old High German, since the technique of its variation bears no resemblance to that of the epic period, as is for instance the case with the earlier work of Otfrid himself (cf. I, 2). This fact and its stylistic similarity with the greater work, give further confirmation to the reasons already advanced for regarding the fragment as the attempt of a successor and imitator of Otfrid.

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Geoffrey Chaucer, by EMILE LEGOUIS. Translated by L. LAILAVOIX. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1913. xxxvi + 220 pp.

Mr. Lailavoix has placed English students and lovers of Chaucer under lasting obligations by this translation¹ of Professor Legouis' delightful book. The author himself has long been favorably known as scholar and critic in this country and England through his valuable studies on the life and poetry of William Wordsworth. While there is perhaps nothing especially new and original in the book before

¹ The work of translation has been well done. On p. 64, l. 6, 'dissyllabic' is an evident slip for *decasyllabic*. Otherwise I have noticed almost no errors or misprints.

us for the serious student of Chaucer, and while the very nature and plan of the work required the author to exclude from its pages the usual 'scholarly' apparatus of numerous references to the whole field of critical literature, it is nevertheless an excellent manual for the general reader and casual student who wish to have an attractive guide to assist them to a sufficient knowledge and a genuine appreciation of Chaucer's poetry. Moreover, it is up to date in every respect, and M. Legouis shows time and again that he is familiar with all that has been written about Chaucer by all the best students of the last twenty-five years. And while he generally accepts the conclusions of such special students as Sypherd, Young, Lowes, Emerson, Brown, Kittredge and others about the date, origin, etc., of the poems of Chaucer, he does not hesitate to disagree, occasionally, with any one or all of them. In such cases he always sets forth his own opinion modestly, but firmly and in a graceful and convincing manner.

The book is made up of a Preface of some thirty-five pages by the translator, six chapters of text, a Conclusion of four pages, an Appendix containing several specimens of M. Louis' French verse translations of Chaucer's poems, and an Index. The frontispiece is an excellent reproduction of "Geoffrey Chaucer, from the Oocleve ms., from a copy in the possession of Mr. John Munro." The book is well printed, but poorly bound. It is a pity that the publishers did not exert themselves a little more in binding up a book that is sure to become a popular handbook for Chaucer students.

Mr. Lailavoix's Preface is a valuable addition to the work. It is written in a fine, flexible, flowing style, such as only a native Frenchman with Mr. Lailavoix's mastery of the English language and literature could write. Striking Gallicisms both here and in the text are of rare occurrence. But the special interest of the Preface lies in the succinct and comprehensive account it contains of Chaucer in France. This is the first and only attempt, with which the present writer is acquainted, at a historical survey, in English, of the slow but persistent growth of what may be called a genu-

ine Chaucer cult, as it existed among French scholars of the nineteenth century. Mr. Lailavoix, to be sure, gives credit for the facts he presents to the not yet accessible *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* of Miss Caroline F. E. Spurgeon. He shows, however, in his use of the facts his own familiarity with Chaucer studies in both English and French literature,—though one wonders why he did not utilize the wealth of bibliographical materials so carefully collected by Miss Eleanor P. Hammond in her *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* (Macmillan, 1908), nor even refer to this well-known book.

Chaucer the man, according to Mr. Lailavoix (p. vi), "was no doubt known of a few in France, such as Machaut and Deschamps" in the latter years of the fourteenth century. "But Chaucer, the poet, was not looked upon as a master of verse, as a creator, from whose works anything could be learnt." The "one solitary instance of a Frenchman (in the fifteenth century) who was well acquainted with Chaucer and counted the *Canterbury Tales* amongst his favourite books," "was Jean d'Orléans, Comte d'Angoulême, brother to Charles d'Orléans, the 'courtly maker.'" He was kept in an English prison for thirty-three years (1412 to 1445) by the Clarence family, and it was probably through one of his gaolers, "William Pole, Earl of Suffolk," or his own brother Charles that he became acquainted with the *Canterbury Tales*. But almost no references are found to Chaucer or his works in French literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is a very brief record of "Geoffroy Chaucer, called the English Homer on account of his fine Verse" in Louis Moréri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (1674), at which the readers "must have experienced no little surprise" (p. x). And Mr. Lailavoix does not think the French interest in Chaucer during the eighteenth century was so much due to the Protestant journals printed at the Hague—a view generally held—as to the publication by a Swiss, Bêat de Muralt, of his *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* in the year 1725. "They came upon the French like a thunderbolt, and incensed their national

pride to an incredible degree by the assertion they contained, that English literature was superior to French literature, and English character and intellect correspondingly finer" (p. xvi).

Voltaire in his *Lettres Philosophiques ou Lettres Anglaises* (1734) and the Abbé Prévost through his journal *Le Pour et Contre* make a few incidental references to Chaucer. But it was by means of "the dissertations of Yart, Trochereau, and Chauffepié" that the French public in the first half of the eighteenth century became familiar with the name of the great English poet. The first of these significant contributions was the *Idée de la Poésie Angloise, ou Traduction des meilleurs Poètes Anglois, qui n'ont point encore paru dans notre Langue* (1749) by the Abbé Yart. It is a "sort of miscellany containing poems by Philips, Swift, and Pope," and translations of several English critical appreciations. "The seventh volume contains a 'Discourse on Tales,' a 'Life of Chaucer,' and a translation of Dryden's 'Palamon and Arcite.'" In his personal appreciation of the *Canterbury Tales* the Abbé says, among other things: "What is really original in Chaucer is the diversity of the characters who relate the tales, . . . he painted from nature their characters, their dress, their virtues, and vices, but nevertheless his portraits are so strange, so peculiar, his characters so unpleasant and indecent, his satire so cruel and profane that, despite the artistic concern which guided me in my translation, I cannot hope to have made them bearable."

By the middle of the eighteenth century Chaucer had "gained a sure foothold in France," as is shown by the fact that his name began to appear in dictionaries and encyclopaedias. But it was in the nineteenth century for the first time, especially between the years 1830 and 1900, that a really conscientious investigation of England's literary history was undertaken by numerous French scholars. "I counted between those dates," says Lailavoix, "no less than forty books, articles, or notices dealing with Chaucer. . . . They are not all of equal value, of course, but it must be admitted that this is a remarkable achieve-

ment." He then gives the titles of and he comments on several of the most important books on Chaucer that were published in France during the nineteenth century.

The titles of the several chapters of M. Legouis' work are as follows: Chap. I, The Poet's Biography; Chap. II, The Making of Chaucer as a Poet; Chap. III, The Allegorical Poems; Chap. IV, Chaucer and Italy; Chap. V, The Canterbury Tales: Sources and Composition; Chap. VI, The Canterbury Tales: a Literary Study. It would be interesting to take up these chapters separately and try to show by specific references and quotations the real character and quality of the work. But limited space and time force me to forego the task of doing this. I can, however, assure every student who enjoys reading good criticism and who wishes to obtain a fair, impartial, excellent picture of the poet, his works and times,—and all in comparatively few pages—that Legouis' book is one of the best ever printed on the subject.

The carping critic and the serious student of Chaucerian manuscript readings and of remote medieval sources of Chaucer's poems would doubtless be able to find occasional errors and omissions in Professor Legouis' work. But he did not write his book for such people,—he aimed at a very different and much larger public. He has placed before the reader all the facts of the poet's life in their proper relation to contemporary history. His criticism of the various poems is throughout broad, fair, sane and discriminating, sometimes enthusiastic, and always written in a beautiful and graceful style.

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An Introduction to the French Classical Drama, by ELEANOR F. JOURDAIN. Oxford University Press, 1912. 208 pp.

This book may be used with profit by high-school and college students of French Classical tragedy. Its author has read Corneille and Racine with sympathy and understanding,

profiting in her treatment of them by an intelligent use of Lanson, Bergson, Paul Janet, Butcher, and other modern writers. She has put her results in a style that is usually clear and interesting, and has avoided entangling her readers in cumbersome details of biographies and plots. It is unfortunate that she has added her hurried chapters on Molière, which show numerous errors in fact and idea. Special students of the period will find in the book little that is new. They will note both lack of acquaintance with minor Seventeenth Century dramatists and a tendency to put too much faith in critics of doubtful authority. But, if the volume is used with care, it will, I believe, be helpful in presenting to a class the essential values of French tragedy.

An introductory chapter characterizes the various types of dramatic writing found in Seventeenth-Century France and gives reasons for the peculiarities of the Classical type of drama. The chapters on Corneille point out clearly his originality and versatility, his importance in establishing a tragedy of ideas, based on a Christian conception of the universe and a firm confidence in the human will. His independent attitude towards Aristotle, which critics have so frequently misunderstood, and the qualities in which he resembles the Spanish dramatists, are especially emphasized. The study of Racine discusses his treatment of passion and its consequences, his insistence upon the inner struggle, and the importance he assigns to time and place in his lines, where, as with Shakespeare, the real scenery is found. The author concludes with a fine defense of Racine as the poetical dramatist *par excellence* who never forgets his dramatic business for lyric or philosophic flights that have little to do with the matter at hand.

In spite of much that is excellent, the following slips occur:

P. 12; the definition of the tragi-comedy is unsatisfactory, for it would exclude such regular pieces as Du Ryer's *Nitocris* and include plays with an unhappy ending.—P. 13; "The women on the Cornelian stage are . . . never moved only by personal considerations." This statement is not true of Camille.—P. 21;

"The audience in a French theatre was chiefly composed of learned and literary people;" an observation true only of Sixteenth-Century Classical tragedy and of plays given later at court.—P. 27; "The earliest known productions in prose on the stage were the comedies of Molière." The preface to Scudéry's *Axiane*, published in 1644, mentions the success on the stage of three or four prose plays. *Axiane* itself, Du Ryer's *Bérénice*, and the dramas of Puget de la Serre were all in prose and precede Molière's comedies.—P. 29; "Racine was the first playwright to insist on the actors using natural inflexions instead of a stilted manner of voice production." This is said in spite of a reference to the *Impromptu de Versailles*, yet the latter play and especially the ninth scene of the *Précieuses ridicules* show clearly enough that Molière trained his troupe to recite "comme l'on parle" long before Racine.—P. 33; the stage was "comparatively unencumbered by scenery except in the case of the comedies of Molière." A study of Mahelet's *Mémoire* would have made the author confine this statement to Classical tragedy and prevented her implication that Molière's comedies required more scenery than his contemporaries'.—P. 37; the *Cid* is referred to as "high comedy," though it is treated elsewhere as tragedy.—P. 45; the *Menteur* (1647) is called the first comedy of manners, although the *Veuve*, much earlier in date, is designated as a comedy of manners on page 36. If the last statement is withdrawn and the title withheld from Corneille's early comedies, priority in the *genre* should be assigned to the *Visionnaires* of Desmarets rather than to the *Menteur*.—P. 90; "The dispute over *Le Cid* was the occasion on which the unities appeared as rules of art." This is ambiguous. The dispute over the *Cid* was not the first time the three unities were mentioned and dramatists continued to violate them after this occasion.

The chapters on Molière are unsatisfactory. Evidently far less at home here than with the writers of tragedy, the author stumbles into the mistake of saying something, however little, about each of Molière's plays, with the result that, in the limited space she allows herself,

she gives a confused idea of most of the plays and says little that is important about any of them. P. 98; "Molière's connexion with the French stage lasted from 1645, when he became an actor." He founded the Illustre Théâtre in 1643.—P. 99; his theatrical venture "was unsuccessful in Paris, and Molière therefore went to Lyon in 1653. Here he presented *L'Étourdi*, and at Béziers *Dépit amoureux*. In 1658 he moved to Rouen." From these sentences a student would receive an incorrect idea of Molière's years of wandering through the provinces.—P. 106; "In *L'École des Maris* he [Sganarelle] is the guardian of Agnès." The name of Sganarelle's ward is Isabelle.—Pp. 98–116; the emphasis put upon the Italian farces leads one to undervalue the important influence upon Molière of French farce and Spanish and Latin comedy.—P. 117; in her criticism of the *École des Maris*, to which she gives more space than to the *Femmes savantes*, the author declares that Molière "may have owed something—certainly not much—to earlier writers." She is evidently ignorant of the fact that the plot is taken almost entirely from Mendoza's *El marido hace mujer*.¹—P. 133; "Prose is freely used in a good many of Molière's plays. *Les Femmes Savantes* is the only serious exception." Substitute *Tartuffe* and *Amphitryon*.—Pp. 132–133; "Molière may be regarded as one of Larivey's disciples." The remark gives a false impression. It is quoted from Sidney Lee, who is not an authority in the French field.

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Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiæ. Curante Societate Dantea quæ est Cantabrigiæ in Nova Anglia, ediderunt EDUARDUS KENNARD RAND et ERNESTUS HATCH WILKINS, quos adjuvit ALANUS CAMPBELL WHITE. Oxonii, e Prelo Clarendoniano, 1912. 8vo., viii + 578 pp.

Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca. Compilata da KENNETH MCKENZIE. Oxford, nella Stamperia dell' Università; New Haven, nella Stamperia dell' Università Yale, 1912. 8vo., xvi + 520 pp.

'It requireth not so much learning as diligence' was remarked of concordance-making more than three hundred years ago; 'è doverosa più dell' originalità la perfetta diligenza,' writes Professor McKenzie. Diligence is, of course, indispensable; in preparing the concordances before us sound learning was quite as necessary; withal the task requires no little imagination—imagination guided by much scholarly experience, and constantly prefiguring to the editor the many various uses which scholars and readers will make of the book. The concordances to Petrarch and to the Latin works of Dante are excellent illustrations of such diligence, learning, and imagination. As far as I have tested them no instance is overlooked, and the contexts are chosen with proper economy and regard for the meaning of the word which they illustrate.

One who has never set his hand to the making of a concordance will not realize from how many different plans and methods of such work the compiler has to choose. In these cases the compilers fortunately had a good model in Professor Sheldon's concordance to the minor Italian works of Dante, and they have closely followed his plan. It is one feature of this plan entirely to omit only a very few words, and those the words of least significance; but for many minor words only the more important instances are quoted, the rest being listed by mere citation, often with a brief parenthetical indication of context. This imposes upon the compilers a heavy task of more or less arbitrary selection, and it can hardly be expected that all

¹ Even without a knowledge of Martinenche's *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, she could have derived this information from Rigal's *Molière*, I, 141. Perhaps she was led into error by Mathews, who makes the same mistake in his *Molière*, p. 93.

readers will agree with their decision to quote this or merely to cite that. Why should all instances of *bene* and *hic* (adv.) be quoted, while many instances of *video* and most of *scio* are merely cited? But the parenthetical illustrations of *video* and *scio* are so extensive as to raise doubt whether it would not have been as well to give a complete list of quotations instead. Similarly in the Petrarch the instances of *sapere* are heaped together in a solid mass of citation, though the parenthetical illustrations often amount to quotation, and might better have been arranged as a complete list of quotations of the word. The same is true of so important a word as *solo*, while *vedere* presents a mere list of inflected forms and references to the text; at the same time *bene* and *ivi* are honored with complete and long lists of full quotations.

The second most characteristic feature of this plan is the grouping of all various inflected forms of a word under one head-form—of verbs under the present infinitive or first person singular present indicative; of nouns and adjectives under the form of the singular (masculine of adjectives). This method has obvious advantages in recording a highly inflected language. As Professor McKenzie points out,¹ in the Fay concordance to the *Divine Comedy* some one hundred instances of *uscire* are recorded, at a great disadvantage, under thirty-three headings. The editors have wisely rejected this method. Especially would it be inappropriate to concordances such as these which contain not much above 30,000 quotations. Our experience has shown, however, that in English concordances, where inflection is more simple and regular, particularly in concordances to texts as voluminous as the Bible, Shakespeare, and Wordsworth, the separate listing of each form, with proper use of cross-references, is more convenient.

¹ *Means and End in Making a Concordance*, Boston, Ginn & Co. This article contains much interesting matter on the history of concordances. With it should be mentioned two others: *Methods in making a Concordance*, by Ernest H. Wilkins; and *The Latin Concordance of Dante*, by Edward K. Rand; both appeared in the Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Dante Society.

The Dante Concordance is based upon the text of Dr. Moore's third edition of the poet's works (Oxford, 1904), but important variants have been recorded. It includes not merely the Latin works, but all Latin words and quotations in the other works of Dante, and, indeed, all words not included in the two other Dante concordances. It thus completes the index of Dante's language.

Professor McKenzie has adopted for the *Canzoniere* the Salvo-Cozzo text (Florence, 1904) and for the *Trionfi* that of Appel (Halle, 1901). He has recorded the variants, and provided double references and a comparative table of numeration which make the concordance useful with any edition. Considering the nature of the poetry indexed, the pronoun *io* seems quite significant enough to warrant a full, if extensive, list of quotations. It is, however, omitted. A list of all similes under *che* and *come* would surely have been illuminating.

Perfect consistency is perhaps unattainable in works of this kind. We find *benedictus* not under *benedicere*, but apart, while *dilectus* is under *diligere*. *Benedetto* and *morto* are listed under *benedicere* and *morire*, *fisso*, *misto* are listed apart, and *colto* is under both *cogliere* and *colto*. But the participial adjective is not always easily distinguished, and such trifling irregularities do not in the least impair the excellence of these concordances. They are mentioned only because greater ones are not to be found.

What exquisite reason, one may ask, requires that the Preface and all editorial accoutrement, even the title-page, of a concordance to the Latin works of an Italian, compiled by American scholars, and published in England, should, to the last syllable, be written in Latin?

Concordances excellent as these never show how great patience, labor, learning, skill, and discrimination have entered into the making of them. In this respect the task is a thankless one; but the compilers have done a substantial and permanent service to the memory of Petrarch and Dante, which will be more and more valued by those who appreciate these poets, and who study them or any subjects related to them.

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FRITZ STRICH, *Schiller, Sein Leben und sein Werk*. (Schillers Sämtliche Werke, Band 13.) Leipzig: Tempel Verlag, 1912. 8vo., pp. 481.

This book gives the story of Schiller's life and work in simple chronological development, without excessive massing of the material. One regrets, sometimes, that the story runs along so much like improvisation, that organic articulation is not more strikingly visible, and that variety is not given to the tale by a more contrasting play of light and shade. Nevertheless a distinct unity of impression is left by the book, and one recognises, throughout, an organising principle which has determined Strich's handling of Schiller's life and work in every part and as a whole, and which has given a unity to the manifoldness of biographical and literary detail quite different from mere biographical unity. The organising and unifying principle by which he has attained this result he found in Schiller's 'experience' or *Erlebnis*, that is, in Schiller's characteristic reaction upon the material of life and the fact of living.

It is this recognition of the close connection between a poet's fundamental rhythm of 'experience' and his work, leading as it does to a careful formulation of the 'experience,' which makes all criticism vital, and it marks a tendency in recent scholarly writing. Moreover, this looking at a man's entire life *sub specie 'individualitatis'* is closely related to the modern movement which demands that a poet's productions be interpreted by bringing to bear upon them his conscious philosophical thought and theory. In this conception of criticism Strich is in harmony with writers like Dilthey, Witkop, and Petsch.

In his Introduction, and again and again at important points throughout the book, Strich formulates Schiller's fundamental 'experience.' In the first place he recalls the fact that on the one hand Schiller felt strongly the compulsion of the sense-life, but that on the other hand he was moved even more strongly by the desire to control the material thus given by the senses. Hence he defines Schiller's 'experience' as an overwhelming consciousness of the dualism of

life; a consciousness permeated, however, by a mastering desire to rise out of the dualism into a higher monistic experience in which the two opposing forces of matter and form—of natural 'life' and the 'ideal'—should be reconciled and harmonised: an experience, indeed, in which man's entire humanity, his sense-impulse as well as his form-impulse, should be allowed free and joyful play. The ideal of freedom from natural necessity which philosophy is bound to posit thus being Schiller's constant ideal, his poetic work is seen to be the expression of the various stages in the evolution of his conception of freedom: the poet of political and social freedom becoming at last the apostle of moral-aesthetic freedom.

Strich shows how this personal experience of dualism, and the later attainment of freedom and harmony broadens out in Schiller's experience of it into a typical, universal human experience; how it becomes the symbol of man's progress from unity and the unconscious harmony of nature in which he lived at the beginning of individual and race development, through consciousness of dualism, on to new unity and harmony attained by aesthetic superman at the goal of historic evolution.

This formulation of Schiller's philosophic conceptions is by no means new, but the way in which Strich constantly and consistently brings the formula to bear upon all the facts of Schiller's life and writing is unique, and is unusually illuminating and suggestive.

Thus Strich points out, in the first place, that tragedy with its theme of conflict is the form of expression demanded inevitably by Schiller's antithetical 'experience'; that the themes of his dramas all represent phases of the struggle between natural necessity and spiritual freedom; and that his selection of characters from history is due to their value as giving illustrations of this struggle. He likewise calls attention to the fact that the antithetical rhythm of Schiller's 'experience' is reflected even in the details of scene-structure and versification.

Strich gives a good analysis of the difference between Schiller's theory of life before and after his study of Kant, yet he shows that there is no radical break between the two periods.

In both periods Schiller dreamed of a new man and a new golden age, and in both he sought to reconcile the 'ideal' and 'life.' Strich's discussions of *Die Räuber* as the first of the poet's embodiments of this universal human struggle is excellent.

The chapter on the philosophical essays is very complete; and the results of the philosophical period for Schiller's poetic work and theory are well summarised. Very good is the discussion of *Die Götter Griechenlands* as the first, and of *Das Ideal und das Leben* as the "crown" of the philosophic lyrics; the remarks on *Das Lied von der Glocke* are also interesting and suggestive. The analyses of the rhythmic structure of Schiller's work are careful, and particularly noteworthy for the way in which Strich relates the rhythmic form to the rhythm of Schiller's 'experience.'

When interpreting the dramas written after the philosophical period, Strich keeps in mind constantly Schiller's philosophical ideas. Especially good is the discussion of *Wallenstein*, the drama which was written when Schiller's mind and mood were still deeply occupied with his convictions concerning the "sublime," the "realist," the "idealist," and the "beautiful soul." Particularly interesting, finally, is the explanation of the theme and the "romanticism" in *Die Jungfrau von Orleans*. Strich says that the development of Johanna from harmony and nature "at the beginning," through dualism, to harmony and nature "at the end," is the most complete symbol given by Schiller of his scheme of human evolution, and that it is at the same time the most complete and personal expression given by him of his own development.

Inasmuch as this biography was written for the general reader, it does not aim to give new facts; and although much of the material, especially that taken from letters, is largely given in Schiller's own phrasing, the text is not burdened with constant references. Nevertheless the book is scholarly and based on independent use of the sources. It is undoubtedly a valuable addition to the array of works on Schiller.

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CORRESPONDENCE

SPENSER'S *Astrophel*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Professor W. P. Mustard, in the section devoted to Bion's *Adonis* in his long paper, "Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets" (*American Journal of Philology*, vol. 30, pp. 245–283), does not refer at all to Spenser's *Astrophel*. That Spenser, however, was indebted in this poem to Bion's *Lament for Adonis* is sufficiently known, but I believe that neither the character of this indebtedness nor its extent have ever been indicated exactly. Perhaps in view of this it may be interesting, or even useful, to note the resemblances between the two poems. In my quotations from Bion I have, for greater convenience, used the translation made by Lang, indicating, however, the line numbers of the Greek text in parentheses.

When Spenser says of *Astrophel's* hunting expedition (ll. 89–90):

"What need perill to be sought abroad,
Since round about us it doth make abroad?"

is he not echoing Cypris' cry (ll. 60–61):

"For why, ah overbold, didst thou follow the chase, and being so fair, why wert thou thus overhardy to fight with beasts?"

A little further on, where *Astrophel* is fighting his unnamed 'salvage pray,' it appears as if it were almost by inadvertence that Spenser makes one of his two principal weapons a 'sharp borespear.' It shows, however, which way his thought was tending. In closely following stanzas we read how 'a cruell beast' (ll. 118–124),

"With fell tooth accustomed to blood,
Launched his thigh with so mischievous might,
That it both bone and muscles ryved quight.

"So deadly was the dint and deep the wound,
And so huge streames of blood thereout did flow,
That he endured not the direfull stound,
But on the cold dear earth himselfe did throw."

And thus Bion tells us about the death of Adonis (ll. 7-10, and l. 16) :

"Low on the hills is lying the lovely Adonis, and his thigh with the boar's tusk, his white thigh with the boar's tusk is wounded. . . . His dark blood drips down his skin of snow, beneath his brows his eyes wax heavy and dim. . . . A cruel, cruel wound on his thigh hath Adonis."

We now pass on to two very striking resemblances. In Spenser's poem the wounded Astrophel is borne into the presence of Stella, and (ll. 151-168),

"She, when she saw her love in such a plight,
With cruddled blood and filthie gore deformed,
That wont to be with flowers and gyrlonds dight,
And her deare favours dearly well adorned,
Her face, the fairest face that eye mote see,
She likewise did deforme like him to bee.

"Her yellow locks, that shone so bright and long,
As sunny beames in fairest somers day,
She fiersly tore, and with outrageous wrong
From her red cheeks the roses rent away,
And her faire brest, the treasury of joy,
She spoyld thereof, and filled with annoy.

"His palled face, impictured with death,
She bathed oft with tears and dried oft:
And with sweet kisses suckt the wasting breath
Out of his lips like lillies pale and soft:
And oft she cald to him, who answerd nought,
But onely by his lookes did tell his thought."

With lines 151 to 154 and 163 to 168 of this quotation compare the following from the *Adonis* (ll. 40-49) :

"When she saw, when she marked the unstaunched wound of Adonis, when she saw the bright red blood about his languid thigh, she cast her arms abroad and moaned, 'Abide with me, Adonis, hapless Adonis abide, that this last time of all I may possess thee, that I may cast myself about thee, and lips with lips may mingle. Awake Adonis, for a little while, and kiss me yet again, the latest kiss! Nay kiss me but a moment, but the lifetime of a kiss, till from thine inmost soul into my lips, into my heart, thy life-breath ebb, and till I drain thy sweet love-philtre, and drink down all thy love.'"

And with lines 155 to 162 of my quotation compare this from the *Adonis* (ll. 29-31) :

"She hath lost her lovely lord, with him she hath lost her sacred beauty. Fair was the form of Cypris, while Adonis was living, but her beauty has died with Adonis!"

Two more similarities may be noted. It will be remembered that Cypris laments her inability to die and so follow Adonis to Hades (ll. 52-53) :

"While wretched I yet live, being a goddess, and may not follow thee!"

Stella, however, is not involved in this difficulty, and hence Spenser makes her cement her bond with Astrophel by dying immediately upon his death (ll. 173-180). It will be recalled, too, that in Bion the tears of Cypris and the blood of Adonis are turned into flowers on touching the ground (ll. 64-66) :

"A tear the Paphian sheds for each blood-drop of Adonis, and tears and blood on the earth are turned to flowers. The blood brings forth the rose, the tears, the wind-flower."

Spenser does not follow Bion in this particular, but in his poem the all-pitying gods do turn the dead bodies of Astrophel and Stella into a mysterious flower which has never been satisfactorily identified (ll. 181-192).

The similarities here mentioned are obvious enough, but it will be seen that they are by no means close parallels, that they are rather what we call 'general resemblances.' On this account they might tend to lose some of their force were it not for the fact that one scarcely can help seeing how Spenser has, almost literally, dragged certain of these passages into the poem. We know that as a matter of fact Stella was not faithful to Sidney, that she did not noticeably bewail his death, that she certainly did not destroy her beauty for his sake, and that she managed to live with apparent comfort for a number of years after his death. These elements of fiction introduced by Spenser do but add forcibly to an air of unreality that pervades the whole poem; and they add weight to the suggestion that this was a piece of work which Spenser very probably found difficult of accomplishment. An elegy had to be written, for some reason the quality of inspiration could not be summoned

at the moment, and perhaps it was from a lack of material with which to round out an adequate poem that Spenser had recourse to borrowings more strikingly inappropriate than now. Such an explanation goes far towards accounting for the forced, conventional tone evident all through *Astrophel*.

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THE *y-i* OF *employons-emploie, paye-paie*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I notice, in the reviews of Romance language text-books appearing latterly in *Modern Language Notes*, a much to be approved tendency towards constructive criticism. This advent, in the field in question, of what might be called "educational research" must meet with the approval of all who read for specific information and not for air-drawn generalities. Mr. Spiers' short review, in the April issue, of Mr. Snow's *Fundamentals of French Grammar* is an example of how this method can be applied even in the case of short notices. Specific in his references, constructive in his criticism, he makes it profitable perhaps to take issue with him in case you disagree.

One of the criticisms he makes in his review is concerned with the terminology used by Mr. Snow in his treatment of verbs like *employer* and *payer*. "The appearance," he says, "now of *y*, now of *i* in the various form of *croire, employer, asseoir*, etc., Mr. Snow explains under the heading of 'Orthographic Conventions.' . . . This can hardly be an 'orthographic' convention, since Mr. Snow's own phonetic transcription shows a different pronunciation for *y* and *i* in *employons* and *emploient*. More than this, it is well to remember that where two spellings are allowed, e. g., *paye* and *paie*, two pronunciations certainly exist in modern speech (however close the connection, if any, may be between the written and the spoken forms)."

A question of pedagogical method is here involved. It is true that in the case of *paye* and *paie* two pronunciations exist. According to

Michaelis and Passy's *Dictionnaire phonétique* (p. 315, A, 2 and 4), there are even three pronunciations of the word. The point at issue, however, is whether or not the two or three pronunciations are *all* symbolized by *either* of the two spellings; and this I believe to be the case. But even if the two or three pronunciations are not all symbolized by either of the two spellings, in order to be pedagogically sound the writer of an elementary grammar must make his choice and state his rule accordingly. Now it so happens that the pronunciation of *paye* or *paie* with a final *y*-sound (*y* of *yeux*) may be regarded as the normal one. This may also be said of the pronunciation of *emploi*.¹ In this normal pronunciation, therefore, it matters not whether the letter in the class of words here concerned be a *y* or an *i* (*employons* or *emploient*; *paye* or *paie*) the pronunciation remains the same; and hence the use of the term "orthographic" is not only justified by the facts, but is made pedagogically imperative.

Mr. Snow, however, has chosen, partly perhaps for pedagogical reasons (note the greater ease of utterance), the pronunciation of *emploient* and *payent* in which the final *y*-sound is not heard. And here he may be said to be inconsistent. But the term "orthographic" applied to the linguistic phenomena in question does not, it seems to me, *necessarily* involve an inconsistency. The facts would even seem to make the use of the term almost compulsory.

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ROSTAND AND ERASMUS

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I venture to call attention to a passage in the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, which, so far as I know, has not been brought into connection with Rostand's famous *tour de force* on Cyrano de Bergerac's nose.

In the first place, it is of course well known that the Cyrano of flesh and blood had nothing

¹ Cf. Michaelis and Passy, *Dictionnaire phonétique*, p. 315.

more than a generous endowment in this commanding feature of his face; and certainly he did not go about as a swashbuckler fighting duels to force a de Valvert to respect Nature's exaggeration. "If his portrait may be trusted, the nose was such a one as many men who want a sign of power on their faces would be glad to own" (Morley, *Gulliver's Travels, with some account of Cyrano de Bergerac*, p. 420). It would seem, therefore, that Rostand drew most heavily upon his imagination in Cyrano's tirade, wherein the nose is given its *bien des choses* characterization: a crag, peak, promontory, peninsula, inkhorn, scissor case, roost for birds, peg to hang one's hat on, a Red Sea when it bleeds, a Triton's conch, etc. (Act I, Sc. 4.)

But possibly Rostand did not evolve these conceits wholly out of his own imagination. In the *de Captandis Sacerdotiis*, or colloquy on Benefice Hunting, Erasmus represents two quondam friends, Pamphagus and Cocles, as meeting after more than twenty years' separation. During this time Pamphagus has wandered much. The two greet each other, and an allusion is made to the wanderings of Ulysses and the way he was recognized on his return by a certain physical mark. Thereupon (I translate from the Amsterdam edition of 1621):

Co. Do you wonder that I recognize you when you have such a remarkable nose?—*Pa.* I am by no means sorry to have this nose.—*Co.* Nor should you be, since it is a thing fit for so many uses.—*Pa.* For what, indeed?—*Co.* First, to serve as an extinguisher to snuff out candles.—*Pa.* Go on.—*Co.* Then again, if you should want to draw an object from a deep pit, it will serve as an elephant's trunk.—*Pa.* Wonderful!—*Co.* If your hands are engaged, it may be used as a peg.—*Pa.* Is there any further use?—*Co.* To blow the fire withal, if you have no bellows.—*Pa.* Very neat! And what else?—*Co.* If the light annoys you when writing, it will serve as a sunshade.—*Pa.* Ha, ha, ha! Have you any more of this?—*Co.* In a sea fight you may use it for a grappling hook.—*Pa.* And for what in a land fight?—*Co.* Why then a shield.—*Pa.* And what else?—*Co.* It may serve for a wedge to cleave wood withal.—*Pa.* Excellent!—*Co.* If you take the part of a herald, it will serve as a trumpet; to sound an

alarm, a horn; if you dig, a spade; if you reap, a sickle; if you sail, an anchor; in the kitchen, a flesh hook; in fishing, a fish hook.

Pamphagus thereupon declares himself blest in having, though he knew it not, so useful a piece of furnishment.

There are striking differences, to be sure, between the two passages. Rostand, for example, is circumstantial as to the *ton* in each comparison, and it is the owner of the nose who makes the comparisons with such disdainful *hauteur*. In Erasmus the owner of the nose listens in amusement to the comparisons made by his friend, and the comparisons are not characterized as to tone, though most of them slip easily into the various classifications of the French. At any rate, some of the conceits are identical, and the general resemblance is much more striking than the particular differences. Furthermore, the Erasmus passage, if Rostand had it in mind, is not more changed than is the historical Cyrano.

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HAMLET'S "ha, ha!"

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Professor J. Q. Adams' conjectures in *MLN.*, xxviii, 40, that Hamlet's "ha, ha!" (III, i, 103) is not a laugh, but "an involuntary utterance of surprise." Several instances in which "ha" and "ah" are used interchangeably in different folios and quartos of Shakespeare tend to confirm Professor Adams' interpretation. *Wives* (II, ii, 136): ah, ha, F.₁, Q.₃, ah, ah, F.₃ F.₄; *Troilus* (IV, ii, 82): Q.₂ ah, ah! Ff. ah, ha. Hamlet's exclamation would, then, more correctly be printed "ah, ha."

To the expression "ah, ha," Schmidt assigns the meaning of "triumph mixed with some contempt;" to this meaning may be added that of surprised discovery. Hamlet had already employed this exclamation in the sense of surprised discovery, when replying to the Ghost's injunction to swear (I, v, 150): "Ah, ha, boy! say'st thou so? art thou there, true-

penny?" It is significant for our purpose that in this passage the "ah" of the folios replaces the "ha" of the quartos.

Dr. Furness in a note in *Love's Labour's Lost* (III, i, 53) calls attention to the fact that Armado's "ha, ha!" is 'hardly a laugh,' but an expression of surprise with the meaning of "Hey? Hey?"

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THE SOURCE OF *Britannicus*, II, 6

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In pointing out (*MLN.*, November, 1912) the interesting parallel between *Britannicus*, II, 6, and a similar scene in Rotrou's *Bélisaire*, Mr. H. C. Lancaster remarks that "there is no evidence to show that Rotrou borrowed the episode from another author of fiction." This statement needs qualification. Rotrou's *Bélisaire* is a free, and at times unskilful, adaptation of Mira de Amescua's powerful play, *El exemplo mayor de la desdicha y capitán Belisario* (1625).¹ As I hope to show elsewhere the exact relation between the French play and its Spanish source, it may suffice here to analyse briefly the part of the *jornada primera* which corresponds to *Bélisaire*, II, 2-3. In the Spanish original² the Empress Theodora enjoins upon Antonia not to show her love for Belisario, unless she desires his ruin:

fol. 10 v. Tu amor sera su beneno;
tu le matas si le quieres.

¹ Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Littérature Espagnole*, Paris, 1904, p. 324.

² I quote from a copy of the manuscript described by Paz y Melia, *Catálogo* . . . , No. 1057, and by Barrera, *Catálogo bibliográfico*, p. 258, col. b. The play is often ascribed to Lope, and was frequently printed. The Biblioteca Nacional possesses the following single editions: Barcelona, Piferrer, 1771; Valencia, Orga, 1781; Madrid, Quiraga, 1796; Sevilla, Leefdael, s. a.; Sevilla, Padrino, s. a.; Salamanca, Santa Cruz, s. a. It is also contained in several collections of plays published during the 17th century; see Barrera, *l. c.*

As Belisario arrives, she warns her:

fol. 13. Adbierte
que tras de esta celosia
le e de escuchar.

When the victorious general protests his love, Antonia dares not reveal her true feelings, for fear of the hidden rival. She tries to dissuade Belisario from his love in allusions which he does not understand; then she hurries away with these words:

fol. 13 v. Vibid, Belisario, vos, (*aparte*)
y cuesteme a mí la vida.³

Belisario, left alone, reflects upon the sudden change in Antonia's attitude, and, as in Rotrou, comes to the conclusion that it was she who incited Leoncio to attempt his, Belisario's, life.

As Racine practically nowhere betrays any influence of the Spanish stage, we may assume that the model for *Britannicus*, II, 6, was not Amescua directly, but Rotrou, and with Mr. Lancaster we may "credit Rotrou alone with suggesting to Racine this excellent situation."

WALTHER FISCHER.

University of Pennsylvania.

EINST IM MAI

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In the edition of Hans Arnold's *Einst im Mai* (Henry Holt & Co., New York) I miss a reference to the beautiful poem *Allerseelen* by Hermann von Gilm (1812-1864).

There can hardly be any doubt that the title of this story is taken from the above-mentioned poem which, as set to music by Eduard Lassen in 1885, has become very popular with the German music-lovers, all the more so since Hartleben in *Rosenmontag* (Act II, Scene 7) has one of the officers sing the first verse with

³ Rotrou II 3: Sans me faire expliquer, que ce
mot vous contente,
Que ma froideur vous sert et vous
est importante.

the evident purpose of creating a feeling of sadness in the midst of the apparent gaiety and of giving a foreboding of the tragic denouement.

There are a number of instances which could be cited as showing a growing tendency among recent German authors to select passages from well-known poems for the titles of their novels, thus e. g., *Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt*, by Ida Boy-Ed; *Alt Heidelberg, du feine, Du bist die Ruh, Der du von dem Himmel bist, Du Schwert an meiner Linken*, by Stratz; *Freiheit die ich meine*, by Ertl.

Those who are familiar with the three productions, *Allerseelen*, *Rosenmontag*, and *Einst im Mai*, will be fully aware of the close relationship between them. In all three of them a love-tale which terminated tragically plays, *mutatis mutandis*, the principal part.

Furthermore, there is between *Allerseelen* and *Einst im Mai* the added coincidence that the love-tale took place in a long gone-by period and, as the title *Allerseelen* indicates, is to be revived, as the dead are, in memory only.

In view of the fact that some readers may not be familiar with Gilm's poem, it is given here in full. It was written in 1844.

ALLERSEELLEN

Stell auf den Tisch die duftenden Reseden,
Die letzten roten Aestern trag herbei,
Und lasz uns wieder von der Liebe reden
Wie einst im Mai.

Gieb mir die Hand, dasz ich sie heimlich drücke,
Und wenn man's sieht, mir ist es einerlei;
Gieb mir nur einen deiner süßen Blicke
Wie einst im Mai.

Es blüht und funkelt heut auf jedem Grabe,
Ein Tag im Jahre ist den Toten frei;
Komm an mein Herz, dasz ich dich wieder habe,
Wie einst im Mai.

It would seem very appropriate to place the three verses of this poem as a motto opposite the first page of the story *Einst im Mai*.

CARL OSTHAUS.

Indiana University.

THE DRAGON AND HIS BROTHER

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Near the close of the Canon's Yeoman's Tale the Yeoman goes off into a disquisition on speculative as contrasted with practical alchemy, and quotes, as he states, from "Arnold of the Newe Toun." His assertion is absolutely correct,¹ and I subjoin the passages in question:

Lo, thus seith Arnold of the Newe Toun,
As his Rosarie maketh mencion;
He seith right thus, with-outen any lye,
'Ther may no man Mercurie mortifye
But it be with his brother knowleching.
How that he, which that first seyde this thing,
Of philosophres fader was, Hermes;
He seith, how that the dragoun, doubtles,
Ne deyeth nat, but-if that he be slayn
With his brother; and that is for to sayn,
By the dragoun, Mercurie and noon other
He understood; and brimstoon by his brother,
That out of *sol* and *luna* were y-drawe.'

G. 1428-40.

Dixit discipulus quare dicunt philosophi quod mercurius non moritur nisi cum fratre interficiatur: magister dixit primus eorum qui dixit fuit hermes qui dixit quod draco nunquam moritur nisi cum fratre interficiatur: vult dicere quod mercurius nunquam moritur id est congelatur nisi cum fratre suo id est sole et luna.²

The remainder of the passage, and the relation of Chaucer to Arnaldus de Villanova, however, have far wider implications than can be considered in a brief note. I hope to treat them very soon at greater length in their bearing not only on the Canon's Yeoman's Tale, but also on Chaucer's knowledge of medieval medicine in general. Arnaldus de Villanova and the other medieval physicians are of the utmost interest for the light they throw on what Chaucer has to say, not only of "the loveres maladye of Hereos," but also of dreams, of images and hours, of remedies of other sorts, and even of the "heed of verre."

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES.

Washington University.

¹Except that it is not from the *Rosarius*, but from the treatise *De lapide philosophorum* that he actually draws—but of that more later.

²*Arnaldi de Villanova Opera*, Lugd., 1532, f. 304.

THE LABORER AND THE BOCHOUR AND THE
SMYTH

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—The common readings of MSS. Ellesmere and Gg, as given by Koch,¹ are often highly interesting. Professor Koch classes a considerable number of passages as doubtful, "in which, it seems, we have to recognize the original form of the text, somehow neglected or defaced by Ell., Gg." It may be instructive to examine one of these "doubtful" passages, in order to understand the practice of the author of these contaminations in the Chaucer text. Lines A2024–2026 in Ell., Gg read:

"There were also of Martes divisioun
The laborer and the bochour and the smyth
That forgoth sharpe swerdes on his styth."

The other principal MSS. of the *Tales* read "barbour" for "laborer."

Wright and Skeat have pointed out the connection between users of metal tools, especially edged ones, and the protection of Mars. Chaucer's use of the "barbour" as "of Martes divisioun" was natural enough. Why, then, the change in Ell., Gg, which is against both metrical and alliterative use?

There must have been in the mind of the scribe an idea that a barber was no fit servant of Mars. Perhaps he turned to his *Vegetius*, where he read some such statement as the following, which I copied from a Scottish version of a century later:

"barbouris, sootaris, writaris, and tailgeoris, and yair avin craft beweill considerit, yai ar na worth for battell, for he may never weill stryke with ax or swerd yat suld have a licht hand to hold rasour, nedill, or pen; for quhat proportionne is of a nedill till a speir, or rasour or pen till ane ax?"²

Vegetius vouched sufficiently, on the other hand, for the butcher and the smith.

"Smythes, writhitis, masonis, ar profitabell to battell werkes . . . and sa ar bouchouris, for yai abhor nocht ye schedding of blude. . . ."

¹ *A Detailed Comparison of the Eight Manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, by John Koch, Ph.D. Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 83–89.

² Extracts printed by the writer in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 402–403.

Vegetius, again, must have been authority for the change of "laborer" for "barbour," the substitution best for sound and sense alike. In the original the scribe must have read:

Lib. I, cap. III. Sequitur ut, utrum de agris, an de urbibus utilior tiro sit, requiramus. De qua parte numquam credo potuisse dubitari, *aptiorem armis rusticam plebem, quae sub divo et in labore nutritur.*³

It would thus appear, from the passages cited, that one at least of the Ell., Gg contaminations can hardly be due to neglect or wilful defacement, the two causes assigned by Koch. Such careful alteration would nowadays be classed under "critical emendation."

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

Yale University.

EIN UNBEKANNTER ENGLISCHER FAUST-
BUCHDRUCK

An der Redaktion der Mod. Lang. Notes.

Nicht unwillkommen dürfte für die Forscher der englischen Faustbücherliteratur die Mitteilung sein, dass zu den verhältnismässig wenigen englischen Faustbücherdrucken noch ein bisher unbekannter hinzugefügt werden kann. Er befindet sich in den Sammlungen der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris und ist überhaupt das einzige von den deutschen, holländischen und englischen Faust-Wagnervolksbüchern, das die genannte Bibliothek besitzt. Inventaire E. 2338 (5). London, John Wright 1634, 4°. Grösse: 19.5 x 14.2 cm. (beim Einbinden beschnitten, die ursprüngliche Breite dürfte sich auf 15.2 cm. belaufen). Titel: The || Historie || of || the damnable || life / and deserved || death of doctor || John Faustus. || Newly printed and in convenient places / imperfect || matter amended: according to the true copie printed || at Frankfort: and translated into English/ || By P. R. Gent. || (Holzschnitt: Ein Zauberer ein Buch und einen Stab haltend inmitten eines Kreises, dessen Umfang in Abschnitte geteilt ist. Jeder von diesen enthält ein astrologisches Zeichen. Ausserhalb des Krieses steigt ein Teufel aus der Erde heraus

³ *Fl. Vegetii Renati De Re Militari Lib. V*; ed. Schwebel, 1806, p. 6.

und streikt seine Krallen gegen den Kreis. Als Hintergrund eine Mauer mit Fenster und aufgehängten Geräten verschiedener Art.) Printed at London for John Wright / and are to be sold at the signe of the || Bible in Gilsspur Street neere Newgate 1634. || 44 Blätter signiert mit A-K, nicht paginiert. Gotischer Typensatz mit Antiqua gemischt. Bis auf den Holzschnitt auf dem Titelblatte keine Verzierungen.

Das Exemplar bildet das vierte Stück eines noch im 17. Jahrhundert in weisses Pergament gebundenen Sammelbandes. Es gehört schon seit dieser Zeit der Bibliothèque Nationale an und enthält keine sonstigen Herkunftsvermerke oder Randaufzeichnungen.

JOSEF FRITZ.

Wien.

BRIEF MENTION

J. J. Rousseau raconté par les gazettes de son temps, d'un décret à l'autre (9 juin 1762—21 déc. 1790). Articles recueillis par P.-P. PLAN. Paris: Mercure de France, 1912. 323 pages. The purpose of this book is to give us documentary evidence as to what contemporaries thought of Rousseau—in other words to do for Rousseau what Desgranges had done for Romanticism. To make the testimony more assuredly representative, it would have been desirable to include a greater variety of documents. Practically all the information of the author is derived from two sources: the *Mémoires de Bachaumont* (1762–1785), and the *Correspondance secrète . . . de Métra* (1774–1787). From what we have here we can gather one important thing: The contemporaries appreciated the 'good man' in Rousseau much more than modern critics, especially since Sainte-Beuve, would lead us to believe. One cause of the prevalence of this misconception is that the writings of the Encyclopedists—which are conspicuously hostile to Rousseau—are still so widely read. Mrs. Macdonald attempted a rectification, but the one here offered is based on more impartial documents.

The two "décrets" mentioned on the title page are the one condemning *Emile* and making Rousseau a martyr to his ideas, and the one by which the Assemblée Nationale vindicated the "auteur de *l'Emile* et du *Contrat Social*."

A. S.

The University of Illinois Studies, Vol. IV, No. 3, contains a variorum critical edition by T. E. Oliver of Sedaine's *Philosophe sans le savoir*, preceded by a copious introduction which gives a long description of all known manuscripts (including the famous *souffleur* manuscript), editions, and translations. The text is based on the second Paris edition with appendix (1766), which Mr. Oliver shows (pp. 9–13)—with a wealth of proofs that are not all equally convincing—to represent Sedaine's real thought. Certain obscurities are in evidence, as, for example, in the plan of the Introduction, and a more critical method would have eliminated a number of unimportant variants; but we are under genuine obligation to the editor for having put at our disposition, with conscientious care, all the material needful for establishing the text of this famous work. A. T.

Mr. Emile Faguet's small volume on *Honoré de Balzac*, fifty-fifth in the *Les Grands Ecrivains* series of biographies (Hachette, 1913), sins like the others by being almost devoid of precise indications of its external sources, often of any indications. Its bibliography is meagre and purely casual; there is hardly anywhere an acknowledgment of even the existence of previous biographers, and no index; and there are only 24 words in the *Table des matières*. Such defects (forced, in a way, upon all the contributors to this series) are as useful to the literary hack as they are inconvenient and even compromising to the writer who knows what he owes, knows that others know it, and yet must write, or is tempted to write, as if he were presenting original investigations. The original features of the book are due rather to its author's wide reading, to the copious draughts he makes thereon for his frequently telling comparisons, than to research in unfamiliar fields. Just as one may produce endless combinations with the same pack of cards, so is it possible to recombine a limited number of historical facts; for the most part Mr. Faguet recombines familiar facts, except in handling internal evidence. We may note his "identifications;" also such vital (but not novel) remarks as these: Balzac knows only certain classes of men; "Ce peintre de l'humanité n'est que le peintre, il faut se résigner à le dire, de la bourgeoisie moyenne du temps de Louis Philippe, avec des souvenirs du monde militaire du premier Empire, rien de plus" (p. 55); there is hardly a child in all Balzac's works. Balzac belongs to no particular school but is now one thing, now another, and often a hybrid; yet he founded a school and exercised an influence on

society at large. True; but is it true that Balzac "est responsable de toutes les audaces faciles et condamnables de tous ces romanciers qui ont feint de croire que le réalisme est dans l'étude des exceptions sinistres ou honteuses"? This seems to me a "glittering generalisation." In a word, a more or less entertaining and suggestive book, sometimes even profound, but not thorough; padded with digressions, and too often lacking the artistic finish owed by an academician to all his readers and naturally arising from an orderly presentation of nothing but the most relevant facts. R. T. H.

Le patois de la commune de la Grand'Combe (Paris, Champion, 1910), by F. Boillot, is an important contribution to our knowledge of the popular speech in the department of the Doubs (Grand'Combe is in the Pontarlier arrondissement), and adds new material to that furnished by Roussey, Contejean, Tissot, and Grammont. The book has the form of an alphabetical glossary, illustrated—like Edmont's *Lexique Saint-Polois*—with drawings and photographs, and followed—like Dottin's *Glossaire des parlers du Bas-Maine*—by an analogical classification. While the gender of the words is not indicated and there is an abuse of English citations and of comparisons—in some cases unjustifiable—with the Old French, this glossary, by its richness and by the precision of its definitions (see, for example, the articles *faux*, *maison*, etc.), is on the whole quite valuable. Mr. Boillot follows, besides, the excellent plan of supplementing his glossary by lists of the *lieux-dits* and of the family names and surnames; by phonetic transcriptions of a few selections; and notably by a transcription in the Grand'Combe patois of the set of words and phrases utilized for the *Atlas linguistique de la France*. The notes on morphology and syntax (pp. 1-39) are summary and often contestable; the Introduction, along with interesting remarks on the vitality of the speech of Grand'Combe, contains far too many outworn ideas (for example, p. VI: "le patois est une langue en liberté") which the medical and chemical metaphors fail to render suggestive or convincing. A. T.

The *Histoire illustrée de la littérature française*, reviewed in the February number of the *Notes*, is a member of the series "La Littérature française illustrée," begun in 1912 by the Librairie H. Didier. The series further includes bound and well annotated editions of classic plays at one franc each (*Le Cid*, *Polyeucte*, *Andromaque*, *Britannicus*, *Les Précieuses ridicules*, and *Les Femmes savantes*, have so far

appeared), *Les Caractères* of La Bruyère, and a volume each of *morceaux choisis* for Montesquieu, Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Balzac, and for living French writers. Especial attention has been given to the selection of the illustrations, and the series as a whole commends itself as inexpensive, practical and useful.

The publication of a *Register to Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe*, by the editor-in-chief, Eduard von der Hellen, greatly increases the value of this forty volume edition of Goethe and will go far towards making it, for ordinary purposes, the common standard of reference. The preparation of such an index, even within modest limits, is a laborious task, but in the present instance the boundaries have been most generously drawn, the result being a volume of 423 pages that will prove indispensable to every serious student of Goethe. The references embrace the Introductions and Notes of the separate volumes, and the *Register* thus becomes, in a measure, an index to Goethe's works in the wider sense, including Diaries, Letters, and Conversations. Even significant lines and phrases have been entered, and under the general heads numerous cross-references greatly enlarge the scope and usefulness of the work. How painstaking the editor has been, may be seen from the fact that for proper names references are given wherever the general sense requires it, even though there be no express mention of the name in question. In a work covering so large a ground a certain unevenness is, of course, unavoidable. Thus under 'Englische Bücher' references to 38,169 ('Wallenstein from the German') and 38,211 ('Carlyle, Leben Schillers') were to be expected; whereas, on the other hand, it is not evident why such a maxim as "Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weisz nichts von seiner eigenen" should find entry under 'Englische Sprache.' On every side one is struck with the richness of the repository; witness, under the letter G, such entries as 'Genie,' 'Gleichnis,' 'Geschichte (Wert und Wesen).'

ERRATA

* The following printer's errors occur in Professor Emerson's review of Bateson's *Patience* in *M. L. N.*, June 1913:—p. 176: *onhæton* for *onhæton*, col. 2, l. 23; page 178: (*ge*)*værde* for (*ge*)*vārde*, col. 1, l. 6; *flēm* for *flēm*, col. 1, l. 13; *lænan* for *lænan*, col. 1, l. 18 from bottom; *læðan* for *læ*an*, col. 1, l. 15 from bottom; *swælm*, *swælan*, for *swælm*, *swælan*, col. 2, l. 25; *tæma* for *tæma*, col. 2, l. 33.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 8.

HOOD AND KEATS

Keats's influence is to be found particularly in the poems published in 1827 under the title *The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies*, etc. In the *Ode to the Moon* not only the image of the urn [ll. 65-68] recalls Keats's famous poem, but the mythologic representation of the moon,

Sometimes I watch thee on from steep to steep,
Timidly lighted by thy vestal torch,
Till in some Latmian cave I see thee creep,
To catch the young Endymion asleep,—
Leaving thy splendour at the jagged porch,
[20-24]

is a recollection of *Endymion*.¹ As we should expect there is a certain affinity between Hood's *Ode to Melancholy* and Keats's stanzas on the same argument; nevertheless in spite of the *tone* common to both poets, it may be noticed that Keats's sadness arises from excess of happiness, while Hood's feeling has its source in the fact that the aspirations of the soul are weighed down by the base tendencies of matter [ll. 109-122]. Besides Milton's influence is felt in the rural setting, in the contemplative attitude of mind, which remind us of *Il Penseroso* [21-34]; yet, there is the unique charm of Keats's art in 33-34:

Whilst man is made of his own grave,
And fairest clouds but gilded rain,

and in 92-98:

Now let us with a spell invoke
The full-orb'd moon to grieve our eyes;
Not bright, not bright, but, with a cloud
Lapp'd all about her, as if from rest
The ghost of the late buried sun
Had crept into the skies.

¹ *The Complete Poetical Works of THOMAS HOOD*, ed. by Walter Jerrold. Oxford University Press, 1911, p. 187.—For Endymion, see also *Ode to Melancholy*, 99-107:

The moon, she is the source of sighs . . .
The same fair light that shone in streams,
The fairy lamp that charm'd the lad.

In the ode *Autumn*, and especially in the last strophe, we remark the deadly languor, the exceeding sweetness as of a fruit overripe, the love of beauty deep to sadness, the same *stim-mung* of Keats's homonymous poem; the same flowing music accompanies the melancholy *rêverie*. Keats's lines, anyhow, seem to have been inspired by the drowsy spell of a September sunset, Hood's by a sullen, dark October morning:

She wears a coronal of flowers faded
Upon her forehead, and a face of care;—
There is enough of wither'd everywhere
To make her bower,—and enough of gloom;
There is enough of sadness to invite,
If only for the rose that died,—whose doom
Is Beauty's,—she that with the living bloom
Of conscious cheeks most beautifies the light.
[50-57]

Moreover we notice Keats's technique in

Shaking his languid locks all dewy bright
With tangled gossamer that fell by night,
Pearling his coronet of golden corn,
[6-8]

and in the passages

Where are the songs of Summer? . . .
Where are the blooms of Summer?—In the west
Blushing their last to the last sunny hours, . . .²

The nostalgic passion of *La Belle Dame Sans Mercy* pervades *The Water Lady*; here, as in Keats's ballad, an unearthly being, weird and beautiful, casts a shadow for ever on a pining soul; here we find the strange glamour of the fairy song, and in the fine close a higher symbolism than in Keats's poem.

I know my life will fade away,
I know that I must vainly pine,
For I am made of mortal clay,
But she's divine.

² Cf. Keats's *To Autumn* [*Complete Works*, ed. by H. Buxton Forman. Glasgow. Gowans and Gray, 1901, vol. II, 119]:

Where are the songs of Spring? Ay, where are they?
Think not of them, . . .
While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day, . . .

There is sometimes a soft glow in his landscapes, the same golden, subdued light we find in Keats's pictures, and sometimes that sumptuous brilliancy of fiery hues, which the poet of *Hyperion* took from Spenser's palette.

'Twas in that mellow season of the year,
When the hot Sun sings the yellow leaves
Till they be gold, . . . [I, 1-3] .

And there were crystal pools, peopled with fish
Argent and gold; and some of tyrian skin,
Some crimson-barr'd; . . .

And there were many birds of many dyes, . . .
And stately peacocks with their splendid eyes,
And gorgeous pheasants with their golden glow,
Like Iris just bedabbled in her bow, . . .
[IV, V]

Like Keats, Hood is fond of painting with gorgeous tints the details of his backgrounds,—an iridescent refulgence being the result of this accumulation of minute, bright particulars.

'Tis like the birthday of the world,
When earth was born in bloom;
The light is made of many dyes,
The air is all perfume;
There's crimson buds, and white and blue—
The very rainbow showers
Have turned to blossoms where they fell,
And sown the earth with flow'rs.

There's fary tulips in the East,
The garden of the Sun, . . .
While morn opes like a crimson rose,
Still wet with pearly showers.*

* Cf. Keats:

There the king-fisher saw his plumage bright
Vicing with fish of brilliant dye below;
Whose silken fins, and golden scales' light
Cast upward, through the waves, a ruby glow.
Poet. Works, I, 26.

The fairies' sumptuous garments also betray Spenser's influence;

Then came an elf, right beauteous to behold,
Whose coat was like a brooklet that the sun
Hath all embroider'd with its crooked gold,
It was so quaintly wrought, and overrun,
With spangled tracteries . . .
And as he slept out of the shadows dun,
His jewels sparkled in the pale moon's gleams;
[LIX]

the subtle simile, however, could only have been suggested by Keats's closer observation of nature.

* *Song* [*Poet. Works*, p. 404].

A picture exhibiting a subtle and strange pathos, such as occurs in Keats's *Endymion*, is to be seen in *The Plea of the Midsummer Fairies*, st. xxxvii:

The widow'd primrose weeping to the moon,
And saffron crocus in whose chalice bright
A cool libation hoarded for the noon
Is kept—and she that purifies the light,
The virgin lily, faithful to her white, . . .

and in the same poem one remarks a reflection of Endymion's wanderings in the underworld [Book II], of the "faint eventide of gems" and melodious symphony of far waterfalls, in the passage describing the subterranean rivers.¹⁰ A similar image we meet in the sonnet that Hood wrote in a copy of *Endymion*,

I saw pale Dian, sitting by the brink
Of silver falls, the overflow of fountains. . . .

while he was lamenting the death of the young poet,

And as I mused, in dull imaginings,
There came a flash of garments, and I knew
The awful Muse by her harmonious wings.
Charming the air to music as she flew—
Anon there rose an echo through the vale
Gave back Endymion in a dream-like tale.

FEDERICO OLIVERO.

Torino.

* Cf. *End.*, IV, 910, 698:

Wan as primroses gather'd at midnight . . .
And honeysuckles full of clear bee-wine. . . .
To Fancy, 51-2:

Shaded hyacinth, alway
Sapphire queen of the mid-May;

¹⁰ . . . bubbling springs and fountains, that
below

Course thro' the veiny earth,—which when they
freeze

Into hard chrysolites, we bid to flow.

Creeping like subtle snakes, when, as they go,
We guide their winding to melodious falls, . . .

[LX.]

A FRENCH PROVINCIAL REPERTORY IN 1662

Towards 1662 provincial France, where Hardy and Molière had tried out their early productions before risking them on the more exacting audiences of Paris, was becoming known rather as a field for plays that had enjoyed a run at the capital, but were no longer in favor there. A list of such plays is furnished us by Poisson's *Baron de la Crasse*,¹ in which a travelling troupe offers to act before the noble protagonist, who is as rustic as his title indicates, any of the following pieces:

Eudoxe, et l'Hospital des Fous,
Messieurs, *le Dom Quichot, l'Illusion Comique,*
Argenis, Ibrahim et l'Amour tyrannique,
La Belle Esclave, Orphée, Esther, Alcimédon,
Gustaphe, Sanche-Panse, Erigone, Didon,
Alcionée, Osman, les Captifs, Zénobie,
Le Prince déguisé, Clorise, la Silvie,
Sophonisbe, Andromire, Agis, Coriolan,
Cléopatre, Quixaire, Eurimédon, Sejan,
L'Inconstance d'Hylas, Clarimonde, Penthée,
Téléphonte, Arbiran, Laure persécutée,
L'Aveugle clairvoyant, Mirame, Darius,
Le Prince fugitif, Roazane, Arminius,
Roland le Furieux, Palène, Mithridate,
Dom Sanche d'Aragon, Mélite, Tyridate.

This passage indicates that all of these plays had been represented at Paris, for Poisson, who was an actor as well as a dramatist, would not have selected for a list of this sort closet dramas, unknown to his audience, when plenty of acting plays were at hand. He thus supplements the work of Renaudot, Loret, and others of his contemporaries, without whose testimony we could not be sure that these plays were actually produced. In the next place, we learn that these plays must, in 1662, have seemed antiquated to the theater-goers of Paris, for no place would be less appropriate to plays that were up to date than the château of the Baron. Moreover, the actor who recites the list care-

fully avoids naming plays that are known to have been popular at the time, such as *Nicomède, le menteur, Dom Japhet, les Précieuses*. It is true that he mentions the *Cid*, but not with the other plays and only when the Baron asks him if he has it. It is introduced to show the Baron's ignorance, for it is almost the only play he remembers and he has difficulty in recalling its name.

Again, while Poisson probably did not verify his implication that each of these plays was represented in the provinces, his evidence doubtless holds for most of them. It is confirmed by Corneille himself as far as *Dom Sanche* is concerned, for in the *Examen* (1660) to this piece he declares that "au bout de quelque temps elle se trouva reléguée dans les provinces, où elle conserve encore son premier lustre." The fact that this play, as well as *Mélite* and *l'Illusion*, were afterwards reproduced at Paris must have been largely due to Corneille's reputation. The *Registre* of La Grange informs us that *Alcionée* was played at Paris, December 2, 1659, and that *Sanche Panse* was given some fifteen times in the years 1659-1662, but most of the plays mentioned were probably never restored to the Parisian stage.

The list indicates, then, that in 1662 the provincial taste was lagging about twenty years behind that of Paris, that it was still partial to startling events and noble tirades while Paris was preparing for a realistic treatment of passions and manners. Though following Paris in discarding the pastoral, the provinces still adhered to the tragi-comedy and heroic tragedy at the expense of comedy, largely absent or reduced to the farce. The favorite authors, too, are those who rose to fame at Paris in the thirties and forties. The list includes all the more important of these except Scarron and Thomas Corneille, both of whom began to write only towards the end of this period.

The following list gives the authorship of the plays and the dates of their first publication. The first representations, the exact dates of which are largely unknown, usually took place from six months to three years before the plays were printed.

¹ Paris, 1662, scene 5. The comedy was reprinted in 1863 by Victor Fournel, *Contemporains de Molière*, I, 413-428. A reference in Loret's *Muze historique* shows that it was first played about July 15, 1662.

D'AUBIGNAC, *Zénobie*¹ (1647); BARO, *Clo-
rise* (1632), *Clarimonde* (1643), *Le Prince
fugitif* (1649); BENSERADE, *Cléopâtre* (1636),
Gustaphe (1637); BEYS, *L'Hospital des fous*
(1636); BOISROBERT, *Palène* (1640), *Le Cou-
ronnement de Darie*² (1648); BOUSCAL, *Dom
Quichotte de la Manche*³ (1640), *Le Gouverne-
ment de Sancho Pansa* (1642), *Agis* (1642);
BOYER, *Tyridate* (1649); DE BROSSÉ, *L'Aveugle
Clairvoyant* (1650); CHAPOTON, *La Descente
d'Orphée aux enfers* (1640); CHEVREAU, *Cori-
olan*⁴ (1638); CORNEILLE, *Mélite*⁵ (1633),
*L'Illusion comique*⁶ (1639), *Dom Sanche
d'Arragon* (1650); LA CALPRENÈDE, *La Mort
de Mithridate* (1637); DESFONTAINES, *Eurimé-
don* (1637); DESMARETS, *Roxane* (1640), *Mi-
rame* (1641), *Erigone* (1642); DU RYER, *Ar-
généis* (1631), *Alcimédon* (1634), *Alcionée*⁷
(1640), *Esther* (1644); L'ESTOILE, *La Belle
Esclave* (1645); GILBERT, *Téléphonte* (1643);
GILLET DE LA TESSONNERIE, *Quixaire* (1640);
MAGNON, *Séjan* (1647); MAIRET, *Sylvie*
(1628), *Sophonisbe* (1635), *Roland le furieux*
(1640); MARÉCHAL, *L'Inconstance d'Hylas*⁸
(1635); D'OUVILLE, *Les Trahisons d'Arbiran*
(1638); ROTROU, *Laure persécutée* (1639), *Les
Captifs* (1640); GEORGES DE SCUDÉRY, *Le
Prince déguisé* (1635), *Didon* (1637), *L'Amour
tyrannique* (1639), *Eudoxe* (1641), *Andro-*

mire (1641), *Arminius* (1643), *Ibrahim*
(1643); TRISTAN L'HERMITE, *Panthée*⁹
(1639), *Osman*¹⁰ (1656).

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THE ORDER OF WORDS IN CERTAIN RHYTHM-GROUPS

In the first edition (1905) of Jespersen's
*Growth and Structure of the English Lan-
guage*, pp. 233-4, occurs the following passage:

"In combinations of a monosyllable and a
disyllable by means of *and*, the practice is al-
ways to place the short word first, because the
rhythm then becomes the regular 'aa' 'aa in-
stead of 'aaa' 'a (' before the *a* denotes the
strongly stressed syllable). Thus we say
'bread and butter,' not 'butter and bread';
further: bread and water, milk and water, cup
and saucer, wind and weather, head and shoul-
ders, by fits and snatches, from top to bottom,
rough and ready, rough and tumble, free and
easy, dark and dreary, high and mighty, up and
doing." And in a foot-note the author adds:
"compare also such titles of books as Songs
and Poems, Men and Women, Past and Pres-
ent, French and English, Night and Morning."

This sweeping conclusion is, in the second
edition (1912), considerably modified, the word
"always" being dropped from the first sen-
tence and the clause made to read, "The usual
practice is to place the short word first, etc."
Even in this modified form, however, the state-
ment does not, I think, give a true impression
of English usage. It implies, if it does not
say outright, that rhythm-groups of the type
"butter and bread" occur in English but
rarely. It also suggests that such phrases lack
idiomatic force. I submit that just the con-
trary is true; phrases of this type occur fre-
quently, and they are strongly idiomatic. Fur-
thermore they seem to have a useful stylistic
function.

⁹ This play seems meant rather than the *Panthée*
(1639) of the obscure dramatist, Durval.

¹⁰ First played in 1647.

¹ Acted as early as 1640, for Chapelain, in a letter
dated April 6 of that year, speaks of going to see it.
A play of the same name by Poussot was published
in 1653, one by Magnon in 1660, but the obscurity
of the first of these dramatists and the late date of
both plays make it improbable that Poisson is here
referring to either of them.

² The reference is to this play rather than to the
Darius of Thomas Corneille (1660), which is too
late, or to Hardy's *Mort de Daire*, which is too early.

³ Mlle Béjart's *Dom Guichot* (1660) is too late to
be meant.

⁴ The reference may be to Chapoton's *Véritable
Coriolan* (1638).

⁵ First played about 1629.

⁶ First played about 1636.

⁷ First played about 1637.

⁸ First played about 1630.

In order to test the matter I have jotted down during the past few weeks, all the and-phrases of both types that I have been able to recall or that I have encountered in my reading and observation. These are given below in alphabetic order.

Capitalized phrases, unless otherwise designated, are (with a few obvious exceptions) titles of books, poems, plays, magazines, etc. The letter (c) is placed after the names of college colors.

I

bag and baggage
ball and socket
big and little
Birds and Nature
blood and iron
blood and thunder
board and lodging
bone and sinew
books and papers
books and reading
Boot and Saddle
bow and arrow
bread and butter
bread and water
bricks and mortar
bright and early
Brush and Pencil
Cain and Abel
case and comment
cat and fiddle
cat and kittens
chills and fever
Christ and Satan
cup and saucer
dark and dismal
dark and dreary
dead and buried
dead and done for (with)
death and taxes
dots and dashes
dry and dusty
dust and ashes
Eve and David
fact and fancy
fair and warmer
faith and unfaith
fall and winter
fat and forty
Farm and Fireside
Feast and Welcome
fetch and carry
Field and Fancy
figs and thistles

II

Adam and Eve
April and May
bacon and eggs
bargain and sale
Baron and Squire
Beauty and Health
better and worse
body and bones
body and boots
Boston and Maine
Brightest and Best
bubble and squeak
butter and eggs
captain and crew
carriage and pair
chapter and verse
cherry and white (c)
cloister and hearth
coffee and cream
collars and cuffs
Courage and Fear
crackers and cheese
crimson and blue (c)
crimson and cream (c)
crimson and gold (c)
crimson and slate (c)
crimson and white (c)
Critic and Guide
Cupid and Death
Darby and Joan
Darkness and Dawn
David and Saul
Dayton & Troy (R. R.)
Dimbrie and I
dollars and cents
Dombey and Son
early and late
Fairy and Child
Fathers and Sons
Fennel and Rue
Fernwood & Gulf (R. R.)
fingers and thumbs
fingers and toes

fine and dandy
fire and water
fits and snatches
free and easy
French and English
Friend and Lover
fuss and feathers
gall and wormwood
God and Mammon
gone and done it
good and evil
good and ready
gray and crimson (c)
Greeks and Trojans
Gulf & Southern (S. S. Co.)

head and shoulders
Heart and Science
hen and chickens
Hide and Leather
high and mighty
hill and valley
hole and corner
Home and Country
Home and Flowers
horse and buggy
horse and carriage
horse and wagon
horse and rider
House and Garden
joints and marrow
jot and tittle
joy and sorrow
judge and jury
King and No King
King and Subject
Kit and Kitty
Land and Water
lath and plaster
law and order
law and gospel
light and darkness
Like and Unlike
loaves and fishes
Love and Fortune
Love and Honor
Love and Shawl-straps
Maid and Cleon
Medes and Persians
men and women
milk and water
mind and matter
Mines and Mining
Modes and Fabrics
night and morning
Naughts and Crosses
nook and cranny
Notes and Queries

Forest and Stream
garnet and black (c)
garnet and blue (c)
get-up-and-go
hammer and tongs
Heartsease and Rue
heaven and earth
heaven and hell
Heather and Snow
hither and yon
hunger and thirst
husband and wife
Jekyll and Hyde
Jerry and Me
Katie and Me
Labor and Love
Lamport & Holt (S. S. Co.)
Laughter and Death
liver and lights
Marit and I
master and man
matron and maid
merry and wise
mistress and maid
Money and Risks
mother and child
Music and Words
needle and thread
needles and pins
ninety and nine
olive and blue (c)
orange and black (c)
orange and blue (c)
orange and white (c)
over and gone
paper and ink
peaches and cream
People and King
pepper and salt
pity and fear
pleasure and pain
powder and shot
profit and loss
Pulpit and Pew
purple and gold (c)
purple and white (c)
Rabbi and Priest
scarlet and black (c)
scarlet and brown (c)
scarlet and cream (c)
scarlet and gray (c)
scarlet and white (c)
Seaboard & Gulf (S. S. Co.)
shaven and shorn
shillings and pence
silver and gold (c)

oil and water
One and Twenty
Ores and Metals
Past and Present
Peace and Discord
Peak and Prairie
Pinks and Cherries
pins and needles
plays and players
Press and Printer
prince and pauper
Punch and Judy
rack and ruin
Rhymes and Jingles
Rome and Nature
rough and ready
rough and tumble
saints and sinners

Sisters and Wives
summer and fall
Sunshine and Haar
sweetness and light
tender and true
Texas & Gulf (R. R.)
three score and ten
thunder and turf
thousand and one
victuals and drink
Watchword and Truth
weary and worn
winter and spring
yellow and blue (c)
yellow and brown (c)
yellow and cream (c)
yellow and white (c)

—116

School and Fireside, sense and nonsense, shoes and stockings, shreds and patches, sin and sorrow, signs and wonders, skull and cross-bones, sleep and waking, soap and water, sock and buskin, Songs and Poems, sound and fury, Sports and Pastimes, spring and summer, Square and Compass, Star and Garter, Strength and Beauty, stuff and nonsense, sum and substance, sweet and twenty, sword and scabbard, tar and feathers, tea and coffee, Three and Twenty, toil and trouble, Tom and Jerry, Town and Country, up and doing, weak and weary, weights and measures, wheel and axle, which and tother, white and purple (c), wild and woolly, wind and water, wind and weather, wine and women, wit and humor, wit and wisdom, Woods and Waters, Wooded and Married, work and wages.—160.

A comparison of the two lists shows that out of 276 phrases taken at random, forty-two per cent. are of the 'unusual' variety. Moreover, these phrases are on the average just as good phrases, that is, as idiomatic and as satisfying to the sense of rhythm, as those in the other column. If there be any striking difference between the two lists, taken at large, it is perhaps that II contains more expressions of an abrupt and vehement character than does I.¹ Examples of this type of phrase are body and bones, chapter and verse, dollars and cents, hammer and tongs, powder and shot, profit and loss, thunder and turf, thousand and one, weary and worn. However, any conclusions on this point must be cautiously drawn,

¹ A certain heroine of fiction, Virginia Chard (if my memory serves), complains that her name always reminds her of a race horse charging at a stone wall.

for many examples of forcible expression, such as bag and baggage, blood and thunder, rack and ruin, rough and tumble, stuff and nonsense, may be found in the first column, and several examples of mellifluousness, such as sweetness and light, ninety and nine, in the second. An interesting fact, the significance of which I am not prepared to state, is that the college colors, with two exceptions, fall in the second column.

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ZUM REIMGEBRAUCH OTFRIDS¹

I

Über den Reimgebrauch Otfrids hat bis jetzt am eingehendsten Theodor Ingenbleek in seiner Schrift, *Über den Einfluss des Reimes auf die Sprache Otfrids* (Quellen u. Forschungen, XXXVII),² gehandelt. Seine Darstellung gründet sich im wesentlichen (wie er selbst angibt) auf Kelles, Erdmanns und Pipers Arbeiten (vgl. oben, Bibliographie). Als entschieden vom Reime beeinflusst stellt er alle die Formen hin, welche sich ausserhalb des Reimes stets anders vorfinden. Ich werde im folgenden versuchen, eine weniger schematische Auffassung der Sachlage zu begründen.

¹ BIBLIOGRAPHIE: Erdmann, Oskar, *Bemerkungen zu Otfrid*, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, I, 437–442, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, Stuttgart, 1886.—Otfrids *Evangelienbuch*, Halle, 1882 (Erläuterungen, 323–487), *Untersuchungen über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, I. Teil, Halle, 1874. II. Teil, Halle, 1876.—Ingenbleek, Theodor, *Über den Einfluss des Reimes auf die Sprache Otfrids, Quellen und Forschungen*, XXXVII, 1880.—Kelle, Johann, *Otfrids von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch*, Bd. II. *Die Formen- und Lautlehre Otfrids*, Regensburg, 1869, Bd. III, *Glossar der Sprache Otfrids*, Regensburg, 1869.—Nierhoff, E., *Untersuchungen über den Einfluss des Reimes auf die Sprache Otfrids*, Inauguraldiss., Tübingen, 1879.—Paul, Hermann, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle, 1909.—Piper, Paul, *Otfrids Evangelienbuch mit Einleitung und erklärenden Anmerkungen*, Paderborn, 1878.

² Rezension von Oskar Erdmann, *Anz. f. d. Alt.*, Bd. VI, S. 219–221.

Bei der endgültigen Redaktion seines Evangelienbuches versuchte Otfrid die Verse ohne Reim zu beseitigen. In vielen Fällen mag ihm das ohne Anstoss gelungen sein, aber in anderen trat bei der Korrektur die Rücksicht auf die grammatische Richtigkeit zurück hinter dem Streben nach Gleichklang der Wörter. Die neue Kunst des Endreimes machte eben dem Dichter viele Schwierigkeiten. Manche im Reime stehende Formen sind entweder in grammatischer Hinsicht unzulässig oder wenigstens sehr bedenklich. In den meisten Fällen jedoch, in welchen er des Reimes halber in Verlegenheit war, nahm der Dichter seine Zuflucht zu einer Form oder Wendung, welche sprachlich allenfalls zulässig war. Derartige Formen sind oft sehr ungewöhnlich und manchmal sonst nicht zu belegen, aber doch dem ahd. Sprachgebrauch nicht zuwider. Deshalb wären sie auch ausserhalb des Reimes gestattet. Also darf man nicht behaupten (wie Ingenbleek, § 19, 3 es tut), dass solche Formen "nur aus Reimnot" hervorgegangen seien. Bei Ingenbleek vermisst man eine Erklärung des psychologischen und grammatischen Verhältnisses, zwischen der im Reime wirklich vorkommenden Form und derjenigen, welche sonst zu erwarten wäre.

Unter § 19, 3 erwähnt er unter den Fällen, wo ein Adverb statt des prädikativen Adjektivs "nur aus Reimnot" gesetzt sein soll, das folgende Beispiel:

I, 5, 72. *sāgata er in frōno*
thaz ārunti scōno.

Hier lässt sich das Adverb *scōno* ganz gut ohne Annahme von Reimzwang erklären, wenn auch die Adjektivform *scōnaz* oder *scōni* das üblichere wäre (vgl. Erdmann, über *in einan berg hōho*, III, 6, 12. *Evangelienbuch, Erläuterungen*, S. 414). "Herrlich und schön (*scōno*, adv.) erzählte er seine Botschaft," liegt dem Gedanken, "herrlich erzählte er seine schöne (*scōnaz*, adj.) Botschaft" so nahe, dass eins leicht in das andere übergeht, sowie es sich im Neuhochdeutschen schwer entscheiden lässt, ob in dem Satze: "er schlägt ihn *tot*," *tot* in Verbindung mit *schlagen* ein Adverbialpräfix zum Verbum oder ein unflektiertes prädikatives

Adjektiv ist, denn es schwebt ja immer vor: "(ihn) *schlagen*, (bis er) *tot* (ist)," (vgl. Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax* I, § 110, § 118, *Über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, II, § 164;³ Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, § 258, S. 366 ff.). Beide Begriffe decken einander, wenn sich auch der erste aus dem zweiten entwickelt hat: vgl. *an Hartmuot* 63, *hōh er oba mannon suebēta in thēn undon*, wo *hōh* entweder als unflektiertes prädikatives Adjektiv oder als Adverb gelten kann. Der formelle Unterschied zwischen Adjektiv und Adverb war im Althd. noch weniger scharf abgegrenzt als im Nhd.

Dieser Übergang vom Adjektiv zum Adverb wird nicht nur durch die gleichlautenden unflektierten Formen des prädikativen Adjektivs und des Adverbs, sondern auch, wenn auch nicht im gleichen Masse, durch die gleichlautende Endung des Adverbs auf *o* und des konsonantischen Adjektivs masc. nom. sing. auf *o* erleichtert. Daher ist es da, wo ein solcher nom. masc. sing. gestattet wäre, nicht überall sicher, ob die betreffende Form als schwaches Adjektiv oder als Adverb⁴ anzusehen ist (vgl. Kelle, II, 375-377).⁵

Dass der Adverbial- und der Adjektivbegriff einander eng berühren, zeigt sich eben auch ausserhalb des Reimes beim Gebrauch des Adverbs statt des prädikativen Adjektivs nach

³ Hier sagt Erdmann: "wie schon das unflectierte Adj. oft formelhaft mit dem Verbum verbunden ist und mit Verlust seiner Casusbedeutung einem Adverb nahe steht, so zeigen sich einige Fälle, in denen auch *wirkliche Adverbia verschiedener Bildung* statt eines *adjectivischen Prädicatsaccusativs* gebraucht sind."

⁴ Z. B. *githiuto*, I, 5, 29. II, 12, 53. IV, 4, 44 u.a., *eino sin* I, 1, 115. (adv.) IV, 19, 4. (subs.) vgl. Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I, § 118.

⁵ Vgl. besonders I, 5, 33, worüber Kelle sagt: "welche Änderungen sich O. des Reimes wegen bei den Endvokalen gestattet, hat sich schon mehrfach gezeigt, es kann also dieser Wechsel auch hier nicht besonders auffallen, ja man könnte sogar geneigt sein, auch *scōno* in dem Satze *thiu thiarna scōno sprach zi boten* I, 5, 33, in dem indess auch das *Adverbium vollständig am Platze ist*, auf ähnliche Weise durch Änderung aus *scōna* zu erklären und dann als Attribut auf *thiarna* zu beziehen, während *scōno* das *sprach* näher bestimmt."

lāzan und *duan* (acc.) und nach *wērdan* und *sîn* (nom.).

a) *lāzan*.

An Ludwig 35. *Lāngo*, liobo druhtin min.
lāz imo thie dāga sin.

III, 1, 31. *lūdo*, liobo, druhtin mīn,
lāz thia kēstiga sin.

b) *duan*.

V, 25, 86. *sero dūit* in thiu frīst
theiz bithēkitaz nist.

c) *wērdan*.

I, 8, 18. joh theiz *gidougnō wurti*
er sīh fon iru irftrti.

d) *sîn*.

II, 24, 15. thaz in thiu mūt ni wānkon,
sîn fāsto in then githānkon.

III, 22, 68. sie thar *gisuāso warin*,
unz sino zīti quamin.

Hier kann von Reimnot gar keine Rede sein, sondern die Adverbia vertreten einfach die sonst zu erwartenden Adjektivformen.

Ferner haben wir die unpersönliche Konstruktion mit *sîn*, wo ein Adverb statt des prädikativen Adjektivs vorkommt, was noch weiter beweist, dass die formelle Grenze zwischen Adjektiv und Adverb nicht scharf gezogen war; z. B. IV, 12, 13 in *uuas* in herzen *ango*, V, 20, 22 in *starcho* ist thanne in muate, V, 25, 61 ist *ubilo* imo in muate, V, 20, 62 ist in *harto* in muate, u. s. w. Bei *ango* (IV, 12, 13) ist kein Beleg für ein Substantiv *ango* vorhanden, das Graff (Spr. I, S. 341) irrig aus dieser Stelle folgert (vgl. Kelle II, 245).⁶

Wenn nun die Adjektivform sich dem Reim nicht anpasste, wie bei der von Ingenbleek oben erwähnten Stelle (*sāgata* er in frōno, thaz ārunti seōno), wie leicht fiel es dann dem Dichter, das Adverb *scōno* (statt des Adjektivs *scōnaz* oder *scōni*) an ihre Stelle zu setzen, da das Adverb, wie oben bewiesen, die am nächsten liegende, sprachlich berechnete Form war! Zwischen dem Adverb und dem prädikativen Adjektiv zog das Sprachgefühl eben keine

scharfe Grenzlinie.⁷ Ingenbleeks Behauptung, dass solche Adverbialformen "nur aus Reimnot" hervorgegangen seien, trāfe nur dann zu, wenn dieselben ausserhalb des Reimes nicht gestattet wären.

II

Ungewöhnliche Formen der Substantiva können manehmal durch Flexionsmischung ohne Rücksicht auf den Reimzwang erklärt werden. Jedenfalls mag der Übergang von einer gewöhnlichen zu einer ungewöhnlichen Form des Substantivs in hohem Grade durch Flexionsmischung erleichtert worden sein. Gewisse ungewöhnliche Formen der Substantiva, die im Reime stehen, bespricht Erdmann (*Evangelienbuch, Erläuterungen*, S. 423, 26^a), und erwähnt dabei einige Beispiele des Schwankens zwischen *Acc. sing.* und *plur.* der *Substantiva abstracta*.

Ich bespreche hier die Stellen, welche Erdmann als Beispiele solcher Schwankung anführt:

III, 15, 19. Thāz er thar *giscēinti*
thia *sina gōmaheiti*

"wie 19 *thia sina* statt *thio sino*, so ist 32 *thio missidāt* aus Schwanken des Schreibers entstanden."

III, 15, 32. *thio missidat*, so sāgen ih;
bi thiu inkūnnen sie mih.

IV, 12, 46. ouh *thia mūatdāti*
thehēino mezzo *irknāti*

"Schwanken der Schreiber zwischen *Acc. Sg.* und *Plural*."

V, 7, 38. theih *sino liubi* in mih gilfaz
ob ih *sia* nfazen ni muaz!

Hier liegt scheinbar ein Mangel an grammatischer Übereinstimmung zwischen Adjektiv und Nomen, zwischen Nomen und Pronomen vor: *sina gomaheiti*, *thio missidāt*, *thia muatdāti*, *sino liubi*: *sia*. Solche Fälle von Mangel an grammatischer Übereinstimmung oder von ungewöhnlichem Gebrauch des Numerus finden

⁶ Über *ango* sagt Kelle (Glossar, S. 17): "Die Adverbien der Art und Weise stehen nämlich gleich wie im Lat. auch in Verbindung mit dem Verbum *sîn*, wenn dasselbe dazu dient, die Art und Weise des Seins anzugeben."

⁷ Wie nahe der Adverbialbegriff dem Adjektiv liegt, zeigt sich ebenso IV, 19, 51, *Ther gōtes sun frōno gab āntwurti imo scōno*, wo auch ein prädikatives Adjektiv am Platze wäre, wenn der Reim die Adverbialform auf o nicht erforderte.

sich sowohl ausserhalb des Reimes wie im Reime selbst. Sie liegen daher nur zum Teile unter dem Reimzwang. Ausser der Reimnot muss doch zu der ungewöhnlichen Form auch die Analogiewirkung beigetragen haben. "Das Schwanken der Schreiber"⁸ ist keine genügende Erklärung, denn man muss ja in erster Linie erwägen, ob nicht rein sprachliche Gesetze an und für sich ohne Rücksicht auf die mechanische Korrektur daran schuld sein können.

Von diesem Standpunkte aus bespreche ich 1) *Feminina Abstracta* auf *î* (*n*) (*sino liubî: sia*), 2) *Feminina Composita* auf *dât* (*î*), und 3) *Feminina Abstracta* auf *heit* (*î*).

1) Bei den *î*(*n*)- und *ô*-Stämmen sind *Nom. Acc. Plur.* lautlich nicht von denselben Kasus des *Sing.* unterschieden und daher wird der *Plur.* häufig ohne merklichen Bedeutungsunterschied statt des *Sing.* gebraucht (vgl. Erdmann, *Über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, II, § 2). Dass die Mehrzahl dieselbe Idee wie die Einzahl bezeichnet, erklärt das Schwanken des Numerus bei den *î*(*n*) Substantiva und daher den Mangel an grammatischer Übereinstimmung,⁹ der freilich in manchen Fällen nur dem Schreiber zur Last fällt.

2) Bei den Kompositis auf *î* (*dât, fart, kunft*, usw.) lautet der *Sing.* zum Teil (*gen.*

dat.), der *Plur.* durchaus auf *î* aus. Daher ist der *Plur.* auch häufig, wie bei den *î*(*n*)-Stämmen, ohne merklichen Bedeutungsunterschied statt des *Sing.* gebraucht. Dazu kommt noch die Verwechselung mit der *î*(*n*)-Deklination infolge der Ähnlichkeit des kurzen und langen *î*, zumal das auslautende *î* dieser Komposita in Otfrids Sprache wahrscheinlich noch lang war (vgl. Erdmann, *Über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, II, § 2). Da nun auch bei den *î*(*n*)-Stämmen Mehrzahl und Einzahl häufig ohne Bedeutungsunterschied gebraucht sind, so wird durch Analogiewirkung das Schwanken des Numerus bei den Kompositis auf *î* noch mehr erleichtert. In dieser Hinsicht wirken die beiden Klassen in derselben Richtung gegenseitig auf einander. Einige Komposita auf *î* dürfen ferner bald in der Einzahl, bald in der Mehrzahl gebraucht werden, je nachdem sie *die gesamte Handlungsweise* oder *die verschiedenen Handlungsweisen* bezeichnen (vgl. Erdmann, *Über die Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, II, § 35). Im ersteren Falle bezeichnen sie auch manchmal ein Abstraktum: z. B. *missidâti* könnte soviel wie *fravîli* bedeuten. Dieser Umstand verstärkt die Verwechselung mit den *î*(*n*)-Stämmen, die gleichfalls ein Abstraktum bezeichnen. Dazu kommt noch weiter die Apokope des *î* beim *Plur.* dieser Komposita in Betracht, weshalb man die Form *missidât* in *thiô missidât* (III, 15, 32) als eine apokopierte Pluralform ansehen darf. Solche apokopierten Formen werden nicht nur durch das Adj., sondern noch kenntlicher durch den Numerus des Verbuns, bei dem sie als Subjekt stehen, bestimmt (obwohl auch hier Schwankung bestehen kann); wie z. B. *an Hartmuot* 51,—*thiô dât, thiô gûoto ni sîn*—wofür F den *Sing. thiâ missidat* bietet (vgl. Kelle, II, 200). Da apokopierte *Komposita* auf *dât* nicht selten vorkommen, konnte diese Apokopierung ebenfalls dazu mitwirken, die Grenzlinie zwischen Singular und Plural zu verwischen.

Das Schwanken des Numerus bei den Kompositis auf *î* (*dât, fart, kunft*, u.s.w.) wird also, scheint mir, durch drei Umstände erleichtert: nämlich, 1) die Gleichheit der Endung *î* (*Sing. gen. dat., Plur. durchaus*) der beiden Numeri; 2) die Analogiewirkung der *î*(*n*)-

⁸ Vgl. Erdmann in seiner Rezension von Inglebleeks Abhandlung: *Anz. f. d. Alt. Bd. VI*, S. 220: "Gerade die auffallendsten syntactischen Verstösse im Reime halte ich nicht für authentisch; sie erklären sich mir vielmehr durch die mechanische Aufmerksamkeit, welche die Schreiber von V, namentlich der erste, dem Reime zuwandten."

⁹ Hierzu sei auch bemerkt, dass die *ô*-Endung der starken Adjektiva *nom. acc. plur. fem.* manchmal zu *â* abgeschwächt ist: *thiô* < *thia*, *thesô* < *thesa*, *gelîchô* < *gelîcha*, usw. Diese formelle Schwächung des Adjektivs (besonders des Artikels) kommt fast ausschliesslich bei den *î*(*n*) und *î* Feminina (wie Kompositis auf *fart, kunft*, und *dât*) vor. Deswegen könnte man, wie Kelle (II, 359) es tut, *thia*, in *thia muatdâti* (IV, 12, 46) und *sia* (V, 7, 38) als die aus *thiô, siô* abgeschwächten Formen des *Plur.* erklären; dann wäre kein Mangel an grammatischer Übereinstimmung vorhanden. Aber es muss dabei immer das Schwanken des Numerus bei Abstraktis und die damit zusammenhängende Unsicherheit des Schreibers über den Numerus der Adjektiva oder Pronomina in Betracht gezogen werden.

Stämme; 3) die apokopierte *Pluralform*, die, insofern kein Umlaut des Stammvokals vorkommt, der *Singularform* im *Nom.* und *Acc.* gleichlautend ist. Aus diesen rein sprachlichen Gründen ist es also möglich, die von Erdmann oben erwähnten Fälle "des Mangels an grammatischer Übereinstimmung" zu erklären. "Das Schwanken der Schreiber," wenn auch ganz mechanisch und willkürlich, erklärt sich aus sprachlichen Gründen, denn es müssen demselben bei der dem Reime zugewandten mechanischen Aufmerksamkeit der Schreiber (vgl. Erdmann, *Anz. f. d. Alt.* Bd. VI, S. 220) diese sprachlichen Bedingungen zu Grunde liegen.

3) Die Form *gomaheiti* (III, 15, 19—*tház er thar giscéinti, thia sina gómaheiti*) fasst Erdmann sowohl wie Kelle (II, 341) als *Pluralform* auf. Erdmann meint, das *Adj.* stehe im *Singular* (*sina*), das *Nomen* aber im *Plur.* (*gomaheiti*); also wieder Schwanken des Numerus, "*thia sina* statt *thio sino* aus Schwanken des Schreibers entstanden" (*Evangelienbuch*, Erläuterungen, S. 425). Kelle meint (II, 341), *sina* sei einfach als Abschwächung aus *sinô* (plur.) anzusehen, daher kein Schwanken des Numerus: "da die Annahme des *Acc. sing.* durch den Umstand abgewiesen wird, dass *gomaheiti*, bei dem es als Attribut steht, *nur als Acc. plur.* erklärt werden darf. Auf Grund dieses *sina* das Wort *gomaheiti* als *Sing.* zu erklären, und daraus einen sonst nirgends vorkommenden *iô*-Stamm¹⁰ aufzustellen, ist unstatthaft."

Ausser diesen beiden Erklärungen Erdmanns und Kelles ist doch die dritte, welche Kelle verwirft, auch wohl statthaft. Aus denselben Gründen wie bei Kompositis auf *dât* (f. *i*) können die Komposita auf *heit* (f. *i*) mit den *i(n)*-Stämmen verwechselt werden. Komposita auf *heit*¹¹ bezeichnen, so wie fast immer die einfachen Stämme auf *i(n)*, ein Abstraktum. Da ferner das Ableitungssuffix *heit* und der Suffixvokal *i* (der *i(n)*-Stämme) dem Nomen dieselbe Bezeichnung beilegen (nämlich, die

abstrakte Idee), so könnten sie sich mit einander zu einer neuen Abstraktform auf *heiti(n)* verschmelzen. Eine derartige Form wäre keine willkürliche, nur dem Reime angepasste, sondern beruhte auf dem sprachlichen Vorgange, dass sich durch Häufung verschiedener Suffixe¹² eine Kontaminationsform entwickelt.¹³ Bei denjenigen Kompositis, deren Ableitungssuffix kein Abstraktum bildet, und bei einfachen *i*-Stämmen von konkreter Bedeutung wäre hingegen eine sekundäre *Singularform* auf *i(n)* unstatthaft,¹⁴ denn in diesem Falle sind die Bildungselemente auf keine Weise verwandt (vgl. Paul, § 110).

Daher halte ich gegen Kelle eine *Singularform* *gomaheiti* nicht für unstatthaft, da sie sprachlich zulässig ist. Unter dem Reimzwang hätte sich der Dichter gerechtfertigt fühlen können, eine neue, doch nicht unmögliche Form zu verwenden, wie dies so oft bei Otfrid vorkommt. Trotzdem ist Kelle wohl im Rechte, wenn er diese Auffassung ablehnt, da eine solche Mischform sonst nicht belegt ist und Kelle sich bei seiner Erklärung an eine häufig vorkommende Erscheinung hält, nämlich Abschwächung von *sina* aus *sinô*.

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¹² Vgl. Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, § 115: "Pleonasmus von Bildungselementen."

¹³ Vgl. Thumb und Marbe, *Zschr. f. franz. Sprache*, 25, 124: "Kontamination ist die Neuschöpfung einer Form durch Verschmelzung von Bestandteilen zweier Formen, die gleichzeitig ins Bewusstsein kommen;" ferner Paul, *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*, § 110: "unter Kontamination verstehe ich den Vorgang, dass zwei Synonyme oder irgendwie verwandte Ausdrucksformen sich neben einander ins Bewusstsein drängen, sodass keine von beiden rein zur Geltung kommt, sondern eine neue Form entsteht, in der sich Elemente der einen mit Elementen der anderen mischen." Vgl. ferner, § 115, Nhd. *haftig* aus *haft+ig*, *Fritzens* aus *Fritzen* (schw. Gen.) + *s*, Alem. u. Fränk. *sene* (sehen), wo *e=en* der Schriftsprache usw.

¹⁴ Mit Recht erklärt Kelle (II, 359) solche Formen entweder als *Plural* mit abgeschwächtem *Pluraladj.* oder als *Plural* mit *Singularadj.* (d.h. Wechsel des Numerus): vgl. *thia arbeits* II, 21, 20, *thia thurfti* III, 11, 24 (F hat *thiô*, weshalb ein sing. *thurfti* ausgeschlossen ist), *thia zuhti* II, 21, 33, *thia muat-dati*, IV, 12, 46, u.s.w.

¹⁰ Hiermit bezeichnet Kelle die *i(n)*-Stämme (vgl. II, 222 ff.).

¹¹ Vgl. *bôsheit*, *dumphet*, *gelfheit*, *gomaheit*, *kuanheit*, usw.

SKELTON'S *REPLYCACION*

Of the last years of Skelton's life nothing is known except the fact that he took refuge at Westminster, where he died in June, 1529.¹ In 1523 he wrote *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte*,² in which he attacked violently Cardinal Wolsey's power over the king and court.

"He ruleth all at wyll,
Without reason or skylly:
How be it the primordyall
Of his wretched originall,
And his base progeny,
And his gresy genealogy,
He came of the sank royall,
That was cast out of a bochers stall."³

At the beginning of the *Replycacion*, written against "certayne yong scolers," who were preaching against the dogmas of the Church, there is this elaborate and flattering dedication to Cardinal Wolsey:

"*Honorificatissimo, amplissimo, longeque reverendissimo in Christo patri, ac domino, domino Thomae, etc., tituli sanctae Ceciliae, sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbytero, Cardinali meritissimo, et apostolicae sedis legato, a latereque legato superillustri, etc., Skeltonis laureatus, ora. reg., humillimum dicit obsequium cum omni debita reverentia, tanto tamque magnifico digna principe sacerdotum, totiusque iustitiae aequabilissimo moderatore, necnon praesentis opusculi fautore excellentissimo, etc., ad cuius auspiciatissimam contemplationem, sub memorabili prelo gloriosae immortalitatis, praesens pagella felicitatur, etc.*"⁴

How can we reconcile this dedication with the attack? In endeavoring to answer this question we are confronted with two problems; one concerning the date of the poem and the other, the explanation of the dedication.

It is clear from internal evidence that the *Replycacion* could not have been written before

¹ A. Dyce, *Works of John Skelton*, I, p. lix.

² E. Arber, *Surrey and Wyatt Anthology*, p. 159. The poem is convincingly dated from internal evidence.

³ *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte*, 484-491. These lines are based upon the tradition that Wolsey was the son of a butcher of Ipswich.

⁴ Dyce, I, 230.

December 8, 1527, as the following lines refer to Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur:

"For ye were worldly shamed,
At Poules crosse openly,
All men can testifye;
There, lyke a sorte of sottes,
Ye were fayne to beare fagottes;
At the feest of her concepcion
Ye suffred suche correction."⁵

Bilney was one of the first of Cambridge scholars to be influenced by the reformation spirit. He was brought before Wolsey with his disciple, Arthur, and questioned as to his heretical preaching in Norfolk. In 1527 he recanted and as a penance carried a fagot at Paul's Cross at the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.⁶ I have been unable to find any record of scholars of either university suffering a similar humiliation before this year.

Why should Skelton write so flattering a dedication to a man against whom he had written a few years previous the violent satire, *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte*? Brie's answer is that the dedication is not genuine. According to his theory the dedication was added later by some one, who wished to show clearly Skelton's authorship of the poem. Since Skelton's name had been so closely connected with that of the cardinal, the editor or whoever it may have been, endeavored to identify it by a dedication to Wolsey.⁷ The *Replycacion* was first printed by Pynson, who died in 1530. Therefore in a practically contemporary edition it is not likely that the story of his enmity against the cardinal had lost any force, and it is inconceivable that under such circumstances any one would have added the flattering dedication. If the poem had first appeared with many of the others in the decade of the sixties, this explanation would have greater force. Thümmel suggests that Wolsey did not know that Skelton was the author of *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte*.⁸ For this reason he assumes that Skel-

⁵ *Replycacion*, 62-68.

⁶ J. Foxe, *Book of Martyrs*, ed. 1830, I, 116. J. B. Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, ed. 1873, I, 607.

⁷ F. Brie, "Skelton-studien," *Englische Studien*, XXXVII, 13.

⁸ A. Thümmel, *Studien über J. Skelton*, p. 42.

ton was trying to gain Wolsey's assistance. It is not probable that such a biting satire as *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte* had not been reported to the cardinal before 1528, at least five years after its composition, and certainly it could not be credited to any other poet than Skelton. It is evident that neither of these explanations is adequate.

In the report of the visitation of Bishop Nicke to the Cathedral of Norwich for 1526, I find:

"DOMPNUS ROBERTUS WORSTED presbyter dicit inquisitus DOMINUM JOHANNEM SHELTON gravia crimina et nephanda peccata commisisse et propter hoc non fuisse punitum, in malum exemplum et perniciosum aliorum confratrum. Nam cum idem JOHANNES SHELTON missus fuerat Yernemutham ad poenitentiam ibidem agendam longe licentius et liberius ibidem vixit quam domi, villam taxillos et cartas quotidie frequentando. Et sua culpa multum deterioratur officium camerarii cui olim praefuit; ita quod non speratur pensiones integras ab illo officio debitas et solvendas posse persolvi imposterum."⁹

The first difficulty, which presents itself, is the identification of Shelton with the poet. The name of the poet is spelt with an *h* instead of a *k* in the record of the institution of his successor, and Blomefield states that the name was Shelton or Skelton.¹⁰ Skelton was rector at Diss at least as early as 1504 and retained his benefice till his death. I can find no other John Skelton in Norfolk except the Sheriff Sir John, who plainly is not the John of the entry. Moreover in two of the *Merie Tales*, falsely ascribed to Skelton, his name is connected with that of Bishop Nicke.¹¹ Although these tales are exaggerated anecdotes, they must have some basis in fact. According to them Skelton was accused by the Dominicans of keeping a concubine. For this offence he was summoned before Bishop Nicke, who reproved him and suspended him from his benefice. Possibly this was the time he was sent to Yarmouth.

⁹ *Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich 1492-1532*, ed. Rev. A. Jessopp, 1887, p. 200.

¹⁰ Cf. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, I, 20.

¹¹ Dyce, I, p. lxxvi, ff. Tale VI and VII.

What the nature of the "gravia crimina" was we do not know. It is possible they refer to the concubine story or to an entry earlier in the report. "Et dicunt praeterea quod SHELTON recepit de proficuis officii sui, post recessum suum, xxli in detrimentum successoris et officii."¹² The office was that of camerarius and elemosinarius.¹³ These entries show at least that in 1526 Skelton was hard prest by his enemies, and it is very probable that he saw a way to make peace with both the Church and the cardinal by the *Replycacion*. Undoubtedly he hoped for aid from Wolsey in his difficulties, if he was unable to soothe the Church.

The subject of the *Replycacion* is a glorification of the dogma of the Church and a condemnation of heretics. It is evident that Skelton thought that he could win back his lost reputation by this means. The dedication was an appeal to Wolsey to assist the poet in his difficulties. The cardinal probably scorned all advances on the part of the poet, for the next year Skelton fled to Westminster, where he was protected by the Abbot Islip.¹⁴ The theory, advanced by Dyce, that Skelton was forced to go to Westminster soon after the composition of *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte* has been discussed by Brie, who objects to it for the following reasons. In the first place the cardinal could easily have deprived Skelton of his benefice, if he had wished. Secondly, if Skelton had been absent from his benefice for more than a year without special leave, he would have been suspended whether Wolsey interfered or not.¹⁵ Since the "Johannes Shelton" of the visitation of 1526 is probably the poet, the explanation that Skelton dedicated the *Replycacion* to Cardinal Wolsey as a means of extricating himself from the difficulties in which he was involved in Norfolk is most plausible.

For suggestions and assistance in connection with this note I am much indebted to Professor John M. Berdan of Yale University.

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¹² *Visitations*, p. 198.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

¹⁴ Dyce, I, p. lviii.

¹⁵ Brie, p. 14.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND CHAUCER

In Chapter X of the *Antiquary*, Scott quotes a stanza from the poem formerly attributed to Chaucer, *The Flower and the Leaf*. Throughout the novel, as well as in others of his works, Chaucer is spoken of in terms of admiration, and even affection. A number of quotations from the *Canterbury Tales*, and from his other poems, are given in various places. In view of this evident fondness for Chaucer, it is interesting to note that the passage mentioned above is quoted incorrectly. His version follows:

Lo! here be oakis grete, streight as a lime,
Under the which the grass, so fresh of line,
Be'th newly sprung—at eight foot or nine.
Everich tree well from his fellow grew,
With branches broad laden with leaves new,
That sprongen out against the sonne sheene,
Some golden red, and some a glad bright greene.

Compare this with Skeat's edition:

In which were okēs grete, streight as a lyne,
Under the which the gras, so fresh of hew,
Was newly spronge; and an eight foot or nyne
Every tree wel fro his felawe grew,
With braunches brode, laden with leves new,
That sprongen out ayein the sonnē shene,
Som very rede, and som a glad light grene.

It will be noted that there are several important differences, aside from mere variations in spelling. In lines 1 and 2, the change destroys the meaning, as well as the rime-scheme of the stanza. In the last line, *golden* is substituted for *very*, and *bright* for *light*. In line 3, *be'th* appears for *was*, and in 4, *everich* for *every*. In Scott, the stanza begins, *Lo! here be*, etc.; in Skeat, *In which were*, etc. In line 6, we read *against* for *ayein*, and *sheene* for *shene*. Of course the punctuation varies widely in different editions of Chaucer, but Scott's use of the period at the end of line 3 changes the sense entirely.

What, then, is the source of the novelist's version? Did his copy of Chaucer contain the stanza as he gives it? According to Miss Hammond's bibliography, there had been six edi-

tions of Chaucer, or collections of English poetry, containing *The Flower and the Leaf*, prior to the publication of the *Antiquary* in 1816. These editions were those of Speght, 1558 (reprinted in 1602 and 1687); Urry, 1721; Bell, in *The Poets of Great Britain*, 1782; Anderson, in *Works of the British Poets*, 1793; Chalmers, in *Works of the English Poets*, 1810; and Todd, in *Illustrations from the Lives and Writings of Gower and Chaucer*, 1810. To these may be added the modernization of Dryden, 1700. In none of these collections do the variations found in Scott's quotation appear. The spelling varies somewhat in these different works, but with reference to the instances given, as well as in certain other cases, Scott's reading does not reproduce any of them. It seems evident that Scott did not copy *verbatim* from any existing edition.

Did he, then, quote inaccurately from memory? An incident is related in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, and also in Hogg's *Anecdotes of Scott*, which shows that he had an excellent memory for verse, being able to quote long passages with ease. This is incidentally confirmed by a letter of his, quoted by William Platt in *Notes and Queries* 6.4.279:

"The scraps of poetry which have been in most cases tacked to the beginning of the chapters of my novels are sometimes quoted, either from reading or memory, but in the general case, are pure invention. . . . I drew on my memory as long as I could, and when that failed, eked it out with invention."

Is it possible that in the instance we are considering, he relied on his memory without verification, and failed to quote correctly?

It seems to be commonly agreed that Scott is not at all accurate in his historical facts. Among others who have pointed out historical errors are N. W. Senior in his *Essays on Fiction*, Yonge in his *Life of Scott*, and W. H. Hudson in his *Sir Walter Scott*. As to his scholarship in general, Rev. G. R. Gleig, in his *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (p. 25) has this to say:

"He never took the trouble to make himself an accurate scholar. Enough for him if he could extract the meaning, or take in the beauties of his author. For whether it was an

ancient book which came his way—whether an Italian, a Spanish, a German, or a Latin classic, his sole object in perusing it was to pick out from it the ideas which recommended themselves to his taste and judgment. In no single instance did he dream of making it the means of ascertaining far less of settling, the niceties of idiom or of grammar.”

In several numbers of *Notes and Queries*, cases of misquotation in Scott's works have been pointed out. In 4.5.577, “F” cites a case where a passage from the *Gospel of Saint Matthew* is quoted inaccurately in both *Waverley* and the *Abbot*, differing in each place. He gives other misquotations, from the *Merchant of Venice* in the *Abbot*, and from *Macbeth* in the *Monastery*. In 4.5.486, the same writer cites two cases from the *Bride of Lammermoor*, and says there are many others in his novels. In 4.6.200, J. S. Udall notes a misquotation from *Saint Matthew* in the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, and J. H. J. Oakley in 4.10.184 gives three Latin passages misquoted in the *Antiquary*. The last named writer remarks:

“When the author of *Waverley* described the Baron of Bradwardine as ‘a scholar according to the scholarship of Scotchmen—that is, his learning was more diffuse than accurate, and he was rather a reader than a grammarian,’ he has given us a pretty true account of his own scholarship.”

An examination of other quotations in the *Antiquary* shows that several passages not hitherto remarked are also incorrect in detail. In quoting from *II Henry IV*, he has *fico* for *foutre*; five lines from *I Henry IV* are quoted correctly as a heading for Chapter XVI, but are given as from Part II. In Chapter III he quotes from *Hudibras*, and adds two lines which are not a part of the passage. Quotations from *King John*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and Wordsworth's *Fountain*, are also inaccurate. In *Woodstock*, elsewhere in the *Antiquary*, and in his review of Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*, quotations from Chaucer vary considerably from the standard editions.

Considering Scott's frequent allusions to Chaucer, he should have known the poet well. In the *Edinburgh Review* we find an extensive

review of Godwin's *Life of Chaucer*. His comparisons are mainly with Tyrwhitt's edition, which is also mentioned in his review of Ellis' *Specimens of the Early English Poets*. But Tyrwhitt does not reprint *The Flower and the Leaf*, and mentions it only to doubt its authenticity. Scott mentions Warton's *History of English Poetry*, but this does not contain the poem, though there is a discussion of it. In his edition of Dryden's works, he expresses his admiration for *The Flower and the Leaf*, especially of Dryden's modernization.

If Scott occasionally misquoted, from undue reliance on his memory, he is not alone in this respect among English writers; but such extensive variations from his original as are disclosed by the passage from the *Antiquary* are not a little surprising.

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ON THE TWO PLACE-NAMES IN “THANATOPSIS”

Take the wings

Of morning, pierce the Barcan wilderness,
Or lose thyself in the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound
Save his own dashings—yet the dead are there.
William Cullen Bryant, “*Thanatopsis*.”

The Barcan wilderness and the Oregon are the only place-names used in the whole poem. Readers may have frequently asked themselves why just these particular places should have occurred to the poet's mind, when he wished to symbolize the whole world as a sepulcher of the dead.

The explanation is to be found in the current and local interest which two events had for the poet.

Bryant was born in Cummington in the northwestern part of Hampshire county, Mass., and was educated there and later at Williams College in the northwestern corner of Berkshire county. His chief reading, aside from his father's well-stocked library, was the *Hampshire Gazette*. His outlook on the world was

therefore much colored by Connecticut valley happenings.

In this same valley, in Hampden county, town of Brimfield, lived Gen. William Eaton. He had been a soldier with Mad Anthony Wayne in Ohio, and on resigning his military commission in 1798 was appointed Consul to Tunis. He was engaged there in difficult and tedious negotiations with the Bey, to prevent him from harassing unprotected American commerce in the Mediterranean. In June, 1803, he returned to the United States. As war had broken out with Tripoli because of piracy upon our commerce, Eaton was sent back June, 1804, as Naval Agent of the United States, accompanying our fleet of five vessels under command of Com. Barron. In the fall of 1805 Gen. Eaton landed in Alexandria. Here he learned that Hamet Pasha, the rightful sovereign of Tripoli, then deposed and in exile, was in upper Egypt. Wishing to get into communication with the Pasha, he proceeded with three men by Nile-boat to Cairo. Here he employed a skillful young fellow, a sort of Proteus, named Eugene Leitensdorfer, to bring Hamet to the American station. This man, accompanied by an attendant and two dromedaries, penetrated the desert, traveling night and day, feeding the animals balls of meal and eggs, reached safely the Mameluke camp, and brought the Pasha and 150 retainers back with him.

In March, 1805, Gen. Eaton started with his little army from Alexandria. It consisted of six private marines, twenty-five cannoneers, thirty-eight Greeks, and some Arab cavalry, besides the Pasha's party, in all about 400 men. The baggage was carried on 107 camels. This strange army was now to march into the interior and co-operate from the rear with the American fleet which was to attack from the front. With the greatest hardship, Eaton's motley company traversed the desert of Barca for 600 miles, facing the double danger of starvation and mutiny among such a mixed and undisciplined body of soldiery. They made the trip in nineteen days, in itself a remarkable feat, and helped the fleet as planned. On March 27 a two-hour battle against odds of ten to one ended in the capture of the city of Derne, and led soon after to a treaty with the thor-

oughly frightened reigning Pasha of Tripoli.

In November, 1805, Gen. Eaton returned to the United States, and was received with fêtes in his honor. The press was everywhere filled with laudatory notices of his Barcan enterprise and bravery. Massachusetts voted him a gift of 10,000 acres of land as a recognition of his services.

Bryant (b. 1794) was at that time an intelligent lad of eleven years enjoying the advantages of an unusual home. When we remember that Jefferson's "Embargo" in 1808 was the object of a lengthy satirical polemic in verse in the poet's fourteenth year, we should not be surprised at the lad's interest in national movements at so early an age. He was deeply impressed by the events themselves, and particularly by the local celebrations of that march through the desert of Barca.

The other allusion is possibly more familiar. The Oregon was the name first given to the Columbia river, whose mouth had been discovered and entered a few miles by Capt. Gray. After the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, President Jefferson dreamed of the possibility of ascending the newly-acquired Missouri river to its source, which might lie somewhere near the source of that other magnificent western river, whose greatness was apparent from its size and its current at the mouth. He secured a grant of funds for the expedition and sent his own private secretary, Capt. Lewis, as leader, to try to make the dream come true. The expedition was made in 1804-6. Several circumstances caused this event to take hold of the American imagination with great intensity; the magnitude and daring of the enterprise, its significance as a feature of American empire-building, its commercial importance in opening up a field for successful American rivalry with the British and Russians in the profitable fur trade with China, etc. When the details of the voyage became known, about 1807, the regions traversed stood out in the popular fancy as the "Great Lone Land," a place where the party had traveled four long months without seeing a single human being not of their own party.

Bryant, aged thirteen, must have been carried away like the rest of Americans with the re-

markable world-romance of the voyage and the new region.

Thanatopsis was written in 1811. It is no wonder then that Barca and Oregon became concrete symbols of East and West, and both of uninhabited wastes which death might be supposed to spare—but does not.

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JOSEF SCHOCH: *Perfectum Historicum und Perfectum Praesens im Französischen von seinen Anfängen bis 1700*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1912. 8vo, xi + 92 pp. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, 4, and also separately as Tübingen dissertation.)

EDMUND STAACKE: *Die Verwendung von Plusqueparfait und Passé-Antérieur im Französischen*. Göttingen, 1912. 8vo., xiii + 117 pp. (Göttingen Dissertation.)

The author of the first of these two studies is inspired in method and subject by Herzog's treatment of the auxiliaries.¹ The first of the three chapters gives a careful and convenient survey of the past indefinite, showing by statistical data the progress made by the tense toward a fixed form until the 16th century, when the position of the participle became more uniform and the earlier freedom of agreement gave way to the present literary usage. Both of these phenomena, as noted by Herzog, are of value as showing definitely the meaning of the original speaker. However, as it is now assured that the forms of *avoir* and *être* were real auxiliaries by the 11th century, and as we already have general knowledge of the change in the 16th century, the light now thrown by Schoch's work is upon the process, and his results are corroborative rather than original. Since his

¹ Herzog, *Beiheft zur ZRPh*, XXVI, pp. 76-186. This influence may be seen, aside from direct references, pp. 3, 23, 25, in the general scheme of the first part which follows out a suggestion of Herzog, p. 165, note, and in the attention to differences of style in various genres stressed throughout; cf. o. c. p. 167 ff.

intention throughout is to show the decrease in any but the synthetic function, it would have been desirable to consider the construction based upon the Latin type: *liberos parentibus sublectos habebis*,² i. e., where the subject of the clause is different from that of the participle. This is continued in French,³ and the history of the construction would throw light upon our tense. It must be remembered, also, that the past indefinite cannot be said to have reached a fixed form even to-day, although this does not greatly affect its function.

The remainder of the book is occupied by a discussion of the use of the past definite and past indefinite. This theoretical portion may be disregarded. The author overlooks such nice distinctions of meaning as that formulated by Herzog,⁴ and studies the tenses from an objective standpoint. When, therefore, he finds the two tenses at times "in the same function"⁵ his results cannot be accepted. The examples themselves, which are in an accessible form, may be of value to investigators, and are good as showing variations of usage under parallel conditions in various authors.

Finally, the author decides that in the spoken language the past indefinite had not become an historical perfect by the 17th century. The further aspects of this problem are evidently to be discussed in a later work of which mention is made.⁶ It is to be hoped that here the subjective element will not be neglected. When the character of the past indefinite to-day, as a spoken, narrative tense, is defined, it will doubtless be found that the usage is more closely related to that of the Old French than would be gathered from Schoch's treatment.⁷

² Cf. Herzog, p. 112.

³ Cf. Commynes, p. 68; *Tout mors eurent les testes trenchees*. Cf. also Lerch, *Prädikative Participle für Verbalsubstantiva*, ZRPh., Beiheft 42, p. 74.

⁴ Cf. o. c., p. 167 ff, § 119.

⁵ Cf. p. 24.

⁶ Cf. p. 44.

⁷ Cf. the usage in Old French with *autrefois*, Villeh., p. 72, § 130; Jehan Le Bel, p. 122, l. 6; Commynes, p. 176, l. 1; p. 267, l. 2-3; with *pieça*: Villeh., p. 108, § 188; Henri de Valenciennes, p. 370, § 608; with secondary, subordinate sequence: *ibid*, p. 314, § 515; p. 390, § 644; p. 392, § 645.

In his contribution to the syntax of the tenses, Edmund Staacke undertakes to study the pluperfect and past anterior, tracing their history and determining what variation there had been in their usage. That they have not always been employed in the same way was clear to all students of the language, and isolated attempts had been made to deal with special phenomena in this realm. One aim of this investigation should, therefore, have been to give a broad and synthetic view of these tenses and to arrive at an understanding of their fundamental character, upon which as a basis minor phases of their usage might be understood. No such treatment will be found in the present work; its merits must be found in details rather than in any interpretation that illumines the whole subject.

In the first place, it is a work of unequal merit. The examples, which are copious, are often excellent. Such is the case in the treatment of temporal clauses, where the list of introductory expressions is nearly complete¹ and where the discussion of examples like *un jour que* and *du jour où* is interesting. Some of the divisions, however, which contain good material are on subjects that have been already treated. For Staacke's bibliography is not complete; among omissions to be noted are: Vising, *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 3rd Series, II, pp. 169-178; Gamillscheg, *ZRPh.*, XXXIII, pp. 129-134; Mätschke, *Nebensätze der Zeit im Altfranz.*, Kiel, 1887; Herzog, *Beiheft zur ZRPh.*, XXVI; Laubscher, *The Past Tenses in French*, Balto., 1909.² Even the examples, on account of inaccuracies, must be used with the greatest care. In at least eight cases examples illustrative of the pluperfect are found to be imperfects (*e. g.*, p. 46, Cligés, 1970: *avoit antree*); nearly as often the supposed past anterior is in reality a past definite (*e. g.*, p. 88, Nov. XIII: *fu garis*; p. 106, Hérisson, 265/16: *eut le dos tourné*). In the case of one group³ all of the forms cited as imperfects are past definites. On page

98 a passage cited from *Parise la Duchesse* as containing a pluperfect, has in reality a future perfect. Such cases are in general more readily recognized than those where pluperfect subjunctives are cited as past anteriors (*e. g.*, p. 14, Montaigne I, 65; *idem*, IV, 141; La Fontaine I, 148; Farces, 392; Hept. I, 2; p. 15, Huysmans, *Vatard*, 172/8; Ohnet, *Nemrod*, 167/24—the omission of the accent in this edition is plainly an error—; p. 23, Boeve, 649; p. 68, Montaigne IV, 71 and note—the subjunctive is here written *eust*, *eût*, or *eut*—; p. 86, Furetière, II, 85).

The above errors are at best the result of carelessness. A great many more examples are to be rejected because of a mistake in treatment. There is no cause that demands the pluperfect more widely in Old and Modern French than stress upon repetition. The presence of this determining factor makes the pluperfect valueless, therefore, as proof of any other usage (*e. g.*, p. 93, Chat. *Atala*, 62/5; p. 94, Rutebeuf, 171/29; in the Elzévirienne edition, the same passage is found II, p. 222/111-114; as Staacke quotes it it is incomplete and unintelligible; p. 98, Barlaam, 81/30; Hept. I, 46, and René, 91/32; pp. 107-108, Ducs, 17391 and 26952; 100 Nov., 331/15).

To what extent are the compound tenses to be considered identical with the simple tenses in character? This is a fundamental question which our author has not attempted to solve. After an allusion to the views held on this point, he states that in spite of similarity any parallelism between the simple and compound tenses is to-day tenable at most in the temporal clause (p. 2). A closer analysis of this subject is indispensable to the student who desires a thorough understanding of the pluperfect and past anterior.

This becomes evident the moment Staacke attempts to formulate any fundamental law. At the outset he assures us that in their inner nature the pluperfect and the past anterior give activities "die schon von dem Standpunkt der Vergangenheit als vollendet erscheinen, als vergangen in der Vergangenheit" (p. 12). True, the past participle in both cases shows completion, but it is what we may call "modal com-

¹ To this list (p. 104) should be added *d'abord que*.

² *Bartin* in Staacke's list of authorities is a misprint for *Bastin*.

³ Bottom of p. 6; top of p. 7.

pletion," *i. e.*, the activity named by the verb has been brought to a finished, perfect state. The auxiliary is left to give a "temporal" value to the tense, and it is conceivable that the simple tenses should retain their characteristics in the compound forms where they occur. This question calls for consideration,⁴ and is suggested from another standpoint. The old-French had an organic pluperfect, in treating which Staacke holds to its pluperfect function. Unfortunately he is not acquainted with Gamillscheg's study of the same subject. The latter had decided that the organic form had a special function as a "preterite present," and that it had great aptitude for showing the mutual relations of past actions. Granted that this is true, may the composite forms that replaced it not have possessed originally the same power?

This is a practical question and finds its direct application in the following example from St. Alexis, IV, 138 f., the real logic of which escaped our author (pp. 40 and 116): "Dis et set ans entiers il *avoit* ja *esté*. Et out autant *esté* en la cité d'Alphis." In the second case the stay of Alexis in Alphis had come to a close; in the first part, with the pluperfect, he was still in the palace. This is, therefore, an instance in which the pluperfect does not give an action as past in past time. To-day, the continuance of an activity from a distant past up into the past time of main interest might well be given by the imperfect and *depuis*, as we are thinking particularly of the present character of this activity in the point of past time. The old French had the power to show continuance and yet stress pastness at the same time.⁵ As another instance of this continuance of the pluperfect into the past, due to the value of the imperfect, is the following from Villehardouin: ". . . Et distrent que il iroient Renier de Trit secore, qui ere dedenz l'Estantmac assis, et i *avoit esté* bien treize mois *enserrez* dedenz" (Wailly, Paris,

1874, p. 260, § 435/7; for other examples *cf.* Menestrel de Reims, Paris, 1876, p. 80, § 152: *avoit estei*; Jehan Le Bel, Bruxelles, 1863, I, p. 161/20: *avoient esté*; Commynes, Paris, 1840, p. 159/6-7: *avoient esté*). Upon the above distinction the example cited by Staacke, p. 116, from Rois, 428/15, can be well explained. With the decrease of the past anterior, the power to give so fine a shade of meaning was lost.⁶ The breaking down of the old status, and the consequent effect upon the simple tenses, as with *depuis* and the imperfect, would be an interesting study.

The examples of the past anterior in independent clauses are of the familiar type when freed from the subjunctives already mentioned. A large portion of the work is occupied by a discussion of the tenses when there is present an idea of simultaneity, limited and unlimited duration, or repetition; their treatment in indirect speech and conditions is also considered. Some of the points discussed add little to a real knowledge of the subject (*e. g.*, II, pp. 16-24; 3, p. 75; 4, p. 109).

Assuming that the statistics given on page 11 are correct, they would hardly warrant conclusions as to the relative date of nearly contemporaneous literary works; such a criterium is useful only when applied to a period so broad that minor peculiarities are negligible. The author uses Schlutter's results as a basis for his comparison with the imperfect and past definite, and is therefore bound down at times (as in the discussion of limited duration, pp. 33 and 39) to the latter's somewhat rigid and formal rules, whereas stress alone offers an explanation. It is not correct that in O. F. the anterior is always used with *toujours* if this adverb is at all limited in its application (*cf.* ". . . Par le conseil de messire Henry de Lyon qui là estoit et *avoit esté* tousjours avec-

⁴*Cf.* Clédat, *Annuaire de la Fac. des Lettres de Lyon*, I, fasc. II, pp. 63-64.

⁵For parallel instances in the past indefinite, *cf.* Alexis, IV, 84: il *a* dis et set ans en ceste ville *esté*; also 175, l. 2.

⁶The distinction was not always kept in O. F. if other considerations were felt as important. It is not at all rare to find examples like those on p. 22, where, in Aiol 9385, the past anterior is used although the persons spoken of are still in prison; the fact is summed up in a narrative past; while in Aiol 9831 the pluperfect is used when the hero is no longer in prison, here with a causal shade and corresponding to present usage.

ques depuis la feste," etc. Jehan Le Bel, Bruxelles, 1863, p. 235/23).

The treatment of the temporal clauses is on the whole the best part of the work; it can not, however, be accepted unreservedly. We read that the use of the anterior depends not only on immediate succession, but on a close, logical, interdependent connection between the temporal and main clause, while simultaneity, duration, custom, or lack of logical connection may lead to the pluperfect. There is a large element of truth here, all, of course, from the subjective side. When the anterior is used, rapid succession is the natural impression, and the idea of cause and effect readily arises. But such a tendency as the growing use of the pluperfect may extend from cases where its use is perfectly logical to analogous positions, and it is a difficult matter to prove that there is always a logical difference between the meanings of *à peine* with the anterior and with the pluperfect. The theory that the anterior is rarely found with other tenses than the past definite (cf. p. 100, note) is one that has been corrected several times.⁷ Also the statement that *quant* = 'each time,' 'whenever,' takes the past anterior in O. F. is not correct; the examples (pp. 94-95) rather sum up the whole action.⁸

It is a mistake to make an exception of *après que* in temporal clauses, as does Staacke (p. 110); in general the conjunction agrees with *quand* and *lorsque*. In nearly 100 cases examined I find no tendency for repeated action to be summed up by the anterior after *après que*, and, on the other hand, *après que* + the pluperfect for repeated action is not so rare as would appear from the statement referred to above. The following passages will show that it is a well-established construction. "Ces sectes étaient des nations entières. Les unes, après qu'elles avaient été conquises par les Romains, avaient conservé, etc." Montesquieu, *Grandeur*

et décadence des Romains, Paris, 1825, p. 443, col. 2. Après que les limites sacrées avaient été tracées, les termes posés . . ., on dressait un tableau, etc. Coulanges, *L'invasion germanique*, Paris, 1904, I, 80. L'impôt foncier, par exemple, après que le gouvernement en avait déterminé le chiffre pour chaque cité, était divisé, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 57. This is not so clear a case of repetition. Quelquefois Gratien, après qu'elle lui avait dit toutes choses autour d'elle et de lui . . . disait, etc. Lamartine, *Tailleur de Pierres de Saint-Point*, Paris (Hachette), 1904, p. 95. Quelquefois nous restions longtemps . . . après que je lui avais tiré son seau d'eau, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 126. Et, après que cette parole m'avait remué . . .; après, disais-je, monsieur, que cette parole m'avait remué un moment, elle répandait en moi une musique, etc. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148. (It is to be noted that three of these instances occur in the same book, where a popular tone is used.)

In view of the few examples given by Staacke of *après que* with the pluperfect without repetition⁹ (his passage from Marg. de Valois, p. 112, is to be rejected as *après* is here an adverb) it will be well to cite the following:¹⁰

Et le lendemain . . . au vespre, après ce que la cloche du guet avait été sonnée, le dit Jehan Stocton n'oblya pas, etc. *Cent Nouv. Nouv.* II, p. 65 (old édition. Elzévirienne). ". . . Mais il estoit malheureux, et mal secouru du Roy, après qu'on l'avait engagé, comme on fit à Milan," etc. Montluc, I (Paris, 1821), p. 383/26. J'étais si surpris de voir qu'elle me montrait cette amitié au dernier moment, après qu'elle m'avait montré tant d'éloignement depuis plus de trois mois, que je ne savais pas, etc. Lamartine, *o. c.*, p. 115. (There is a slight causal shading here, parallel to that found at times in *quand* and *lorsque*.)

In conclusion Staacke finds that the use of the two tenses has been fundamentally the same at all periods. To-day there is less freedom of subjective attitude; logic governs the choice of a tense. A real difference has arisen only in

⁷I have called attention to this elsewhere; cf. *o. c.*, p. 52 and reference to Vising. Clauses of simultaneity and causal clauses with *quant*, etc., will be found treated here also, pp. 54 ff.

⁸Interesting points are also the discussion of *ne pas . . . sitôt que* + anterior, and *tant* + anterior, as on p. 114.

⁹Mitschke gives no examples of *après que* and pluperfect whatever.

¹⁰Several other cases may be found in my treatment of the subject, *o. c.*, pp. 47-51.

the temporal clause. A full understanding, however, of this question will not be gained until an examination, covering a representative field, is made of the relative usage in simple and compound forms for the same author. Then we may trace those movements which point to a growing, less dependent element in the pluperfect, and shall doubtless find that the difference of meaning is not confined to the temporal clause, but is a widespread fact in tense development.

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SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. Edited by ALBERT FEUILLERAT. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1912. xx, 572 pp. 8°.

This attractive first volume augurs well for M. Feuillerat's projected complete works of Sidney, and suggests once more the many *lacunae* in scholarly works on Elizabethan non-dramatic literature. In reprinting as a unit the 1590 quarto text without deviation, that is, Sidney's incomplete revision of his earlier work with chapter divisions and lyrics as arranged by "the over-seer of the print" (p. 4), the editor provides by notes and appendix means of reconstructing the 1593 version edited by Sidney's sister. Not only this, but he has noted also all verbal variants found in the fourteen folio editions of *Arcadia* up to 1624; he provides a list of misprints in the quarto—both those corrected by him and those left standing; and he has added a facsimile title-page, an Alphabetical Table of the Personages in *Arcadia*, and an Index of First Lines of Poems. The volume is an important, serviceable, and sound contribution to Elizabethan scholarship.

Many, perhaps, will regard as supererogatory the collation of most of the folios, which, the editor informs us (p. x), delayed the publication for two years. Though this serve to settle "bibliographical problems," it affects negligibly our understanding of the text and of

the literary influence of the work. Meantime, the editor has completely passed over without collation "the old *Arcadia*"—Sidney's first version—which is extant in the three manuscripts discovered by Mr. Dobell. Collation of these would have revealed Sidney's taste in revision, and afforded means of determining whether a given author was influenced by the earlier or later version. The editor objects (p. ix n.) that "to include their variants would have meant practically printing the whole of the earlier form." Grant this: the important differences and similarities should have been indicated, especially where they affect personal allusions.

Take, for instance, the allusions to Sidney, to Stella, and to Sidney's sister. Philisides is represented (in heavy capitals on page 285) as being in love with a lady, "the *Star*, wherby his course was only directed." The appearance or non-appearance of this allusion in the earlier version affects potently our knowledge of the date of Sidney's addresses to Stella. So far as we can determine from the table of personages, this is the sole allusion to Sidney in *Arcadia*, since no registry is made of the melancholy shepherd (pp. 132, 352), who twice distinguished himself in song. This shepherd the 1593 edition (p. 565, l. 5) names Philisides. Nor can we deem it an error of Sidney's sister; for the first lyric contains (p. 133) an extended reminiscence of fellowship with Sidney's friend "Lanquet, the shepheard best swift Ister knewe." Moreover, the knight Philisides appears attended by shepherds and bearing for impress "a sheepe marked with pitch."

Similar allusions, as to Philisides' quarrel with Geron (p. 37) and friendship with Coridon (p. 135) and Helius (p. 285) ramify into a mesh of personal allegory in *Arcadia*, inviting research. But to determine Sidney's earlier and final intentions, as well as the contributions of his sister and the 1590 edition, requires just that collation of the manuscript which M. Feuillerat neglected in favor of solving "bibliographical problems." Note, again, the allusions to Strephon and Claius (pp. 140, 348), lovers of Urania, which fail to appear in the Table of Personages. Who Urania was.

we know from Spenser's line (*Colin Clout*),
 "Urania, sister unto Astrofell."

In "The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia" we cannot fail to wish to understand allusions to herself and to her lovers. The Countess in 1593 expanded one of these allusions (p. 564), giving herself the end of the first book. Was she here restoring or innovating?

It is to be hoped that M. Feuillerat, in an ensuing volume, will make complete this highly desirable and well begun first edition of the entire works of Sidney.

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The Gøngu-Hrólfssaga. A Study in Old Norse Philology. By JACOB WITTMER HARTMANN. (Columbia University Dissertation. 1912.) 116 p.

It is to be stated with regret that this treatise does not add much to our knowledge of this entertaining and fantastic Fornaldarsaga. For one thing, the weight of the investigation is placed altogether on the wrong side—the historic-geographic,—whereas it is perfectly evident that it ought to have been laid on folklore and legendary traits. Excepting a short paragraph on the 'life-grass' in chapter IV (Sources and Materials of the *Gøngu-Hrólfssaga*), no study whatever is made of the rather numerous fairy-story motives present. Instead, the author goes on a wild-goose chase after possible geographic information in a Fornaldarsaga! Just as futile and aside of the point is the chapter on *Gøngu-Hrólf* as an Historical Character: who that is acquainted with this *lygisaga* of *lygisagas* believes for a moment that there is more than the name in common between its hero and the historic character?

In other respects also the work is unsatisfactory. In chapter II (Manuscripts of the *Gøngu-Hrólfssaga*) one looks for information on the redactions, merit, and relationship of the

various MSS., but gets only a catalog of MSS. containing the saga.

Furthermore, there are a number of important points about which there can be no two opinions. It is hard to see how the author could fail to note that the hero is but a slight variation from the favorite type of the fairy-story, the *kólbitr* (male Cinderella) who is by no means 'surly' (p. 37) but a good-natured, long-suffering, generous fellow who keeps his own counsel and wins in the end against the greatest odds by his sheer luck, resourcefulness, and strength. The statement that "throughout *GHS* the practice of sorcery is represented as common and apparently legitimate" (p. 38) is not warranted. On the contrary, here as in all saga literature it is practiced by persons who do not have a claim on our sympathy. Most Fornaldarsagas, just as most fairy-stories, even those gathered in recent times, take no notice whatever of Christianity. This is by no means an "intentional omission" as the author thinks (p. 33), in order to place the story in prehistoric times. It only proves that it was composed in times when Christianity was so much a matter of course that the story teller does not bother to point out that its supernatural occurrences happen in a different sphere—no more than does the fairy-story. The author wonders at the absence of 'the element of constant epithet' in 'this' saga, without realizing that the saga literature in general does not favor its use. The statement that the practice of *skera upp heror* (the sending around of the war-arrow) is a commonplace in Fornaldarsaga literature (p. 42) does not betray very extensive reading in the sagas.

Appended to the treatise are 1, a part of one version of the *Gøngu-Hrólf's rímur*—on whose exceedingly slight merit I am entirely at one with the author; 2, a useful consideration of the vocabulary and style of *GHS*; 3, the parallel passages of *GHS* and *Knyttlingasaga*; 4, an alphabetical list of geographical names.

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Libussa, Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen von FRANZ GRILLPARZER, edited with Introduction and Notes by GEORGE O. CURME. Oxford University Press, 1913.

The appearance of this text brings the number of Grillparzer's dramas available for class use in American colleges up to six, and gives the Austrian poet a comparatively full representation among the important German authors. These six dramas are over against three of Hebbel, and, be it said with regret, only one of Kleist.

Libussa is, among the six, probably the most instructive for students who are seriously trying to find the center of Grillparzer's personality. That ever recurring problem, which was his own, of how to adjust ideals to reality, finds here, as might be expected, a far maturer and more convincing embodiment than in *Sappho*. We are glad to have Professor Curme's assurance that *Libussa* has stood the test of classroom use. And no doubt any disappointment we may feel in regard to the action of this drama is offset by the wealth of thought, as well as by the approved craftsmanship with which the poet moulds that thought into dramatic form. For Grillparzer was through and through a dramatic writer, inexhaustible in the richness of scenes which passed before his inner eye, peculiarly gifted in that kind of invention which provides for the vision. This is evident on every page of his works, even in plays like *Libussa*, which he wrote for his own solace. He is one of the best writers to aid in acquiring the habit of visualizing a drama during the reading of it—a habit far too rare among students.

Professor Curme has furnished his edition with an introduction of one hundred and seven pages of very helpful information, and with nine pages of notes, the only fault of which is their brevity. In the first forty pages of the Introduction the editor gives the necessary general information about Grillparzer in two sections, one containing the main facts of his life, the other a summary of his important works. Both parts are clear and practical in their dis-

position of the facts. If any criticism is in place, it would probably be that the editor does not give us a summary of Grillparzer's qualities as dramatist, *i. e.*, not from any very general points of view, such as his favorite problems, his types of character, his attitude to history and philosophy, his methods of work, beginnings and endings, his varying success in portraying men and women, his remarkable talent for converting what he touched into dramatic values, or to put it differently, his sure instinct for dramatic values. These questions are touched upon here and there, but the total impression of the poetic personality is somewhat blurred. There was an excellent beginning of such a summary on pp. xiii-xv. Students will, however, find the stories of the plays helpful.

To a few single assertions in this part of the Introduction one might be inclined to object, as, for example, that *Esther* is the "most beautiful fragment in the entire language" (p. xxxv). *Robert Guiscard* is one formidable rival for this distinction. One is also inclined to quarrel with the statement that Goethe attached "too much importance to beautiful form" in *Iphigenie*, or that Grillparzer in his desire to "reproduce the stirring life within him" represents a "distinct advance" beyond the art of Goethe. His art is a different art—of that there can be no question. But in *Iphigenie* Goethe came as near to carrying out his intentions as ever did Grillparzer in any of his dramas.

In the second part of the Introduction Professor Curme gives an analysis of *Libussa*, act by act, scene by scene. This analysis is the best thing about the edition, and too much cannot be said in praise of it for its practical fitness. If the student makes the proper use of it, *i. e.*, reads it before the drama, during the drama, and after the drama, it will be of inestimable value in aiding him to gain a fair comprehension of the beauties of the work. Its very minuteness is its strength, because the reader can refer to it for Professor Curme's opinion on every scene. This minuteness also makes up for many apparent deficiencies in the Notes. For example, the comment on ll. 1945–

48, which the student would naturally look for in the Notes, is found in the Introduction (p. lxxx). I am not quite sure whether ll. 1946-48 have been interpreted rightly in every respect. Describing the life of woman, Libussa says:

Ist dieser Abstand doch des Menschen Leben!
Von Kind zu Jungfrau, bis zuletzt das "Jung,"
Erst nur ein Wort, sich ablöst von der Frau:
Der einz'ge Name treu uns bis zum Tode.

Professor Curme translates this freely: "The 'child' becomes a 'young woman,' and at length the 'young' which is only a meaningless word, becomes detached and 'woman' alone remains, the only name that stays by us till death." And he adds in explanation: "*i. e.*, womanhood alone is real life, not childhood, not maidenhood." The point in question is whether the words "*erst nur ein Wort*" can mean "*which is only a meaningless word.*" Would not the lines, and indeed Professor Curme's explanation of them, gain greater definiteness by translating: *at first only a word, i. e.*, until *das Jung* becomes really young life, separating itself from the woman? The passage would thus be a second reference to the birth of Libussa's child.

Just because of the general care and accuracy of the long analysis of fifty-five pages, we are surprised to find such an odd mistake in the interpretation of the language of ll. 1701, ff. In the note on *Fort die Hände!* the editor says: "He has fallen into a body of cold water and hands were stretched out to help him, etc." The same view of the situation is set forth again on p. lxxiii of the Introduction, and in the note to l. 1705. There is, of course, nothing in the text to uphold the idea of a "cold bath" for Primislaus. It is quite puzzling in fact to find the words that could have given rise to this interpretation.

The Introduction closes with ten pages of useful information about "Libussa in History and Legend," in which the editor makes, in passing, a few thrusts at Brentano and the Romantic School.

The editor nowhere calls attention to the remarkable peculiarities of verse in *Libussa*.

These begin to be evident as early as page 7, where two Alexandrine lines suddenly make their appearance. The chief peculiarities, however, occur from page 13 on through the second act. Ll. 128, 130, 134, 140, 142, 144 are Alexandrines, each rhyming with a pentameter. Rhymed and unrhymed passages alternate very often, as on page 16. Line 186 is Alexandrine, 187 has six accents, 188 is Alexandrine, 189, 190 are pentameters, 191, 192 Alexandrines, 193 pentameter, 194 Alexandrine, 195-197 pentameters, 198 Alexandrine, 199 has six accents, 200 is pentameter, 201 is Alexandrine, 202 pentameter, 203 Alexandrine, 204 pentameter, 205 Alexandrine. Then follow pages of pentameter verse, with an occasional line of six accents, as also in other dramas of Grillparzer. About l. 500 the Alexandrines begin to occur again in a number of places, as, for example, ll. 529-545. And to make this variety still greater, ll. 573-80 are *Knittelverse*. They are enclosed on both sides by pentameters, beyond which are Alexandrines. This rhythmical freedom comes, it will be noticed, largely at the opening of the second act, a scene in which the poet wishes to give us the impression the people have of Libussa's government, somewhat in the manner of the *Lager* in *Wallenstein*. The common people are given a hearing as well as the nobles.

It might have been interesting also to notice a resemblance—such it seems to me at any rate—between the second scene in the first act of *Libussa* and the opening scene of *Wallensteins Tod*. The dramatic impression of these two scenes is strikingly similar, owing to the following points of agreement: Swartka is observing the stars, just as Seni is; Dobra stands before a table on which is an open book, as Wallenstein stands before a table on which the planets are drawn; Swartka describes the aspect of the heavens to Dobra, as Seni does to Wallenstein; Dobra reads misfortune from the book before her, as Wallenstein reads good fortune from the table before him. Dobra bids Swartka make an end by saying: *Lass nun genug sein, Swartka! komm herab!* And Wallenstein opens the scene with similar words to Seni: *Lass es jetzt gut sein, Seni. Komm*

herab. Finally, to complete the resemblance, both scenes are effectively interrupted by a sudden knocking at the door, in one case by Domaslav, in the other by Terzky. Each brings unwelcome news.

Now and then some expression that might to advantage have been explained escapes mention in the Notes. For example, the peculiar one in ll. 1761-62: *ich komme zu Rede stehen*, for *ich komme, zu Rede zu stehen*. Among others which might not be clear to the student I may mention: *der nicht eignen Rechts* (l. 1110), *schon als verstärkt* (l. 2468), *das letzte sich des Strebens* (l. 1484), *geliebt's den Göttern* (l. 881). The word *Frauen* (l. 111) is not explained until its second occurrence (l. 136).

A very few errors in printing are noticeable, as for example: *bemundernd* for *bewundernd* (p. 49), *hinfällt* for *hinfälltst* (l. 900).

College teachers owe great thanks both to the editor and the publishers for their careful work, and, not least, for their courage in bringing out a book that richly deserved being made available to our classes. May that courage be rewarded by an extensive use of the text.

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Ronsard, par J. J. JUSSEMAND. Paris: Hachette, 1913. vi + 217 pp. (Les Grands Ecrivains français.)

After the numerous special studies on various aspects of the life and writings of Ronsard,¹ a real need was felt for a general, critical biography, and it is a matter of no small congratulation to scholars and to lovers of poetry that the task should have fallen into such excellent hands. From beginning to end Mr. Jusserand's book is a model of presentation. The reader's

attention is caught and fixed upon the essential features of the poet's life and work, while details of interest are continually brought in as a background; the author never loses his sense of proportion, his perspective, so that, apart from interest in the subject itself, the book is delightful reading.

The more important phases of the poet's life are brought out with especial clearness, and more than once tradition has to yield to fact. We are told of the early days when Ronsard was a page at court, of his journeys, of the infirmity to which was due the change to the student's life, of the gathering of young men of high ideals and lofty purpose at the Collège de Coqueret, of their enthusiastic undertaking, of the poet's individual glory, of his friendship with the king, of his loves, and of his position in the world of letters. Particular incidents are brought before us in greater detail. First and foremost is Ronsard's greatness of character, his independence of spirit with regard to his superiors. In an age when a writer was so wholly dependent upon the favor and bounty of a rich lord, it is inspiring to see a man who did not fear to stand up and tell the truth to the king himself:

Sire, ce n'est pas tout que d'être Roi de France.

Not that Ronsard was averse to giving praise; in the dedicatory poems and epistles no one could celebrate more lavishly the qualities of him whom he addressed, nor could anyone make more frequent and urgent appeals for *largesse*; yet nowhere does the poet forget that he is the apostle of the downtrodden, nowhere does he fail to call upon the powerful to right the wrongs of the oppressed, to alleviate misery, and to do justice to all men. Elsewhere we see Ronsard's respect for his calling. Though filled from the first with a desire to write a great national epic, he considers it incompatible with his dignity as a man and poet to set himself to the task until the nation has taken its share in the work by giving him an official appointment with a salary, a condition which only comes to pass after many years of incessant demand on the part of the poet. His love

¹ In particular H. Longnon, *Pierre de Ronsard, les ancêtres—la jeunesse*, Paris, 1912; P. Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, Paris, 1909, and *Vie de Pierre de Ronsard* par Binet, Paris, 1910.

for his country and for his native Vendômois is emphasized, as is the very real part that he and his friends took as good Catholics in the struggle against the rising tide of Protestantism. Well-presented, too, is Ronsard's relation to the three ladies he celebrates in so much of his verse. The poetic love he felt for Cassandra, the real passion which Marie aroused, the sympathetic companionship between the aging poet and Helen, the literary bluestocking of the court, are clearly differentiated. We are reminded, too, that the poet, though a man of real feeling, was a far more ardent lover in word than in deed. The author recounts pleasantly the origins of the *Brigade* and of the *Pléiade*. We note that Ronsard uses each term but once in all his poetry, and that the association of young men was by no means so definite as tradition had made us believe. The group "des bons," according to M. Jusserand, was composed of Ronsard, du Bellay, Baïf, Jodelle, and Pontus de Tyard, regularly; with the seven completed according to circumstances by La Péruse, des Autels, Peletier, or Belleau. Dorat was never included. Ronsard's individual relations with other members of the group are not dwelt upon at length, nor do we find any attempt to define his feeling toward Du Bellay at the moment of publication of the *Défense*. Pleasantest of all, Mr. Jusserand does not feel called upon to close his book with a sad lament that the poet had outlived his day and generation. In the last years he pictures to us rather a Ronsard who has grown, who has learned by experience the just proportion of things, one who can distinguish the bad from the good, even in his own work, and who is not afraid to do so. The fact that six editions of his poems appeared in the six years immediately subsequent to his death (1585) bears out Mr. Jusserand's assertion that at that moment, Ronsard was the most illustrious man of letters in Europe. He adds that Ronsard's popularity and that of his work remained intact for forty years or more, in fact until the full development of the classic ideal.

In the closing chapter we find a most useful resumé of the actual practice of the leading poet of the *Pléiade* in his efforts to carry for-

ward the work of 'illustrating' the language; concrete cases are cited and examples are given to show just what Ronsard actually introduced into his poetry, and our attention is called to the points in which he was successful, to those wherein he failed.

In the review of Ronsard's life, Mr. Jusserand necessarily encounters many disputed questions where he is forced to choose his position. First of all is that concerning the date of the poet's birth; Mr. Jusserand pronounces for September 11, 1524, rather than for Mr. Longnon's ingeniously adduced September 2, 1525. As to the time of the poet's first meeting with Cassandra, Ronsard's own statements in certain poems referring to the event cause Mr. Jusserand to prefer 1546 to the more generally accepted 1545. In the matter of Ronsard's ancestry, our biographer joins with Mr. Longnon in discarding a fabulous oriental origin for the family and in locating it in Vendôme since the eleventh century. In the minor question of the chronology of Ronsard's journeys to the Scottish court, he prefers Mr. Laumonier's thesis to that suggested by Mr. Longnon, pronouncing for two years in Scotland followed by six months in England. We regret that no mention is made of the reported meeting of Ronsard and Du Bellay at Poitiers, a meeting which is doubtful both as to verity and date. Nor is any notice taken of the question brought up by Mr. Séché² as to whether the Minerva of silver voted Ronsard by the *Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse* was ever really sent him.

Taken altogether the book is a charming presentation, not the least delightful feature being the many bits of general information the author in passing lets fall from his great store of universal knowledge. In the preface we are told of the origin of the series of which this book forms a part; elsewhere we find indicated the relationship of Alfred de Musset to Cassandra; again we are told where are to be found specimens of Ronsard's handwriting, or a presentation copy of some of his work, produced during his lifetime. Ronsard's appellation of

² *Le Cénacle de la muse française*, p. 15, fn. 2.

Leicester: "Mylord Robert Du-Dlé comte de L'Encestre" is cited, as are countless other jottings.

In the closing pages and in the brief bibliographical note mention is made of the principal studies on Ronsard's life and work; the author's modesty forbids him to include his own most interesting article, "Ronsard and His Vendômois," in the *Nineteenth Century*, 1897, 588-612.

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CORRESPONDENCE

NOTES ON THE ECLOGUES OF BAPTISTA MANTUANUS

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Since the publication of my edition of Mantuan's *Eclogues* (mentioned in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII, 32) I have made a few supplementary notes which may be of interest to your readers.

A phrase in Rabelais, v. 3, "ces Monagaux que voyez là bardocucullez d'une chausse d'hypocras comme vne allouette sauvage," seems to be derived from *Ecl.* vii, 4,

bardocueullatus caput ut campestris alauda.

And perhaps another passage in the same book, chap. 31, "Lampyrides, vous les appelez les cicindeles, là reluisans, comme au soir font en ma patrie, l'orge venant a maturité," should be compared with *Ecl.* i, 154-5,

iam spicata Ceres, iam cogitat hordea messor,
splendidulis iam nocte volant lampyrides alis.

Ecl. vi, 206-7, is quoted in the closing chapter of Avellaneda's *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, "Los médicos me persiguen porque les digo con Mantuano," etc.

Ecl. i, 48-49, is set on the margin of Teofilo Folengo's *Caos del Triperuno* (Bari ed.,

1911, p. 265). So *Ecl.* ii, 93, is quoted on p. 304.

Ecl. iv, 123-4, is quoted in the commentary on H. Schopper's Latin translation of *Reinke de Vos* (Frankfort ed., 1574, p. 172).

The curious story of Eve and her children, *Ecl.* vi, 56-102, is repeated in a poem by Hans Sachs, *Die ungleichen Kinder Evas* (1546).

The *Eclogues* were very promptly read by Jean Lemaire de Belges: "et l'on voit par le Livret de 1498 combien Lemaire partageait cette admiration pour les nouvelles Bucoliques," *Notice sur la vie & les œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*, J. Stecher, 1891, p. xiv. See also p. xcvi, "Il contient des citations, des extraits, d'Ovide, de Mantuanus, etc."

Ecl. v, 160-5, should be compared with Theocritus, xvi, 14-15,

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ὥς πάρος ἐσθλοῖς
αἰνεῖσθαι σπεύδοντι, νενίκηνται δ' ὑπὸ κερδέων.

And *Ecl.* v, 188-90, with Theocritus, xvi, 64-5,

χαίρῃτω ὅστις τοῖος, ἀνάρριθμος δέ οἱ εἴη
ἄργυρος, αἰεὶ δὲ πλεόνων ἔχοι ἕμερος αὐτόν.

Ecl. v, 155-6, may be compared with Petrarch, *Africa*, ix, 87,

quisquis enim se magna videt gessisse, necesse est
diligat aeternos vates et carmina sacra,

or with Claudian, *De Cons. Stilich.* Lib. iii praef.,

gaudet enim virtus testes sibi iungere Musas;
carmen amat quisquis carmine digna gerit.

Ecl. ix, 27-31,

Funde iterum; potare semel gustare, secundus
colluit os potus, calefacta refrigerat ora
tertius, arma siti bellumque indicare quartus
aggreditur, quintus pugnatur, victoria sexti est,
septimus (Oenophili senis haec doctrina) triumphat,

may be compared with Petrarch, *De Rebus Familiaribus*, iii, 9,

Est Apuleii Medaurensis liber qui inscribitur
Floridorum: ibi quid primus crater agat, quid secundus, ac deinceps, faceta narratione disseritur,

cuius sententiam non muto, sed extendo. . . .
 Secundum me igitur primus crater pertinet ad sitim,
 secundus ad laetitiam, tertius ad voluptatem, quartus
 ad ebrietatem, quintus ad iram, sextus ad litigium,
 septimus ad furorem, octavus ad somnum, nonus ad
 morbum.

The passage to which Petrarch refers is *Florida*,
 xx, "Sapientis uiri super mensam celebre dictum
 est: 'prima,' inquit, 'creterra ad sitim pertinet,
 secunda ad hilaritatem, tertia ad uoluptatem,
 quarta ad insaniam.'" For an earlier parallel, see
 Eubulus (iii, 249 Mein.),

τρεῖς γὰρ μόνους κρατῆρας ἐγκεραννύω
 τοῖς εὖ φρονούουσιν· τὸν μὲν ὑγιείας ἕνα, κτλ.

And for a mediaeval variant, from a fifteenth-century
 Paris ms., see A. Långfors, in *Romania*, xli, 214.

With *Ecl.* i, 58, cf. Tibullus, iii, 4, 83, "votis
 contraria vota."

With *Ecl.* i, 114-5, cf. Ovid, *Am.* i, 2, 30,
 "et nova captiva vincula mente feram."

With *Ecl.* ii, 49, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* ii, 5, "studio
 . . . inani."

With *Ecl.* iv, 103, cf. Horace, *Od.* i, 7, 4,
 "Thessala Tempe"; and with *Ecl.* v, 18, Horace,
A. P., 408, "laudabile carmen."

With *Ecl.* vi, 207, cf. Petrarch, *Fam.* v, 19,
 "medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunitas
 summa est."

With *Ecl.* vi, 243, cf. Prudentius, *Cath.* vii,
 136, "dēinceps."

With *Ecl.* viii, 53, cf. Petrarch, *Fam.* ii, 12,
 "Soracte mons, Silvestro clarus incola."

With *Ecl.* ix, 51, cf. Sannazaro, *Ecl.* i, 26,
 "tegetem subiisset Amyntae."

In a recent book by Enrico Carrara, *La Poesia Pastorale* (Milano, Vallardi), there is
 some account of the influence of Mantuan upon
 the eclogues of Vincenzo Mantovano, Publio
 Fausto Andrelini, and Paolo Belmesseri; see
 pp. 266, 268, 271. On p. 11 *Ecl.* iv, 89-92, is
 cited as a parallel to Theocritus, iv, 44-48,
 and on p. 257 Mantuan's 'Galla' is compared
 with Luigi Pulci's 'Beca da Dicomano.'

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La Fille de Jephthé

A MM. les Rédacteurs de *Mod. Lang. Notes*:

Au moment où l'œuvre d'Alfred de Vigny,
 désormais tombée dans le domaine public, va
 devenir l'objet de travaux critiques si néces-
 saires,¹ il convient d'en préparer et d'en re-
 cueillir tous les matériaux possibles, si modes-
 tes soient-ils. Je voudrais seulement, sans
 risquer aucune conclusion, rapprocher la *Fille*
de Jephthé d'un poème, paru exactement sous le
 même titre à la fin de l'année 1729 de la
Continuation des Mémoires de Littérature et
d'Histoire du P. Desmolets et de l'abbé Goujet.
 Je ne dispose d'aucun moyen d'information
 qui me permette de savoir si, d'aventure,
 Vigny a eu l'occasion de feuilleter des recueils
 de ce genre; peut-être y a-t-il simple coïnci-
 dence, et la source biblique commune² suffit-
 elle à expliquer les similitudes d'expression:
 on ne peut, toutefois, n'être point frappé, dans
 les citations suivantes de l'analogie d'allure
 et de mouvement. Comparez:

Poème de 1729:

Titre: *La Fille de Jephthé*, poème.

Vigny:

Titre: *La Fille de Jephthé*, poème.

Poème de 1729:

Cependant vers Maspha s'avancent les armées.

¹ L'éditeur L. Conard a demandé à M. Fern. Baldensperger de procurer une belle, sûre et complète
 édition d'Alfred de Vigny. Le premier volume,
Grandeur et Servitude militaires, paraîtra le 13
 Novembre.

² Juges. ch. xi. Rapprochez en particulier les
 vers. 37-39: "Accordez-moi seulement, ajouta-
 t-elle, la prière que je vous fais; laissez-moi aller
 sur les montagnes pendant deux mois afin que je
 pleure ma virginité avec mes compagnes. Jephthé
 lui répondit: "Allez!" et il la laissa libre pen-
 dant ces deux mois. Elle allait donc avec ses com-
 pagnes et ses amies, et elle pleurait sa virginité sur
 les montagnes. Après les deux mois, elle revint
 trouver son père, et il accomplit ce qu'il avait voué."
 (Version de Sacy.)—Sur l'élément biblique dans
La Fille de Jephthé, cf. H. Alline, *Deux sources des*
premiers poèmes bibliques de Vigny, l'abbé Fleury
et Dom Calmet, Rev. d'Histoire Littéraire de la
 France, 1907.

Vigny:

Et l'armée en marchant vers les tours de
Maspha.

Poème de 1729:

L'orgueilleux Ammonite a mordu la pous-
sière. . .
Israël retentit de mille cris de joie.

Vigny:

Tous les guerriers d'Ammon sont détruits. . .
Israël est vainqueur, et, par ses cris perçants,
Reconnait du Très-Haut les secours tout-puis-
sants.

Poème de 1729:

Elle court vers son père au son des instruments.

Vigny:

J'entends le concert qui s'approche.

Poème de 1729:

Cependant, occupé d'une affreuse pensée,
Jephté s'avance triste et la tête baissée:
Son cœur est agité de noirs pressentiments.
Tout paraît devant lui d'un sinistre présage. . .
Il ne sait où fixer son regard incertain.

Vigny:

Mais le sombre vainqueur marche en baissant
la tête,
Sourd à ce bruit de gloire, et, seul, silencieux.
Tout à coup il s'arrête, il a fermé les yeux.

Poème de 1729:

. . . l'objet qu'il aime davantage.

Vigny:

La voix la plus aimée. . .

Poème de 1729:

*Vous détournez les yeux; je vois couler vos
pleurs.*
Votre bras n'a-t-il pas fini tous nos malheurs?

Vigny:

Je ne vois que vos pleurs, et non pas vos regards
. . . le Seigneur n'a-t-il pas
Renversé les cités au seul bruit de vos pas?

Poème de 1729:

*Souffrez que seulement j'aille avec mes com-
pagnes*
Pleurer pendant deux mois ma mort sur nos
montagnes.

Vigny:

. *permettez seulement,*
*Qu'emmenant avec moi les vierges mes com-
pagnes,*
*J'aille deux mois entiers, sur le haut des mon-
tagnes,*

Pour la dernière fois errante en liberté,
Pleurer sur ma jeunesse et ma virginité.

Poème de 1729:

Au couteau paternel, victime obéissante,
Elle vient présenter une tête innocente.

Vigny:

Puis elle vient s'offrir *au couteau paternel.*

Je relève, au hasard des catalogues: M^{me}
Perox d'Albany. *Seila, fille de Jephté, juge*
et prince des Hébreux. Paris, Leclère, 1801,
2 vols. in-12; et de l'abbé J. L. Aubert, mort
en 1814, *Le vœu de Jephté, oratorio.*

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JEAN PAUL AND HEBBEL

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Germany is this year simultaneously celebrating, in *feuilletons* and elsewhere, the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Friedrich Hebbel, the hundredth of his birth, and the one hundred and fiftieth of Jean Paul's birth. We, however, are accustomed to let such occasions dumbly pass by. And yet, the birth and life and death of each of these men was, in each case, to take an idea from Chamisso's *Schlemihl*, not simply an "Ereignis," it was a "Tat." Jean Paul exerted an enormous influence on his age, Hebbel looms large in our age. The former lived to see himself famous, the latter died to become famous.

It would be difficult to find two poets so unlike. In one respect, however, they were similar: Each had a habit of making general remarks, some of which contain a deal of wisdom. One of Hebbel's frequently quoted *mots* is the following: "Was hilft es Dir, dass Deine Uhr richtig geht und die Stadtuhr geht verkehrt? Umsonst wirst Du Dich auf die Sonne berufen, wenn Du zu früh oder zu spät kommst" (Cf. Diary for Nov. 6, 1843). In 1808, Jean Paul published at Heidelberg his

Frieden-Predigt an Deutschland. In it occur these words: "O rechnet und lebe nur jeder nach der Sternzeit eines geheiligten Herzens: so würde er die rechte Stunde auch aussen treffen, da das gemeine Aussen mit seinen Stadt- und Länder-Uhren sich doch am Ende nach jener regeln muss" (cf. *Zeitung für Einsiedler*, Pfaff edition, p. 27, and Jean Paul's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Berlin, 1827, vol. 34, p. 47). The similarity of these remarks is obvious. The only difference between them is to be accounted for by the fact that the first was made by a Realist, the second by a Romanticist.

Hebbel knew his Jean Paul. There are seventy-three references in the diary alone to Jean Paul. Many of them are unfavorable, for example: "Ich habe in der letzten Zeit viel von Jean Paul gelesen und Einiges von Lichtenberg. Welch ein herrlicher Kopf ist der Letztere! Ich will lieber mit Lichtenberg vergessen werden, als unsterblich seyn mit Jean Paul" (cf. *Diary*, Nov. 15, 1846). Nevertheless, it is obvious that Hebbel was interested in his great predecessor in *aesthetica generalia*, and it looks as though the above remarks about the watch and the clock and the sun are something more than a mere coincidence. Comparative reading would undoubtedly bring out more of the same sort. Kuh and Werner both mention Jean Paul in their biographies of Hebbel and speak of influence, but no notice is taken of the above situation. Bernhard Patzak, in his dissertation, "Friedrich Hebbels Epigramme," barely mentions Jean Paul. In his monograph, "Fr. Hebbels aesthetische Ansichten," Andreas Aliskiewicz says (page 4): "Er kennt auch zeitgenössische Kritiker und Aesthetiker wie Jean Paul, Tieck, Solger und Immermann." Then he continues throughout the work to quote only Hebbel's own views without reference to his predecessors. In short, there seem to be two substantial reasons for writing a study on "Hebbel's Indebtedness to Jean Paul": there was such an indebtedness, and the individual items have never been collected and appraised.

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SPENSER AND THE *Plowman's Tale*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor E. A. Greenlaw (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Association of America*, xxvi, 419f.) argues at some length that the ecclesiastical eclogues of the *Shepherds Calender* may have been largely influenced by the pseudo-Chaucerian *Plowman's Tale*. It is not a little surprising that he fails to note Spenser's definite echo from that work in the February eclogue (149). The disdainful young Briar—

"lowdly cryed

Unto his Lord, stirring up sterne strife:"

Spenser's commentator, E. K., glosses this as follows: "Sterne strife, said Chaucer." Spenser therefore leaves us no doubt that the line referred to is:

"A sternē stryf is stered newe."

It is the first line of Part I of the *Plowman's Tale*.

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BRIEF MENTION

Das pädagogisch-didaktische Seminar für Neuphilologen by Dr. Richard Ackermann (Leipzig, Freytag, 1913, 202 pp.) is an interesting and helpful companion for the teacher who wishes to take advantage of many of the suggestions put forward by the advocates of the "Direct Method" without relinquishing altogether translation and grammar study in the mother tongue. The author presents a concise exposition of the "Middle Method," as it is used in Bavaria, and gives in addition much good pedagogic advice in general. Several chapters are devoted to the presentation of essential details in the teaching of French and English, and appendices contain useful bibliographies and specimens of courses followed in certain typical schools. Altogether the book is one which may be read with profit by teachers of modern languages.

M. P. B.

The inadequacy of the antiquated general historical treatises on French place-names has long emphasized the need for a compendium which should summarize and supplement the numerous investigations of individual problems in this difficult domain. We now have the first part of such a work from the pen of Hermann Gröhler (*Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung der französischen Ortsnamen*. 1. Teil. Heidelberg, Winter, 1913. Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher), who aims to include in his treatment all town names down to and including the *chefs-lieux de canton*, and territorial names. The standpoint is etymological and semantic, and phonetic questions are discussed only when they may be of decisive weight in the choice of an etymon at issue. The chronological order of treatment is followed, Part I embracing the pre-Roman names and such Latin names as may be presumed to antedate the introduction of Christianity and the German invasions. The discussion is compact, clear, and orderly, and a full set of indexes largely augments its practical utility. The author shows a wholesome caution in his avoidance of fanciful etymologies, and in the large place he gives to his list of names of unknown or doubtful origin. A condensed but adequate ethnographic summary (40 pages) precedes the discussion of the Ligurian, Iberian, Phoenician, Greek, Celtic, and early Latin elements in the Gallic place-name vocabulary.

Hachette is publishing a number of the leading works of French literature in a form that meets the needs of those who have use for compact editions of the texts at a minimum price. The volumes are neatly bound, the type is of fair size and clearness, and the make-up better than could be expected for books that retail at one franc each. The series begins with the classic drama: Corneille, *Théâtre*, 1 vol. (on sale); Racine, *Théâtre*, 2 vol. (the first on sale); Molière, *Théâtre*, 5 vol. Other authors will follow.

The journal of George Ticknor, which is now in the possession of his grandson, Philip Baxter of Boston, was not published in its entirety by the compilers of the *Life, Letters and Journal of George Ticknor*. We have an important supplement to the earlier biography, in *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, edited

by G. T. Northup (University of Toronto, 1913, 8vo., 52 pp.). The latter work, consisting of hitherto inedited excerpts from the journal, contains an interesting account of Ticknor's strenuous travel over the old post-road from Barcelona to Madrid; his description of the country in 1818, when it had not yet recovered from the ravages of the French; his methods of study and his acquaintances; his impressions of people and institutions. Especially interesting are his expressions of friendship and admiration for Conde, the outspoken contempt for the upper classes of Spanish society in contrast to his sympathy for the lower classes and unrestrained admiration for the Aragonese peasant. The interest of the work is not restricted entirely to Ticknor matters; in not a few instances we find items of fact and conclusion in regard to Everett, Longfellow, Byron, Prescott and Irving. The well-selected text, with its pertinent introduction and critical commentary, is a model of scholarly editing.

The *Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado* (Librería Larousse, Paris, 1913, 8vo., 1528 pp.) which in scope, size, binding and general appearance is a veritable twin of the *Petit Larousse Illustré*, is by no means a mere translation of the French original. The Spanish Larousse has been thoroughly adapted to its Spanish field by its editor, Miguel Torres y Gisbert. The book contains some 6,300 illustrations (including maps), and while the large number of these are naturally found in the French prototype, the necessary changes and substitutions have been made in order to meet the needs of the Spanish work. As examples of adaptation compare the full-page illustrations for *militar*, *infantería*, *sombrero*, or the smaller cuts under *consul*, *embajador*, *navaja* (in contrast to French *canif*), etc. Many additional cuts are introduced in illustration of distinctly Spanish matter; for example, *guardia civil*, *pelotari*, *corcha*, *diligencia*, etc. If at times the definitions are meagre, the lacking information is generally found in an accompanying illustration; thus, *aciano*, "planta compuesta de flores azules," is tagged to a 'ragged-robin'; *alano*, "perro grande y fuerte de pelo corto," is juxtaposed to a fairly equivalent 'mastiff.' The section on "Historia-Geografía" is rich in illustrations of Spanish biography and geography. The portraits of Spanish writers are especially numerous for the classical and modern periods of Spanish literature. In the matter of maps the *Pequeño Larousse* fulfils, among other things,

all the practical requirements of an atlas of Spain, containing, as it does, a double-page colored map and a railroad map of the whole country, and separate maps of each province. In the section on "Locuciones latinas y extranjeras" we again see evidence of careful revision, not only in the Latin phrases but in the insertion of a large number of French expressions that are used, or at least recognized, by Spaniards of to-day. This new encyclopedia will fill an important place for all who are interested in Spanish affairs. For the teacher of Spanish, in particular, it is probably the most important reference-book that has appeared within recent years.

Schwarzwaldleut', edited by Professor Roeder (Henry Holt & Co.), offers, with the usual apparatus, five short stories, three by Hansjakob, one by Hermine Villinger, and one by Auguste Supper. Of these, Hermine Villinger's charming tale *Der Töpfer von Kandern*, also the longest of the selections, will prove far and away the most suitable for the pupils for whom the book is meant. The selections from Hansjakob can hardly be said to be entirely representative of the man and his style; for that neither the didactic element nor the tendency to cut the thread of the narrative are enough in evidence. It is refreshing to find the editor fully alive to the shortcomings of his author's style, although it is difficult to see how, under the circumstances, one can still speak of Hansjakob's 'narrative talent' (p. ix). In fact, only in the third selection, 'Wie der Hermesbur gestorben ist,' an episode from a longer story, does one feel within the presence of a master mind. The editor has done his work with great care and excellent judgment. He evidently also knows the Schwarzwald and its people through personal contact. The reference on p. 33, ll. 15-16, is not to the Duke and his retinue but to the *Kurgäste*.—The unusual *der Hausschild* (p. 3, l. 9) is overlooked in the Vocabulary.

such as to make the title of this good monograph almost a misnomer. Numerous instances of parallelism are cited, but very few significant passages in which Tieck indubitably influenced Immermann, while Wohnlich admits that some of Immermann's works, aside from *Münchhausen*, might just as well have influenced Tieck, if only chronology permitted the assumption. The detailed analysis of the 'geistige Verwandtschaft' between the two is excellent, for Immermann was, at least until the completion of *Die Epigonen* (1835), a minor Tieck: they were temperamentally similar, each worked for the elevation of the stage and aimed his satire at the writers of best sellers, each was at once a critic of reason and a poet of feeling, each began as a romanticist and ended as a realist, while neither ever completely subdued the romanticism that was in him. Equally careful is the section on the similarity of the themes treated by Tieck and Immermann; each was fond of destroying the dramatic illusion, inserting himself among the characters, making poor puns (such as 'Viehsonomien' for 'Physiognomien'), poetizing fate, dreams, premonitions, somnambulism, etc., and idolizing the Middle Ages. That they did this is not news, but it is convenient to have such matter tabulated, especially in the case of Tieck, who wrote with ease from 1789 to 1853. Wohnlich has really performed the rare labor of reading Tieck. The major part of the section on direct influence is devoted to *Die Epigonen*. Themes from Tieck's novelettes, *Liebeswerben*, *Der Jahrmarkt*, *Der Wassermensch*, *Der Mondsüchtige*, *Die Ahnenprobe*, and *Eigensinn und Laune* are made to recur in *Die Epigonen*, while motives from *Zerbino*, *Blaubart*, *Das jüngste Gericht*, *Die Theegesellschaft*, and *Der Autor* are made to reappear in *Münchhausen*. Other less important examples of influence are cited. Whether, in view of the fact that Tieck and Immermann lived at the same time and were of like mind, the older did influence the younger in the cases cited, is uncertain; but this study helps at any rate to a better understanding of both by pointing out what each was trying to memorialize in prose and verse.

A. W. P.

Tiecks Einfluss auf Immermann, besonders auf seine epische Produktion, by Oskar Wohnlich (Tübingen, Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1913). Since Immermann gratefully acknowledged his indebtedness to Tieck (cf. 'An Ludwig Tieck,' prefatory to Bk. VII of *Münchhausen*) a study of their relation was praiseworthy, despite the fact that the results are

INDEX TO VOLUME XXVIII, 1913.

Abry, E.; Audic, C.; Crouzet, P., <i>Histoire illustrée de la littérature française</i> (see Blondheim)	59-61	Bacon, Some Notes on Spenser and —	212-214
Accentuation, A Note on the — of Some French Names of Germanic Origin	129-132	Bacon, Grace Mabel, <i>The Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich Heine to Karl Immermann</i> (see Porterfield)	14-21
Ackermann, R., <i>Das pädagogisch-didaktische Seminar für Neuphilologen</i> (see Brush) .	262	Ballad, An American Homiletic —	1-5
Adams, Jr., Joseph Quincy, Some Notes on <i>Hamlet</i>	39-43	Balzac, Honoré de — (see Faguet and Holbrook)	231-232
— Swaen, A. E. H., <i>How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad</i>	107-112	Bandello and <i>The Broken Heart</i>	51-52
Algebra	93	Baptista Mantuanus, Notes on the Eclogues of —	259-260
Ali the Bold, Onela the Scylfing and — . . .	149-153	Barry, Phillips, An American Homiletic Ballad	1-5
Altnordisch <i>Tryggv</i>	161-163	Bartsch-Wiese, Chresthomathie de l'ancien français (see Armstrong)	200
Altrocchi, R., Wilkins, E. H., and —, Italian Short Stories (see Shaw)	96	Baskervill, C. R., Bandello and <i>The Broken Heart</i>	51-52
American Homiletic Ballad, An	1-5	Bateson, Hartley, Patience. A West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century (see Emerson)	171-180
Anachronism ascribed to Jonson, An	158-159	<i>Beau-Père</i> , Concerning the Type —, <i>Belle-Mère</i>	73-77
Andrews, C. E., One of W. B. Yeats's Sources	94-95	Bédier, Les Légendes épiques (see Armstrong)	127-128
— The Authorship of <i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i>	163-166	Belden, H. M., Onela the Scylfing and Ali the Bold	149-153
Announcements	200	<i>Belle-Mère</i> , Concerning the Type <i>Beau-Père</i> , —	73-77
Another Translation from Camus	94	Bibliographical Myth, A	30-31
<i>Arcadia</i> , Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's</i> — (see Feuillerat, Long) .	253-254	Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande, Tome Ier (see Gauchat, Jeanjaquet, and Terracher)	96
Argot, Sources de l'— ancien (see Sainéan and Armstrong)	31-32	Biter Bit, The	62
Armstrong, E. C.: Bartsch-Wiese, Chresthomathie de l'ancien français	200	Blondheim, D. S.: Abry, E.; Audic, C.; Crouzet, P., <i>Histoire illustrée de la littérature française</i>	59-61
— Bédier, Les Légendes épiques	127-128	— Babbitt, Irving, <i>The Masters of Modern French Criticism</i>	193-197
— Gröhler, Hermann, Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung der französischen Ortsnamen .	263	— Cury and Boerner, <i>Histoire de la littérature française, à l'usage des étudiants hors de France</i>	31
— Hachette's Classical-Drama Series	263	Blossom, Frederick A.: Descharmes, René, et Dumesnil, René, <i>Autour de Flaubert</i> .	180-186
— Jespersen, <i>Elementarbuch der Phonetik</i> .	32	Blutlied, Zwei Gedichte von Goethe. I. Das —	43-48
— La Littérature franç. illustr.	232	Bochour, The Laborer and the — and the Smyth	230
— Sainéan, L., Sources de l'argot ancien . .	31-32	Boerner, Cury and —, <i>Histoire de la littérature française, à l'usage des étudiants hors de France</i> (see Blondheim)	31
— Stendhal, <i>Œuvres complètes</i> , Vols. I-II .	160	Boileau et l'Italie (see Maugain and Holbrook)	125
— Voretzsch, Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur	200	Boillot, F., <i>Le Patois de la Grand'Combe</i> (see Terracher)	232
<i>Arraignment of Paris</i> and Sixteenth Century Flattery, <i>The</i>	48-49	Bold, Onela the Scylfing and Ali the — . .	149-153
<i>Astrophel</i> , Spenser's —	224-226		
<i>Atlantis</i> , Notes on Hauptmann's —	170-171		
Audic, C., Abry E.; —; Crouzet, P., <i>Histoire illustrée de la littérature française</i> (see Blondheim)	59-61		
Authorship of <i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i> , The	163-166		
Autour de Flaubert (see Descharmes, Dumesnil, and Blossom)	180-186		
Ayala, Consuelo, por Adelardo López de — (see Espinosa and Owen)	118-121		
Babbitt, Irving, <i>The Masters of Modern French Criticism</i> (see Blondheim)	193-197		

- Bonilla y San Martin, Adolfo, La Representación de Menéndez y Pelayo en la vida histórica nacional (see Marden)... 96
- Boscán, Las Treinta de Juan — (see Keniston and Rennert)... 91-92
- Bright, J. W., William Hand Browne... 32
- Cotterill, H. B., Homer's Odyssey... 63-64
- Skeat, W. W., The Science of Etymology... 63
- Tatlock, John S. P., and Mackay, Percy, The Modern Reader's Chaucer... 64
- Britannicus*, II, 6, The Source of —... 228
- Broken Heart*, Bandello and *The*... 51-52
- Brown, Arthur C. L.: Peebles, Rose J., The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail... 21-26
- Browne, William Hand (see Bright)... 32
- Browning in Germany... 10-14
- Brush, Murray P.: Ackermann, R., Das pädagogisch-didaktische Seminar für Neuphilologen... 262
- Fraser and Squair, Shorter French Course... 160
- Jusserand, J. J., Ronsard... 257-259
- Byron (see Mayne and Chew)... 85-86
- and Croly... 201-203
- Campbell, Killis, Miscellaneous Notes on Poe... 65-69
- Campbell, T. M.: Curme, George O., *Libussa*, von Franz Grillparzer... 255-257
- Camus, Another Translation from —... 94
- Carducci, Selections from — (see Marinoni and Shaw)... 200
- Case of Somaize, *The*... 33-39
- Cedrún de la Pedraja, Gonzalo, La Niñez de Menéndez y Pelayo (see Marden)... 96
- Chambers, R. W., Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend (see Lawrence)... 53-55
- Chaucer, Geoffrey — (see Legouis and Hulme)... 217-219
- Official Life (see Hulbert and Moore)... 189-193
- Sir Walter Scott and —... 246-247
- The Modern Reader's — (see Tatlock, Mackay, and Bright)... 64
- Chew, Jr., Samuel C., Byron and Croly... 201-203
- Mayne, Ethel Colburn, Byron... 85-86
- Chrestomathie de l'ancien français (see Bartsch-Wiese, Wiese, and Armstrong)... 200
- Christus und die Samariterin, Variation in the Old High German Post-Otfridian Poems.—I... 216-217
- Cipriani, Charlotte J., A Note on the Accentuation of Some French Names of Germanic Origin... 129-132
- Clarissa, A Parallel for Richardson's —... 103-105
- Classical-Drama, Hachette's — Series (see Hachette and Armstrong)... 263
- Cobb, Charles W., A Scientific Basis for Metrics... 142-145
- Coja y el encogido, Hartzenbusch, La — (see Geddes and Henning)... 128
- Cola di Rienzo, Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of — (see Cosenza and McKenzie)... 128
- Commedia dell'arte, *The* (see Smith and Livingston)... 154-157
- Concerning the Type *Beau-Père*, *Belle-Mère*. Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic, A (see Zoëga and Hollander)... 153-154
- Concordantiae, Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum — (see Rand, Wilkins, and Osgood)... 221-222
- Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca (see McKenzie and Osgood)... 221-222
- Conditions, More — of a Good Horse... 93
- Consuelo, por Adelardo López de Ayala (see Espinosa and Owen)... 118-121
- Contemporary German Fiction and Narrative Poetry... 106
- Cosenza, Mario E., Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo (see McKenzie)... 128
- Cosmo Manuche, Dramatist... 92
- Cotterill, H. B., Homer's Odyssey (see Bright)... 63-64
- Criticism, The Masters of Modern French — (see Babbitt and Blondheim)... 193-197
- Croly, Byron and —... 201-203
- Crouzet, P., Abry, E.; Audic, C.; —, Histoire illustrée de la littérature française (see Blondheim)... 59-61
- Curme, George O., *Libussa*, von Franz Grillparzer (see Campbell)... 255-257
- The Proper Subject of a Passiv Verb... 97-101
- Cury and Boerner, Histoire de la littérature française, à l'usage des étudiants hors de France (see Blondheim)... 31
- Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae (see Rand, Wilkins, and Osgood)... 221-222
- "Das wäre noch schöner"... 94
- Deetjen, Werner, Immermanns Werke (see Porterfield)... 14-21
- Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, Notes on the Sources of —... 8-10
- Descharmes, René, et Dumesnil, René, Autour de Flaubert (see Blossom)... 180-186
- Diana*, Honoré d'Urfé's *Sireine* and the — of Montemayor... 166-169
- Dix-neuvième Siècle par les textes, Le (see Pellissier and Schinz)... 64
- Don Carlos, Schiller's — (see Lieder and Scholl)... 89-91
- Dragon and his Brother, *The*... 229
- Dumesnil, Descharmes, René, et —, René, Autour de Flaubert (see Descharmes and Blossom)... 180-186
- D'Urfé, Honoré —'s *Sireine* and the *Diana* of Montemayor... 166-169

Ecclesiastical Tradition, The Legend of Longinus in — and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail (see Peebles and Brown).....	21-26	François, Victor E., Essentials of French (see Spiers)	112-118
Eclogues, Notes on the — of Baptista Mantuanus :	259-260	Fraser and Squair, Shorter French Course (see Brush)	160
Egloga of Juan de Paris, The 1536 Text of the —	28-29	French, Essentials of — (see François and Spiers)	112-118
Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur (see Voretzsch and Armstrong)	200	— Classical Drama, An Introduction to the — (see Jourdain and Lancaster) . . .	219-221
Einst im Mai.	228-229	— Course, Shorter — (see Fraser, Squair, and Brush)	160
Elementarbuch der Phonetik (see Jespersen and Armstrong)	32	— Criticism, The Masters of Modern — (see Babbitt and Blondheim)	193-197
Emerson, Oliver Farrar: Bateson, Hartley, Patience. A West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century	171-180	— Grammar, A New — (see Sonnenschein and Spiers)	112-118
employons-emploi, The <i>y-i</i> of —, <i>paye-paie</i>	226	— Grammar, Fundamentals of — (see Snow and Spiers)	112-118
Englischer Faustbuchdruck, Ein unbekannter —	230-231	— Literature, A History of — (see Wright and Terracher)	121-124
English Literature, The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in —, and its Connection with the Grail (see Peebles and Brown)	21-26	— Names, A Note on the Accentuation of Some — of Germanic Origin	129-132
Erasmus, Rostand and —	226-227	— A — Provincial Repertory in 1662 . . .	236-237
Errata	232	Frenssen, Note on Gustav —	145-147
Espinosa, Aurelio M., Consuelo, por Adelardo López de Ayala (see Owen)	118-121	<i>Frere en loi, Serourge</i> —	198-199
Essentials of French (see François and Spiers)	112-118	Fritz, Josef, Ein unbekannter englischer Faustbuchdruck	230-231
Etymology, The Science of — (see Skeat and Bright)	63	Fundamentals of French Grammar (see Snow and Spiers)	112-118
Faguet, E., Honoré de Balzac (see Holbrook)	231-232	Further Traces of Gleim's <i>Grenadierlieder</i>	205-208
Faire Em, The Source of the Immediate Plot of —	80-82	Galpin, Stanley Leman, Notes on the Sources of Deguileville's <i>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</i>	8-10
Faustbuchdruck, Ein unbekannter englischer —	230-231	— St. Bernard and Raoul de Houdenc . . .	125-126
Faust-Studien (see Wood and Hatfield) . .	186-188	Gauchat, Louis, et Jeanjaquet, Jules, Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande, Tome Ier (see Terracher)	96
Feuillerat, Albert, Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i> (see Long)	253-254	Gay, Lucy M.: Lefranc, Abel; Boulenger, Jacques; Clouzot, Henri; Dorveaux, Paul; Plattard, Jean; et Sainéan, Lazare, Œuvres de François Rabelais	55-59
Fielding's <i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> and <i>Pasquin</i> , Some New Facts Concerning —	137-142	Geddes, Jr., J., Hartzenbusch, La Coja y el encogido (see Henning)	128
Fille de Jephthé, La —	260-261	Gennep, A. van, Religions, mœurs et légendes (see Schinz)	32
Fischer, Walther, Honoré d'Urfé's <i>Sireine</i> and the <i>Diana</i> of Montemayor	166-169	German Fiction and Narrative Poetry, Contemporary —	106
— The Source of <i>Britannicus</i> , II, 6	228	Germanic Origin, A Note on the Accentuation of Some French Names of —	129-132
Fishermen, Idylls of —: A History of the Literary Species (see Hall and Mustard)	26-28	Germany, Browning in —	10-14
Flattery, <i>The Arraignment of Paris</i> and Sixteenth Century —	48-49	Gilbert, Allan H., The Tower of Fame in Milton	30
Flaubert, Autour de — (see Descharmes, Dumesnil, and Blossom)	180-186	Gilman, Benjamin Ives, On a Disputed Terzetto in the <i>Paradiso</i>	148-149
Florer, Warren Washburn, Note on Gustav Frenssen	145-147	Gleim's <i>Grenadierlieder</i> , Further Traces of —	205-208
Fool in Christ, The Identity of the Hassenpflugs in Hauptmann's <i>The</i> —	5-8	<i>Goethe</i> , Zwei Gedichte von —. I.	43-48
		— Zwei Gedichte von —. II.	69-73
		Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe, Register to — (see Hellen and Vös)	232
		Goldoni, <i>Il Ventaglio</i> (The Fan) by Carlo — (see McKenzie and Livingston) . . .	87-89

- Gongu-Hrólfs saga, The (see Hartmann and Hollander) 254
- Good Horse, More Conditions of a — 93
- Graham, Walter, Some Notes on Spenser and Bacon 212-214
- Grail, The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the — (see Peebles and Brown) 21-26
- Grammar, A New French — (see Sonnenschein and Spiers) 112-118
- Grand'Combe, Le Patois de la — (see Boillot and Terracher) 232
- Graves, T. S., *The Arraignment of Paris* and Sixteenth Century Flattery 48-49
- Grenadierlieder*, Further Traces of Gleim's — 205-208
- Grillparzer, *Libussa*, von Franz — (see Curme and Campbell) 255-257
- Gröhler, Hermann, Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung der französischen Ortsnamen (see Armstrong) 263
- "ha, ha!," Hamlet's — 227-228
- Hachette's Classical-Drama Series (see Armstrong) 263
- Halbe, Max 169-170
- Hall, Henry Marion, *Idylls of Fishermen: A History of the Literary Species* (see Mustard) 26-28
- Hamlet*, Some Notes on — 39-43
- Hamlet's "ha, ha!" 227-228
- Harper, Carrie A., *The Miller and his Sons* 215-216
- Harris, Charles, Max Halbe 169-170
- Hart, J. M., Milton's *Nativity* 159-160
- Hartmann, Jacob Wittmer, The Gongu-Hrólfs saga (see Hollander) 254
- Hartzenbusch, La Coja y el encogido (see Geddes and Henning) 128
- Hassenpflugs, The Identity of the — in Hauptmann's *The Fool in Christ* 5-8
- Hatfield, James Tatt: Wood, Henry, *Faust-Studien* 186-188
- Hauptmann's *Atlantis*, Notes on — 170-171
- *The Fool in Christ*, The Identity of the Hassenpflugs in — 5-8
- Heart*, Bandello and *The Broken* — 51-52
- Hebbel, Jean Paul and — 261-262
- Heine, The Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich — to Karl Immermann (see Bacon and Porterfield) 14-21
- Hellen, Ed. von der, Register to Goethes *Sämtliche Werke*, Jubiläumsausgabe (see Vos) 232
- Henning, Geo. H.: Geddes, Jr., J., *Hartzenbusch, La Coja y el encogido* 128
- Heroes?, *Ubi sunt* — 106-107
- Heroic Legend, Widsith: A Study in Old English — (see Chambers and Lawrence) 53-55
- Histoire de la littérature française à l'usage des étudiants hors de France (see Cury, Boerner, and Blondheim) 31
- illustrée de la littérature française (see Abry, Audic, Crouzet, and Blondheim) 59-61
- History of French Literature, A— (see Wright and Terracher) 121-124
- Holbrook, R. T.: Faguet, E., *Honoré de Balzac* 231-232
- Maugain, Gabriel, *Boileau et l'Italie* 125
- Hollander, L. M.: Hartmann, Jacob Wittmer, The Gongu-Hrólfs saga 254
- Zoëga, Geir T., *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* 153-154
- Homer's *Odyssey* (see Cotterill and Bright) 63-64
- Homiletic, An American — *Ballad* 1-5
- Hood and Keats 233-235
- Houdenc, St. Bernard and Raoul de — 125-126
- House, Ralph E., The 1536 Text of the *Egloga* of Juan de Paris 28-29
- How a Man May Choose, a Good Wife from a Bad (see Swaen and Adams) 107-112
- Hrólfs saga, The Gongu— (see Hartmann and Hollander) 254
- Hughes, Helen Sard, *Night in the Poetry of Henry Vaughan* 208-211
- Hulbert, James Root, *Chaucer's Official Life* (see Moore) 189-193
- Hulme, W. H.: Legouis, Emile, *Geoffrey Chaucer* 217-219
- Ibershoff, C. H., "Das wäre noch schöner" 94
- *Vitzliputzli* 211-212
- Icelandic, A Concise Dictionary of Old — (see Zoëga and Hollander) 153-154
- Identity of the Hassenpflugs in Hauptmann's *The Fool in Christ*, The 5-8
- Idylls of Fishermen: A History of the Literary Species* (see Hall and Mustard) 26-28
- Immermann, *Ivanhoe* translated by — 214-215
- Tiecks Einfluss auf — (see Wohnlich and Porterfield) 264
- The Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich Heine to Karl — (see Bacon and Porterfield) 14-21
- Immermanns *Tristan und Isolde* (see Szymanzig and Porterfield) 14-21
- *Weltanschauung* (see Lempicki and Porterfield) 14-21
- *Werke* (see Deetjen and Porterfield) 14-21
- (see Mayne and Porterfield) 14-21
- Influence of Petrarch upon Edward Coote Pinkney, The 199-200
- Introduction to the French Classical Drama, An (see Jourdain and Lancaster) 219-221
- Italian Short Stories (see Wilkins, Altrocchi, and Shaw) 96
- Ivanhoe* translated by Immermann 214-215

Jackson, George Pullen, Further Traces of Gleim's <i>Grenadierlieder</i>	205-208	Lefranc, Abel; Boulenger, Jacques; Clouzot, Henri; Dorveaux, Paul; Plattard, Jean; et Sainéan, Lazare, Œuvres de François Rabelais (see Gay).....	55-59
Jean Paul and Hebbel.....	261-262	Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail, The (see Peebles and Brown).....	21-26
Jeanjaquet, Jules, Gauchat, Louis, et —, Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande, Tome Ier (see Gauchat and Terracher).....	96	Légendes épiques, Les (see Bédier and Armstrong).....	127-128
Jefferson, Bernard L., A Note on <i>The Squyr of Lowe Degre</i>	102-103	Legouis, Emile, Geoffrey Chaucer (see Hulme).....	217-219
<i>Jephthé, La Fille de</i> —.....	260-261	Leite de Vasconcellos, J., Carolina Michaëlis; Lista dos seus trabalhos literarios (see Marden).....	31
Jespersen, Elementarbuch der Phonetik (see Armstrong).....	32	Lempicki, Sigmund von, Immermanns Weltanschauung (see Porterfield).....	14-21
Jonson, An Anachronism ascribed to —... 158-159		Lessings Dramen, Die Mitleidstheorie in — und ihr Wert für die Gegenwart....	132-137
Jourdain, Eleanor F., An Introduction to the French Classical Drama (see Lancaster).....	219-221	<i>Libussa</i> , von Franz Grillparzer (see Curme and Campbell).....	255-257
Juan de Paris, The 1536 Text of the <i>Egloga</i> of —.....	28-29	<i>Lied von der Glocke</i> , Longfellow and Schiller's —.....	49-50
Jusserand, J. J., Ronsard (see Brush)....	257-259	Lieder, Frederick, W. C., Schiller's Don Carlos (see Scholl).....	89-91
Karpinski, Louis C., Algebra.....	93	Littérature franc. illustr., La (see Armstrong).....	232
Keats, Hood and —.....	233-235	— Histoire de la —, à l'usage des étudiants hors de France (see Cury, Boerner, and Blondheim).....	31
Keniston, Hayward, Las Treinta de Juan Boscán (see Rennert).....	91-92	— Histoire illustrée de la — (see Abry, Audic, Crouzet, and Blondheim).....	59-61
Kolbe, P. R., Variation in the Old High German Post-Otfridian Poems.—I. Christus und die Samariterin.....	216-217	Livingston, A. A.: McKenzie, Kenneth, Il Ventaglio (The Fan) by Carlo Goldoni. — Smith, Winifred, The Commedia dell'arte.....	154-157
Kracher, Francis Waldemar, Die Mitleidstheorie in Lessings Dramen und ihr Wert für die Gegenwart.....	132-137	Lockwood, Laura E., Paradise Lost, VII, 15-20.....	126-127
Kueffner, Louise Mallinckrodt: Strich, Fritz, Schiller.....	223-224	Long, O. F., Rostand and Erasmus.....	226-227
Kuhne, J. W., <i>Serourge—Frere en loi</i>	198-199	Long, Percy W.: Feuillerat, Albert, Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i>	253-254
Laborer and the Bochour and the Smyth, The.....	230	— Spenser and the <i>Plowman's Tale</i>	262
Lancaster, H. Carrington, A French Provincial Repertory in 1662.....	236-237	Longfellow and Schiller's <i>Lied von der Glocke</i>	49-50
— Jourdain, Eleanor F., An Introduction to the French Classical Drama.....	219-221	Longinus, The Legend of — in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail (see Peebles and Brown).....	21-26
Lanson, Gustave, Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne. IV. Révolution et Dix-neuvième Siècle (see Thieme).....	158	López de Ayala (see Ayala).....	118-121
Larousse, The Pequeño — Ilustrado (see Marden).....	263-264	Lowes, John Livingston, The Dragon and his Brother.....	229
<i>Late Lancashire Witches</i> , The Authorship of The —.....	163-166		
Laubscher, Gustav G.: Schoch, Josef, Perfectum historicum und Perfectum praesens im Französischen.....	249-253		
— Staacke, Edmund, Die Verwendung von Plusqueparfait und Passé-Antérieur im Französischen.....	249-253		
Law, Robert Adger, More Conditions of a Good Horse.....	93	MacCracken, H. N., The Laborer and the Bochour and the Smyth.....	230
Lawrence, William Witherle: Chambers, R. W., Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend.....	53-55	McDaniel, Walter Brooks, An Anachronism ascribed to Jonson.....	158-159
Leather-Stocking Tales, The Model of the —.....	77-79	Mackay, Percy, Tatlock, John S. P., and —, The Modern Reader's Chaucer (see Bright).....	64

- McKenzie, K., Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca (see Osgood)..... 221-222
- Cosenza, Mario E., Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo.. 128
- Il Ventaglio (The Fan) by Carlo Goldoni (see Livingston)..... 87-89
- Mannel, George W., The Source of the Immediate Plot of *Faire Em*..... 80-82
- Mantuanus, Notes on the Eclogues of Baptista — 259-260
- Manuche, Cosmo —, Dramatist..... 92
- Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne. IV. Révolution et Dix-neuvième Siècle (see Lanson and Thieme)..... 158
- Marden, C. C.: Bonilla y San Martín, Adolfo, La Representación de Menéndez y Pelayo en la vida histórica nacional.. 96
- Cedrún de la Pedraja, Gonzalo, La Niñez de Menéndez y Pelayo..... 96
- Leite de Vasconcellos, J., Carolina Michaëlis; Lista dos seus trabalhos literarios 31
- Northup, G. T., George Ticknor's Travels in Spain..... 263
- The Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado..... 263-264
- Marinoni, A., Selections from Carducci (see Shaw) 200
- Masters of Modern French Criticism, The (see Babbitt and Blondheim)..... 193-197
- Maugain, Gabriel, Boileau et l'Italie (see Holbrook)..... 125
- Mayne, Harry, Immermanns Werke (see Porterfield)..... 14-21
- Mayne, Ethel Colburn, Byron (see Chew). 85-86
- Melton, Wightman F., The Influence of Petrarch upon Edward Coote Pinkney.. 199-200
- Menéndez y Pelayo, La Niñez de — (see Cedrún de la Pedraja and Marden).... 96
- La Representación de — en la vida histórica nacional (see Bonilla y San Martín and Marden)..... 96
- Metamorphoses in *Muiopotmos*, The..... 82-85
- Metrics, A Scientific Basis for —..... 142-145
- Michaëlis, Carolina, Lista dos seus trabalhos literarios (see Leite de Vasconcellos and Marden) 31
- Mignon, Zwei Gedichte von Goethe. II —. 69-73
- Miller and his Sons, The..... 215-216
- Milton, The Tower of Fame in —..... 30
- Milton's *Nativity* 159-160
- Miscellaneous Notes on Poe..... 65-69
- Mitleidstheorie in Lessings Dramen und ihr Wert für die Gegenwart, Die..... 132-137
- Model of the Leather-Stocking Tales, The. 77-79
- Modern Reader's Chaucer, The (see Tatlock, Mackay, and Bright)..... 64
- Montemayor, Honoré d'Urfé's *Sireine* and the *Diana* of —..... 166-169
- Moore, Samuel: Hulbert, James Root, Chaucer's Official Life..... 189-193
- More Conditions of a Good Horse..... 93
- Morf, Heinrich, Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache (see Terracher)..... 61-62
- Mürke, A Quotation from —..... 62-63
- Morize, André, *La Fille de Jephthé*..... 260-261
- Muiopotmos*, The Metamorphoses in —... 82-85
- Mustard, W. P.: Hall, Henry Marion, Idylls of Fishermen: A History of the Literary Species 26-28
- Notes on the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus 259-260
- Nativity*, Milton's —..... 159-160
- Nicholson, Watson, Cosmo Manuche, Dramatist 92
- Night in the Poetry of Henry Vaughan... 208-211
- Northup, Clark S., *Ubi sunt* Heroes?... 106-107
- Northup, George Tyler, A. Bibliographical Myth 30-31
- George Ticknor's Travels in Spain (see Marden). 263
- Note on Gustav Frenssen..... 145-147
- on the Accentuation of Some French Names of Germanic Origin, A..... 129-132
- on *The Squyr of Lowe Degre*, A..... 102-103
- Notes on Hauptmann's *Atlantis*..... 170-171
- on the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus. 259-260
- on the Sources of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*..... 8-10
- Obituary 32
- Odyssey, Homer's — (see Cotterill and Bright). 63-64
- Old English Heroic Legend, Widsith: A Study in — (see Chambers and Lawrence)..... 53-55
- High German, Variation in the — Post-Otfridian Poems.—I. Christus und die Samariterin 216-217
- Icelandic, A Concise Dictionary of — (see Zoëga and Hollander)..... 153-154
- Oliver, T. E., Sedaine's *Philosophe sans le savoir* (see Terracher)..... 231
- Olivero, Federico, Hood and Keats..... 233-235
- Onela the Scylfing and Ali the Bold..... 149-153
- Order of Words, The — in Certain Rhythm-Groups 237-239
- Orderic Vital, The Story of Troy in —... 203-205
- Ortsnamen, Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung der französischen — (see Gröhler and Armstrong) 263
- Osgood, Charles G.: McKenzie, K., Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca 221-222
- Rand, E. K., et E. H. Wilkins, Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae 221-222
- Osthaus, Carl, Einst im Mai..... 228-229
- Otfrids, Zum Reimgebrauch 239-243
- Owen, Arthur L.: Espinosa, Aurelio M., Consuelo, por Adelardo López de Ayala. 118-121

Pädagogisch-didaktische Seminar für Neu-philologen, Das (see Ackermann and Brush).	262	Place-Names, On the Two — in "Thanatopsis"	247-249
Paradise Lost, VII, 15-20.	126-127	Plan, P.-P., J. J. Rousseau raconté par les gazettes de son temps (see Schinz).	231
Paradiso, On a Disputed Terzetto in the —.	148-149	Plot of <i>Faire Em</i>, The Source of the Immediate —	80-82
Parallel for Richardson's <i>Clarissa</i>, A.	103-105	<i>Plowman's Tale</i>, Spenser and the —	262
Paris, The Arraignment of — and Sixteenth Century Flattery.	48-49	Plusqueparfait, Die Verwendung von — und Passé-Antérieur im Französischen (see Laubscher and Staacke).	249-253
Paris, The 1536 Text of the <i>Egloga</i> of Juan de —	28-29	Poc, Miscellaneous Notes on —	65-69
<i>Pasquin</i>, Some New Facts Concerning Fielding's <i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> and —.	137-142	Porterfield, Allen Wilson, A Quotation from Mörike	62-63
Passé-Antérieur, Die Verwendung von Plusqueparfait und — im Französischen (see Laubscher and Staacke).	249-253	— Bacon, Grace Mabel, The Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich Heine to Karl Immermann	14-21
Passiv Verb, The Proper Subject of a —.	97-101	— Deetjen, Werner, Immermanns Werke.	14-21
Patience. A West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century (see Bateson and Emerson).	171-180	— <i>Ivanhoe</i> translated by Immermann.	214-215
Patois de la Grand'Combe, Le (see Boillot and Terracher).	232	— Jean Paul and Hebbel.	261-262
Patterson, Shirley Gale, Concerning the Type <i>Beau-Père, Belle-Mère</i>.	73-77	— Lempicki, Sigmund von, Immermanns Weltanschauung	14-21
<i>paye-paie</i>, The <i>y-i</i> of <i>employons-emploie</i>, —	226	— Maync, Harry, Immermanns Werke.	14-21
Peebles, Rose J., The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its Connection with the Grail (see Brown).	21-26	— Szymanzig Max, Immermanns Tristan und Isolde	14-21
<i>Pèlerinage de l'Ame</i>, Notes on the Sources of Deguileville's —	8-10	— Wohnlich, Oskar, Tiecks Einfluss auf Immermann	264
Pellissier, Le XIXe Siècle par les textes (see Schinz).	64	Post-Otfridian Poems, Variation in the Old High German —. —I. Christus und die Samariterin	216-217
<i>Pembroke</i>, Sir Philip Sidney, <i>The Countess of —'s Arcadia</i> (see Feuillerat and Long).	253-254	Proper Subject of a Passiv Verb, The.	97-101
Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado, The (see Marden).	263-264	Provenzalischen, Vom Ursprung der — Schriftsprache (see Morf and Terracher).	61-62
Perfectum historicum und Perfectum praesens im Französischen (see Schoch and Laubscher).	249-253	Quotation from Mörike, A.	62-63
— praesens im Französischen, Perfectum historicum und — (see Schoch and Laubscher).	249-253	Rabelais, Œuvres de François — (see Le-franc and Gay).	55-59
Personal and Literary Relations of Heinrich Heine to Karl Immermann, The (see Bacon and Porterfield).	14-21	Raggio, A. P., The <i>y-i</i> of <i>employons-emploie, paye-paie</i>	226
Petrarca, Francesco — and the Revolution of Cola di Rienzo (see Cosenza and McKenzie).	128	Rand, E. K., et E. H. Wilkins, Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae (see Osgood).	221-222
— Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco — (see McKenzie and Osgood).	221-222	Raoul de Houdenc, St. Bernard and —.	125-126
Petrarch, The Influence of — upon Edward Coote Pinkney	199-200	Register to Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläumsausgabe (see Hellen and Vos).	232
Phelps, Wm. Lyon, Browning in Germany.	10-14	Reimgebrauch, Zum — Otfrids.	239-243
Philosophe sans le savoir, Sedaine's — (see Oliver and Terracher).	231	Religions, mœurs et légendes (see Gennepe and Schinz).	32
Phonetik, Elementarbuch der — (see Jespersen and Armstrong).	32	Rennert, H. A.: Keniston, Hayward, Las Treinta de Juan Boscán.	91-92
Pinkney, The Influence of Petrarch upon Edward Coote —	199-200	Repertory, A French Provincial — in 1662.	236-237
		<i>Replacacion</i>, Skelton's —	244-245
		Rhythm-Groups, The Order of Words in Certain —	237-239
		Richardson's <i>Clarissa</i>, A Parallel for —.	103-105
		Rienzo, Francesco Petrarca and the Revolution of Cola di — (see Cosenza and McKenzie).	128
		Röedder, Schwarzwaldleut' (see Vos).	264
		Ronsard (see Jusserand and Brush).	257-259
		Rostand and Erasmus.	226-227

- Rousseau, J. J. — raconté par les gazettes de son temps (see Plan and Schinz) 231
- Routh, James, 'The Model of the Leather-Stocking Tales' 77-79
- Sainéan, L., Sources de l'argot ancien (see Armstrong) 31-32
- St. Bernard and Raoul de Houdenc 125-126
- Schaaffs, G., Zwei Gedichte von Goethe. I. 43-48
- Zwei Gedichte von Goethe. II. 69-73
- Schiller (see Strich and Kueffner) 223-224
- Schiller's Don Carlos (see Lieder and Scholl) 89-91
- *Lied von der Glocke*, Longfellow and — 49-50
- Schinz, A.: Gennep, A. van, Religions, mœurs et légendes 32
- Pellissier, Le XIXe Siècle par les textes 64
- Plan, P.-P., J. J. Rousseau raconté par les gazettes de son temps 231
- Schoch, Josef, Perfectum historicum und Perfectum praesens im Französischen (see Laubscher) 249-253
- Scholl, John William: Lieder, Frederick, W. C., Schiller's Don Carlos 89-91
- Longfellow and Schiller's *Lied von der Glocke* 49-50
- On the Two Place-Names in "*Thanatopsis*" 247-249
- Schultz, J. R., Sir Walter Scott and Chaucer 246-247
- Schwarzwaldeut' (see Roedder and Vos) 264
- Science of Etymology, The (see Skeat and Bright) 63
- Scientific Basis for Metrics, A. 142-145
- Scott, Fred Newton, The Biter Bit 62
- The Order of Words in Certain Rhythm-Groups 237-239
- Sir Walter — and Chaucer 246-247
- Scylfing, Onela the — and Ali the Bold 149-153
- SeBoyar, Gerald E., Skelton's *Replycacion*. 244-245
- Sedaine's *Philosophe sans le savoir* (see Oliver and Terracher) 231
- Selections from Carducci (see Marinoni and Shaw) 200
- Serourge—Frere en loi* 198-199
- Shafer, Robert, Spenser's *Astrophel* 224-226
- Shaw, J. E.: Marinoni, A., Selections from Carducci 200
- Wilkins, E. H., and Altrocchi, R., Italian Short Stories 96
- Short Stories, Italian — (see Wilkins, Altrocchi, and Shaw) 96
- Shorter French Course (see Fraser, Squair, and Brush) 160
- Sidney, Sir Philip —, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (see Feuillerat and Long) 253-254
- Sir Walter Scott and Chaucer 246-247
- Streine*, Honoré d'Urfé's — and the *Diana* of Montemayor 166-169
- Skeat, W. W., The Science of Etymology (see Bright) 63
- Skelton's *Replycacion* 244-245
- Smith, Reed, The Metamorphoses in *Muiopotmos* 82-85
- Smith, Winifred, The *Commedia dell'arte* (see Livingston) 154-157
- Smyth, The Laborer and the Bochour and the — 230
- Snow, William B., Fundamentals of French Grammar (see Spiers) 112-118
- Somaize, The Case of — 33-39
- Sonnenschein, E. A., A New French Grammar (see Spiers) 112-118
- Source of *Britannicus*, II, 6, The 228
- of the Immediate Plot of *Faire Em*, The 80-82
- Sources, One of W. B. Yeats's — 94-95
- de l'argot ancien (see Sainéan and Armstrong) 31-32
- Spain, George Ticknor's Travels in — (see Northup and Marden) 263
- Spenser and the *Plowman's Tale* 262
- Some Notes on — and Bacon 212-214
- Spenser's *Astrophel* 224-226
- Spiers, A. G. H.: François, Victor E., Essentials of French 112-118
- Snow, William B., Fundamentals of French Grammar 112-118
- Sonnenschein, E. A., A New French Grammar 112-118
- Squair, Fraser and —, Shorter French Course (see Brush) 160
- Squyr of Lowe Degre*, A Note on The — 102-103
- Staacke, Edmund, Die Verwendung von Plusqueparfait und Passé-Antérieur im Französischen (see Laubscher) 249-253
- Stendhal, Œuvres complètes, vols I-II (see Armstrong) 160
- Story of Troy in Orderic Vital, The 203-205
- Strich, Fritz, Schiller (see Kueffner) 223-224
- Sturtevant, Albert Morey, Altnordisch *Tryggr* 161-163
- Zum Reimgebrauch Otfrids 239-243
- Subject, The Proper — of a Passiv Verb 97-101
- Suisse, Bibliographie linguistique de la — romande, Tome Ier (see Gauchat, Jeanjaquet and Terracher) 96
- Swaen, A. E. H., How a Man May Choose a Good Wife from a Bad (see Adams) 107-112
- Szymanzig, Max, Immermanns Tristan und Isolde (see Porterfield) 14-21
- Tales, The Model of the Leather-Stocking — 77-79
- Tatlock, John S. P., and Mackay, Percy, The Modern Reader's Chaucer (see Bright) 64
- Terracher, A.: Boillot, F., Le Patois de la Grand'Combe 232
- Gauchat, Louis, et Jeanjaquet, Jules, Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande, Tome Ier 96
- Morf, Heinrich, Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache 61-62

Terracher, A.: Oliver, T. E., Sedaine's Philosophe sans le savoir.....	231	Ventaglio, Il (The Fan) by Carlo Goldoni (see McKenzie and Livingston)	87-89
—Wright, C. H. Conrad, A History of French Literature	121-124	Verwendung von Plusqueparfait und Passé- Antérieur im Französischen, Die (see Laubscher and Staaeke).....	249-253
"Thanatopsis," On the Two Place-Names in —	247-249	Vitzliputzli	211-212
Thieme, Hugo P.: Lanson, Gustave, Manuel bibliographique de la littérature fran- çaise moderne. IV. Révolution et Dix- neuvième Siècle	158	Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schrift- sprache (see Morf and Terracher).....	61-62
Ticknor, George —s Travels in Spain (see Northup and Marden).....	263	Voretzsch, Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur (see Arm- strong).....	200
Tiecks Einfluss auf Immermann (see Wohn- lich and Porterfield).....	264	Vos, B. J.: Hellen, Ed. von der, Register to Goethes Sämtliche Werke, Jubiläums- ausgabe	232
Tilley, M. P., Hamlet's "ha, ha!".....	227-228	—Roedder, Schwarzwaldleut'	264
Tombo, Jr., Rudolf, Contemporary Ger- man Fiction and Narrative Poetry.....	106	Warren, F. M. , The Story of Troy in Orderic Vital	203-205
—Notes on Hauptmann's <i>Atlantis</i>	170-171	Warshaw, J., The Case of Somaize.....	33-39
—The Identity of the Hassenpflugs in Hauptmann's <i>The Fool in Christ</i>	5-8	Wells, John Edwin, Some New Facts Con- cerning Fielding's <i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> and <i>Pasquin</i>	137-142
Tower of Fame in Milton, The.....	30	Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend (see Chambers and Lawrence) ..	53-55
Treinta, Las — de Juan Boscán (see Ken- iston and Rennert).....	91-92	Wiese, Bartsch —, Chresthomathie de l'an- cien français (see Bartsch and Arm- strong).....	200
Tristan und Isolde, Immermanns — (see Szymanzig and Porterfield).....	14-21	Wilkins, E. H., and Altrocchi, R., Italian Short Stories (see Shaw).....	96
Troy, The Story of — in Orderic Vital....	203-205	—Rand, E. K., et —, Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantie (see Rand and Osgood).....	221-222
<i>Tryggv</i> , Altnordisch —.....	161-163	Wohnlich, Oskar, Tiecks Einfluss auf Im- mermann (see Porterfield).....	264
<i>Tumble-Down Dick</i> , Some New Facts Con- cerning Fielding's — and <i>Pasquin</i>	137-142	Wood, Henry, Faust-Studien (see Hatfield)	186-188
Tupper, Frederick, <i>Ubi sunt</i> —A Belated Postscript	197-198	Wright, C. H. Conrad, A History of French Literature (see Terracher).....	121-124
<i>Ubi sunt</i> —A Belated Postscript.....	197-198	<i>y-i of employons-emploi, paye-paie</i> , The..	226
—Heroes?	106-107	Yeats's Sources, One of W. B. —.....	94-95
Ueber Ursprung und Bedeutung der fran- zösischen Ortsnamen (see Gröhler and Armstrong).....	263	Zoëga, Geir T. , A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic (see Hollander).....	153-154
Upham, A. H., Another Translation from Camus	94		
—A Parallel for Richardson's <i>Clarissa</i> ...	103-105		
Variation in the Old High German Post- Otfridian Poems. —I. Christus und die Samariterin	216-217		
Vaughan, Night in the Poetry of Henry —	208-211		

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CONTENTS

- BARRY, PHILLIPS.—AN AMERICAN HOMILETIC BALLAD, 1-5
- TOMBO, JR., RUDOLF.—THE IDENTITY OF THE HASENPFLUGS IN HAUPTMANN'S *The Fool in Christ*, 5-8
- GALPIN, STANLEY LEMAN.—NOTES ON THE SOURCES OF DEGUILEVILLE'S *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, - - 8-10
- PHELPS, WM. LYON.—BROWNING IN GERMANY, - - 10-14

Reviews:—

- MAYNC, HARRY.—IMMERMANN'S WERKE.
DEETJEN, WERNER.—IMMERMANN'S WERKE.
LEMPICKI, SIGMUND VON.—IMMERMANN'S WELTANSCHAUUNG. } 14-21
- SZYMANZIG, MAX.—IMMERMANN'S TRISTAN UND ISOLDE.
- BACON, GRACE MABEL.—THE PERSONAL AND LITERARY RELATIONS OF HEINRICH HEINE TO KARL IMMERMANN. [Allen Wilson Porterfield.]

- PEEBLES, ROSE J.—THE LEGEND OF LONGINUS IN ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITION AND IN ENGLISH LITERATURE, AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE GRAIL. [Arthur C. L. Brown.] - - 21-26

Reviews:—continued:—

- HALL, HENRY MARION.—*History of the Literary Species*. [M. P. Mustard.] 26-28

Correspondence:—

- HOUSE, RALPH E.—THE 1536 TEXT OF THE *Egloga* OF JUAN DE PARIS, - - 28-29
- GILBERT, ALLAN H.—THE TOWER OF FAME IN MILTON, - - 30
- NORTHUP, GEORGE TYLER.—A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MYTH, - - 30-31

Brief Mention:—

- CURY AND BOERNER.—HISTOIRE DE LA LITTÉRATURE FRANÇAISE, À L'USAGE DES ÉTUDIANTS HORS DE FRANCE, - - 31
- LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS, J.—CAROLINA MICHAËLIS; LISTA DOS SEUS TRABALHOS LITERÁRIOS, - - 31
- SAINÉAN, L.—SOURCES DE L'ARGOT ANCIEN, - - 31-32
- GENNEP, A. VAN.—RELIGIONS, MŒURS ET LEGENDES, - - 32
- JESPERSEN.—ELEMENTARBUCH DER PHONETIK, - - 32

Obituary:—

- WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, - - - - - 32



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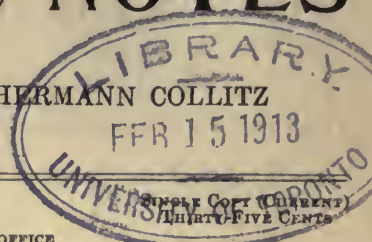
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MORF, HEINRICH.—VOM URSPRUNG DER PROVENZALISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE. [<i>A. Terracher.</i>] - - - - -	61-62

Correspondence:—

SCOTT, FRED NEWTON.—THE BITER BIT, - - - - -	62
PORTERFIELD, ALLEN WILSON.—A QUOTATION FROM MORIKE, - - - - -	62-63

Brief Mention:—

SKEAT, W. W.—THE SCIENCE OF ETYMOLOGY, - - - - -	63
COTTERILL, H. B.—HOMER'S ODYSSEY, - - - - -	63-64
TATLOCK, JOHN S. P., AND MACKAY, PERCY.—THE MODERN READER'S CHAUCER, - - - - -	64
PELLISSIER.—LE XIXE SIECLE PAR LES TEXTES, - - - - -	64



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PATTERSON, SHIRLEY GALE.—CONCERNING THE TYPE <i>Beau-Père, Belle-Mère,</i> - - - - -	73-77
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KARPINSKI, LOUIS C.—ALGEBRA, - - - - -	93
IBERSHOFF, C. H.—"DAS WÄRE NOCH SCHÖNER," -	94
UPHAM, A. H.—ANOTHER TRANSLATION FROM CAMUS, -	94
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WILKINS, E. H., AND ALTROCCHI, R.—ITALIAN SHORT STORIES, - - - - -	96
BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN, ADOLFO.—LA REPRESENTA- CIÓN DE MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO EN LA VIDA HIS- TÓRICA NACIONAL, - - - - -	96
CEDRÓN DE LA PEDRAJA, GONZALO.—LA NIÑEZ DE MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO, - - - - -	96



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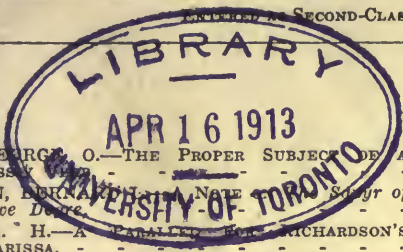
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CONTENTS

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JEFFERSON, EDWARD H.—A NEW FRENCH GRAMMAR. <i>Lowé Dore.</i>	102-103
UPHAM, A. H.—A PARALLEL OF RICHARDSON'S CLARISSA.	103-105
TOMBO, JR., RUDOLF.—CONTEMPORARY GERMAN FICTION AND NARRATIVE POETRY.	106
NORTHUP, CLARK S.— <i>Ubi sunt</i> HEROES?	106-107

Reviews:—

SWAEN, A. E. H.—HOW A MAN MAY CHOOSE A GOOD WIFE FROM A BAD. [<i>Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr.</i>]	107-112
SONNENSCHNEIN, E. A.—A NEW FRENCH GRAMMAR.	
SNOW, WILLIAM B.—FUNDAMENTALS OF FRENCH GRAMMAR.	112-118
FRANÇOIS, VICTOR E.—ESSENTIALS OF FRENCH. [<i>A. G. H. Spiers.</i>]	
ESPINOSA, AURELIO M.—CONSUELO, POR ADELARDO LÓPEZ DE AYALA. [<i>Arthur L. Owen.</i>]	118-121

Reviews:—continued:—

WRIGHT, C. H. CONRAD.—A HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE. [<i>A. Terracher.</i>]	121-124
MAUGAIN, GABRIEL.—BOILEAU ET L'ITALIE. [<i>R. T. Holbrook.</i>]	125

Correspondence:—

GALPIN, STANLEY LEMAN.—ST. BERNARD AND RAOUL DE HOUDENC.	125-126
LOCKWOOD, LAURA E.—PARADISE LOST, VII, 15-20.	126-127

Brief Mention:—

BÉDIER.—LES LÉGENDES ÉPIQUES.	127-128
GEDDES, JR. J.—HARTZENBUSCH, LA COJA Y EL ENCOGIDO.	128
COSENZA, MARIO E.—FRANCESCO PETRARCA AND THE REVOLUTION OF COLA DI RIENZO.	128



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CONTENTS

CIPRIANI, CHARLOTTE J.—A NOTE ON THE ACCENTUATION OF SOME FRENCH NAMES OF GERMANIC ORIGIN 129-132

KRACHER, FRANCIS WALDEMAR.—DIE MITLEIDSTHEORIE IN LESSINGS DRAMEN UND IHR WERT FÜR DIE GEGENWART, - - - - - 132-137

WELLS, JOHN EDWIN.—SOME NEW FACTS CONCERNING FIELDING'S *Tumble-Down Dick* AND *Pasquin*, - - 137-142

COBB, CHARLES W.—A SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR METRICS, - 142-145

FLORER, WARREN WASHBURN.—NOTE ON GUSTAV FRENSSEN, - - - - - 145-147

GILMAN, BENJAMIN IVES.—ON A DISPUTED TERZETTO IN THE *Paradiso*, - - - - - 148-149

BELDEN, H. M.—ONELA THE SCYLFING AND ALI THE BOLD, 149-153

Reviews:—

ZOEAGA, GER.—THE CONCISE DICTIONARY OF OLD ICELANDIC, [H. P. Collitz.] - - - - - 153-154

SMITH, WINIFRED.—THE COMMEDIA DELL' ARTE. [A. A. Livingston.] - - - - - 154-157

LANSON, GUSTAVE.—MANUEL BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE DE LA LITTÉRATURE FRANÇAISE MODERNE. IV. REVOLUTION ET DIX-NEUVIÈME SIÈCLE. [Hugo P. Thieme.] 158

Correspondence:—

McDANIEL, WALTON BROOKS.—AN ANACHRONISM ASCRIBED TO JONSON, - - - - - 158-159

HART J. M.—MILTON'S *Nativity*, - - - - - 159-160

Brief Mention:—

FRASER AND SQUIR.—SHORTER FRENCH COURSE, - 160

STENDHAL.—ŒUVRES COMPLETES. VOLS. I-II, - - 160



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CONTENTS

STURTEVANT, ALBERT MOREY.—ALTNORDISCH <i>Tryggr</i> , - - - - -	161-163
ANDREWS, C. E.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF <i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i> , - - - - -	163-166
FISCHER, WALTHER.—HONORÉ D'URFÉ'S <i>Sireine</i> AND THE <i>Diana</i> OF MONTEMAYOR, - - - - -	166-169
HARRIS, CHARLES.—MAX HALBE, - - - - -	169-170
TOMBO, JR., RUDOLF.—NOTES ON HAUPTMANN'S <i>Atlantis</i> , - - - - -	170-171

Reviews:

BATESON, HARTLEY.—PATIENCE. A WEST MIDLAND POEM OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. [<i>Oliver Farrar Emerson</i> .] - - - - -	171-180
DESCHARMES, RENÉ, ET DUMESNIL, RENÉ.—AUTOUR DE FLAUBERT. [<i>Frederick A. Blossom</i> .] - - - - -	180-186
WOOD, HENRY.—FAUST-STUDIEN. [<i>James Taft Hatfield</i> .] - - - - -	186-188

Reviews:—continued:—

HULBERT, JAMES ROOPE.—HULBERT'S OFFICIAL LIFE [<i>Samuel Moore</i> .] - - - - -	189-193
BABBITT, IRVING.—THE MASTERS OF MODERN FRENCH CRITICISM. [<i>D. S. Brown</i> .] - - - - -	193-197

Correspondence:—

TUPPER, FREDERICK.— <i>Ubi sunt</i> —A DELATED POSTSCRIPT, - - - - -	197-198
KUHNE, J. W.— <i>Serourge</i> — <i>Frere en loi</i> , - - - - -	198-199
MELTON, WIGHTMAN F.—THE INFLUENCE OF PETRARCH UPON EDWARD COOTE PINKNEY, - - - - -	199-200

Brief Mention:—

ANNOUNCEMENTS, - - - - -	200
MARINONI, A.—SELECTIONS FROM CARDUCCI, - - - - -	200
BARTSCH-WIESE.—CHRESTHOMATHIE DE L'ANCIEN FRANÇAIS, - - - - -	200
VORETZSCH.—EINFÜHRUNG IN DAS STUDIUM DER ALTFRANZÖSISCHEN LITERATUR, - - - - -	200



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JACKSON, GEORGE PULLEN.—FURTHER TRACES OF GLEIM'S <i>Grenadierlieder</i> , - - -	205-208
HUGHES, HELEN SARD.—NIGHT IN THE POETRY OF HENRY VAUGHAN, - - -	208-211
IBERSHOFF, C. H.—VITZLIPUTZLI, - - -	211-212
GRAHAM, WALTER.—SOME NOTES ON SPENSER AND BACON, - - -	212-214
PORTERFIELD, ALLEN WILSON.— <i>Ivanhoe</i> TRANS- LATED BY IMMERMANN, - - -	214-215
HARPER, CARRIE A.— <i>The Miller and His Sons</i> , - - -	215-216
KOLBE, P. R.—VARIATION IN THE OLD HIGH GERMAN POST-OTFRIDIAN POEMS.—I. CHRISTUS UND DIE SAMARITERIN, - - -	216-217

Reviews:—

LEGOUIS, EMILE.—GEOFFREY CHAUCER. [W. H. <i>Hulme</i> .] - - -	217-219
JOURDAIN, ELEANOR F.—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE FRENCH CLASSICAL DRAMA. [H. Carrington <i>Lancaster</i> .] - - -	219-221
RAND, E. K., ET E. H. WILKINS.—DANTIS ALA- GHERII OPERUM LATINORUM CONCORDANTIAE. } MCKENZIE, K.—CONCORDANZA DELLE RIME DI FRANCESCO PETRARCA. [Charles G. Osgood.] } STRICH, FRITZ.—SCHILLER. [Louise Mallinckrodt <i>Kueffner</i> .] - - -	221-222 222-224

Correspondence:—

SHAFFER, ROBERT.—SPENSER'S <i>Astrophel</i> , - - -	224-226
RAGGIO, A. P.—THE <i>Ussy</i> of <i>Yeniosoph</i> <i>temple</i> , <i>paye-pate</i> , - - -	226
LONG, O. F.—ROSTAND AND ERASMUS, - - -	226-227
TILLEY, M. P.—HAMLET'S "HA, HA!", - - -	227-228
FISCHER, WALTHER.—THE SOURCE OF <i>Britannicus</i> , II. 6, - - -	228
OSTHAUS, CARL.—EINST IM MAL, - - -	228-229
LOWES, JOHN LIVINGSTON.—THE DRAGON AND HIS BROTHER, - - -	229
MACCRACKEN, H. N.—THE LABORER AND THE BOCHOUR AND THE SMYTH, - - -	230
FRITZ, JOSEF.—EIN UNBEKANNTER ENGLISCHER FAUSTBUCHDRUCK, - - -	230-231

Brief Mention:—

PLAN, P. P.—J. J. ROUSSEAU RACONTÉ PAR LES GAZETTES DE SON TEMPS, - - -	231
OLIVER, T. E.—SEDAINE'S PHILOSOPHE SANS LE SAVOIR, - - -	231
FAGUET, E.—HONORÉ DE BALZAC, - - -	231-232
BOILLOT, F.—LE PAOIS DE LA GRAND'COMBE, - - -	232
LA LITTÉRATURE FRANÇ. ILLUSTR., - - -	232
HELLEN, ED. VON DER.—REGISTER TO GOETHE'S SÄMT- LICHE WERKE, JUBILÄUMSAUSGABE, - - -	232

Errata:—

- - - - -	232
-----------	-----



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CONTENTS

OLIVERO, FEDERICO.—HOOD AND KEATS, - - -	233-235
LANCASTER, H. CARRINGTON.—A FRENCH PROVINCIAL REPERTORY IN 1682, - - -	236-237
SCOTT, FRED NEWTON.—THE ORDER OF WORDS IN CERTAIN RHYTHM-GROUPS, - - -	237-239
STURTEVANT, ALBERT MOREY.—ZUM REIMGEBRAUCH OTERFIDS, - - -	239-243
SEBOYAR, GERALD E.—SKELTON'S <i>Replycacion</i> , - - -	244-245
SCHULTZ, J. R.—SIR WALTER SCOTT AND CHAUCER, - - -	246-247
SCHOLL, JOHN WILLIAM.—ON THE TWO PLACENAMES IN " <i>Thanatopsis</i> ," - - -	247-249

Reviews:—

SCHOCH, JOSEF.—PERFECTUM HISTORICUM UND PERFECTUM PRAESENS IM FRANZÖSISCHEN.	249-253
STAACKE, EDMUND.—DIE VERWENDUNG VON PLUSQUEPARFAIT UND PASSÉ-ANTÉRIEUR IM FRANZÖSISCHEN. [Gustav G. Laubscher.]	
FEUILLERAT, ALBERT.—SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, <i>The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia</i> . [Percy W. Long.]	253-254
HARTMANN, JACOB WITTMER.—THE GONGU-HRÖLFSSAGA. [L. M. Hollander.]	254

Reviews:—continued:—

CURME, GEORGE O.— <i>Libussa</i> , VON FRANZ GRILLPARZER. [T. M. Campbell.]	255-257
JUSSERAND, J. J.—RONSARD. [Murray P. Brush.]	257-259

Correspondence:—

MUSTARD, W. P.—NOTES ON THE ECLOGUES OF BAPTISTA MANTUANUS, - - -	259-260
MORIZE, ANDRÉ.— <i>La Fille de Jephthé</i> , - - -	260-261
PORTERFIELD, ALLEN WILSON.—JEAN PAUL AND HEBBEL, - - -	261-262
LONG, PERCY W.—SPENSER AND THE <i>Plowman's Tale</i> , - - -	262

Brief Mention:—

ACKERMANN, R.—DAS PÄDAGOGISCH-DIDAKTISCHE SEMINAR FÜR NEUPHILOLOGEN, - - -	262
GRÖHLER, HERMANN.—UEBER URSPRUNG UND BEDEUTUNG DER FRANZÖSISCHEN ORTSNAMEN, - - -	263
HACHETTE'S CLASSICAL-DRAMA SERIES, - - -	263
NORTHUP, G. T.—GEORGE TICKNOR'S TRAVELS IN SPAIN, - - -	263
THE PEQUEÑO LAROUSSE ILUSTRADO, - - -	263-264
ROEDDER.—SCHWARZWALDLEUT', - - -	264
WOHNLIICH, OSKAR.—TIECK'S EINFLUSS AUF IM-MERMANN, - - -	264



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